

HUDŪD al-‘ĀLAM

‘THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD’

A PERSIAN GEOGRAPHY

372 A.H.—982 A.D.

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED BY

V. MINORSKY

Second Edition

WITH THE PREFACE BY

V. V. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

AND WITH ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR MINORSKY

EDITED BY

C. E. BOSWORTH

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE ‘E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL’
AND PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. LUZAC & COMPANY, LTD.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1

1970

1st Edition 1937
2nd Edition 1970

SBN 7189 0201 7

CONTENTS

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE	xli
V. V. BARTHOLD'S PREFACE	i
TRANSLATION OF THE <i>ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM</i> . . .	45
COMMENTARY ON THE <i>ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM</i> . . .	167
APPENDIX: A. MARGINAL NOTES IN THE <i>ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM</i> . . .	479
B. ADDITIONAL NOTES	481
INDEX: A. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES	483
B. PERSONAL NAMES AND TITLES	511
C. AUTHORITIES	514
D. LOCAL PRODUCTS AND SPECIALITIES	520
E. SELECTION OF CATCH-WORDS	523

LIST OF MAPS

1. The principal mountain ranges	197
2. Black Sea lands according to Idrīsī	219
3. Western China	231
4. Khotan-Kashmīr-Pamir	261
5. Turkish territories round the Issik-kul	279
6. The Chu-Ili watershed	299
7. Kimäk-Ghūz territory	307
8. Gūzgān and Ghūr	329
9. The lands on the Upper Oxus	339
10. Gīlān and Daylam	389
11. Daghestān and Shīrvān	399
12. Eastern Europe. . . .	435

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION	vii
INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SECOND SERIES OF ADDENDA	xi
COMMENTS ON THE TEXTUAL IMPROVEMENTS SUG- GESTED BY DR. MANUCHIHR SOTUDEH IN HIS EDITION OF THE PERSIAN TEXT	xiii
THE SECOND SERIES OF ADDENDA	xix
ADDENDA TO THE <i>HUDUD AL-'ĀLAM</i>	lv

TO
THE GREAT PERSIAN SCHOLAR
Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī

AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP
AND ADMIRATION

V. MINORSKY

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE English translation of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and its stupendous commentary undoubtedly form the *magnum opus* of the late Professor V. F. Minorsky's scholarly career. As he himself explains in his Introductory Note to the second series of Addenda, he spent some six or seven years of his life on it. The preparation of the final manuscript for publication involved both the author himself and his devoted wife and amanuensis, Mrs. Tatiana Minorsky, in a vast amount of work, often repetitious, but at all times demanding a high standard of accuracy.

Over the ensuing years, Minorsky was for long periods busy with other questions of the historical geography of the Orient, above all, with the historical geography of the Iranian world and the Turkish lands of Central Asia. Accordingly, from his pen there came such works as his studies on the sections of Sharaf az-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī's *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* relating to China, India and the Turks (London 1942); on Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil's *Second Risāla* (Cairo 1955); and on the parts of the lost *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* preserved in Mūnejjim Bashī's *Ĵāmi' ad-duwal* (London 1953, Cambridge 1958). In all of these works, his procedure was the same: a carefully-edited text, an English translation, and then an extensive historical and topographical commentary.

His interest in the *Hudūd al-'ālam* did not, meanwhile, abate at all. His other studies frequently illuminated some of the many problems which had had to be left unresolved—usually from sheer lack of historical sources or from inadequate modern exploration of the terrain involved—in the commentary completed in 1937. By 1955 a substantial number of additions and corrections to the commentary could be gathered together and were published, in company with some valuable observations on the linguistic style and vocabulary of the original Persian text, in the article "Addenda to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xvii/2 (1955), pp. 250–70. Over the next decade or so, Minorsky accumulated further corrections. In particular, the travels through central Afghanistan of the French scholar, the late André Maricq, increased our topographical knowledge of the very obscure and isolated mediaeval region of Ghūr. As is well known, Maricq's crowning discovery was that in 1957 of the minaret of Jām, which may possibly mark the site of Firūzkūh, the capital during the later 12th and early 13th centuries of the powerful

Ghūrīd Sultans.¹ Anything which contributes to our knowledge of the region of mountain massifs and valleys in central and northern Afghanistan has a particular value in that it throws light on the homeland of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*’s author, who came from Gūzgān, the principality lying immediately to the north of Ghūr and the Herī-Rūd valley. The description of Gūzgān and its dependencies is, indeed, the one section of the book which must depend on personal observation and experience, for apart from this, the author was essentially an armchair geographer, and not a traveller who personally visited the lands which he described. Maricq’s experiences now led Minorsky to modify certain of his earlier comments on the topography of central Afghanistan. Hence the new series of addenda presented here in this second edition of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* offer a substantially improved version of the section on Gūzgān.

Unfortunately, Professor Minorsky died, almost a nonagenarian, on 25th March 1966, before he could put the new series of addenda in order for publication. It had already been decided, however, that a new edition of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* itself should be envisaged, for the original printing was almost exhausted. The Trustees of the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series now invited me to take up the work. The actual material conveyed to me from Professor Minorsky’s *Nachlass* was in a somewhat confused state. It comprised typewritten sheets, some in English and some in Russian, together with many manuscript additions, again written in both English and Russian. It would have been almost impossible for me to arrange these coherently if it had not been for Mrs. Minorsky, who of course knew, as no-one else could know, her husband’s handwriting and ways of working. She was able to reduce all the papers to an ordered, typewritten form. Even with this invaluable help, difficulties remained. The notes obviously contained much overlapping and repetitious matter. Often there were two somewhat differing versions of the same correction. I have had accordingly judiciously to edit these notes, combining them where necessary and pruning superfluous matter. As well as these addenda and corrigenda, the core of which are the improved translation of the section on Gūzgān (§ 23, 46–66) and the dependent commentary, Professor Minorsky left a series of comments on the textual improvements made by Dr. Manūchihr Sotūdeh in his edition of

¹ For a critical re-assessment of the evidence adduced by Maricq in favour of the identification of Jām with the site of Fīrūzkūh, see now Lorenz S.

Leshnik, “Ghor, Firuzkoh and the Minar-i-Jām”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, xii/1 (1968), pp. 36–49.

the Persian text of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* published at Tehran in 1340/1962 (Tehran University Publications No. 727); these also have been included in the present edition. Professor J. A. Boyle communicated to me four corrections of his own, and these have been marked by his initials. Finally, I have myself drawn a new sketch-map of Gūzgān and Ghūr, to replace the Map viii of the original edition (p. 329); a certain amount of the information given in the original map has now been corrected, and other information added.

It may be of interest for English readers to learn that a Russian translation of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* commentary has been prepared by Mrs. Minorsky, and this will be utilized in a new Russian version of the whole work, to be edited by the Soviet scholar Dr. Y. E. Borshchevsky. This will not only include the 1955 addenda and the present ones, but will also contain a Russian translation of the article which Minorsky contributed to the *Festschrift* for his friend S. H. Taqizadeh, *A locust's leg* (London 1962), pp. 189–96, sc. the article “Ibn Farīghūn and the Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam”, in which he suggested that the author of the still-unpublished encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Ḥawāss al-‘ulūm*, might well be a scion of the Farīghūnids of Gūzgān, patrons of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*.

The re-issue after the author's death of this edition of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* will be eloquent witness to the enduring value of much of Professor Minorsky's work; there only now remains for me to thank firstly the Gibb Memorial Trust for ensuring that the book will remain available for future scholars and secondly the School of Oriental and African Studies for agreeing to the reprinting of the 1955 Addenda.

C. E. BOSWORTH

University of Manchester

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SECOND SERIES OF ADDENDA

THE romantic story of the unique manuscript of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* was told by me in the Preface to the English translation of it, below, pp. xli–liv. For several months in 1922 this manuscript was on my desk in Paris, but was repatriated to Leningrad in time for Professor V. V. Barthold to write the important Introduction to the facsimile of the text published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. This edition appeared in Leningrad in 1930 just after Barthold's death (18th August 1930). I began to work on the translation of the *Hudūd* in 1931 and seven years later the book was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (London 1937). It was impossible to expect that my interpretation of the 61 chapters, divided in my translation and commentary into 1,007 paragraphs (some of them containing several items), should have been the last word. New studies and newly-accessible texts were bound to suggest a number of improvements in my work. Even the publication of the text by Sayyid Jalāl ad-Dīn Tehrānī as an appendix to his Calendar for 1334/1935 reached me too late, and the recent edition of the text by Dr. Manūchihr Sotūdeh (Tehran 1340/1962) has shown how many readings of his predecessor were approximate. Thus in the period 1931–7 I was reduced to my own decipherment of the text compiled in 372/982 and transcribed almost three centuries later in 656/1258, when the Mongols were overrunning Iran and besieging Baghdad. The text was written by an able scribe whose hand, however, possessed individual peculiarities of seven centuries ago, to say nothing of the complications he met with in reproducing the toponymy, often grown obsolete by the 13th century, of remote regions.

As time went on, I collected a number of improvements, which were published in "Addenda to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*", *BSOAS*, xvii/2 (1955), pp. 250–70. [These are reproduced in the present edition, below, pp. lv–lxxxii].

In his new edition of the Persian text, Dr. Sotudeh took full advantage of my commentaries and explanations of 1937, and his eagle eye permitted him to discern 38 better readings, of which he published a preliminary list in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, vii/1–3 (1338/1959), pp. 334–46. I accept most of them and wish to add them to the results of my own post-1955 research. There is, unfortunately, no hope of publishing a new edition of my English

translation which would incorporate all the improvements in the body of the text. Readers will still have to use the 1937 edition as a basis, but I now wish to add to my first set of Addenda the present similar list combining textual improvements with my observations and research carried out since 1955.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTUAL IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED BY DR. MANUCHIHR SOTUDEH IN HIS EDITION OF THE PERSIAN TEXT (TEHRAN 1340/1962)

§ 1. Preface. Instead of *khwīsh-numā*, read: *khwīsh-rā*, i.e. not “manifesting himself through different sciences” but “guiding his slaves to different sciences” (M.S. admits the difficulty of the reading).

§ 2. Discourse on the lie (*nihādh*) of the earth . . . P. 50, last lines, read: “and all the places . . . in which there are (some) aquatic animals (*jānavar andar ū māvi bāshad*) are within this ninth part of the earth”. There is no doubt about the reading *māvi* in the text, and the same correction had been suggested to me by my late friend Prof. A. Eghbal in 1938. However, I still suspect a mistake of the scribe, and clinging to my original interpretation, I would restore the text as follows: *va jānavar andar ū [va] *māhi dārad*.

§ 2, last paragraph (p. 51): instead of *mardī*, read: *mardumī* “the people of those regions are more remote from human nature”.

§ 3, 3 (p. 52). M.S. rightly remarks that in the *Hudūd* the word *dīgar* marks the beginning of a paragraph, and *dīgar daryā-yi buzurg ast ki* should not be translated as “another great sea is the sea . . .” etc., but perhaps as “moreover, a great sea which . . .” etc. The suggestion is rather pedantic, and a multitude of “moreovers” would be too obtrusive in an English translation (in French one could more easily say “et encore, une mer qui . . .” etc.).

In the same paragraph, instead of “Şaymara [sic]” read “Başra”. For the correct reading, see p. 179. In the text, the name is very indistinct, and the reading “Başra” was already restored in my 1955 Addenda.

§ 3, end of 4 (p. 53). Read: “and from the one shore the other is *not* visible”, which seems to be a misunderstanding, see Mas’ūdī, *Tanbīh*.

§ 3, 24 (p. 55). “At times the waters of Lake Zarah grow so much that its rivers overflow into (*bigudharadh bi*) the province of Kirmān and form a huge lake”. M.S. rightly remarks that *va bi-daryā-yi a’zam shavad* should be interpreted as “and flow into the Greatest Sea”, i.e. into the Ocean already mentioned under § 3, 4. Practically, this is of course impossible; it reminds one of the story concerning the river of Işfahān which is lost in the swamp of

Gāv-khāna but reappears in Kirmān and flows out into the Eastern (sc. Indian) Ocean, see Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 176. Cf. the criticism on this point by Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 216.

§ 4, 3. Translated “Chinese merchants go there in great numbers”. M.S. judiciously improves: “Chinese merchants frequent (*bisyār ravand*) it”.

§ 5, 9 Ba (p. 63). M.S. suggests that instead of *ān-gah* “then” the text should be read as *ān-ki* “and the one (*i.e.* branch) which turns north-westwards penetrates into Ghūr”. This is quite possible, and this branch (which on p. 199 I identify with the Kōh-i Bābā) would be opposed to the northern ramifications described under § 5, 9 Aa. Thus the correction is acceptable, though M.S. in his own edition of the text reverts to my reading *va ān-gah*.

§ 5, 9 Bb (p. 64). In the enumeration of the branches of the range scattered in the present-day Afghanistan, after “Bāmiyān” insert “and in some of the marches of Gūzgānān, and in Bust, Rukhadh, Zamīndāvar and Ghaznī . . .”

§ 6, 23 (p. 73). M.S. takes exception to my translation of the Arabic term *baṭīḥa* as corresponding to the local term *daryāzha*. In Persian he interprets “swamp” as *bātlāq* (originally from the Turkish “bog, quagmire”). In fact, “swamp” is the usual translation of the Mesopotamian *baṭīḥa*, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, pp. 26, 42, and means “a tract of wet, spongy land”, suggesting fertility. Of course, the indiscriminate use by our author of both terms may be wrong. *Daryāzha* is described both in the chapter on lakes (§ 3, 25) and in that on rivers (§ 6, 23), and in the first case, it certainly looks like the reservoir of the four sources of the Zarafshān river from which the latter flowed out as a single stream irrigating the regions of Samarqand and Bukhārā. It is difficult to say now whether it was a real lake or a richly-watered tract in which the waters of the Zarafshān were initially collected. The conditions of irrigation may have considerably changed the aspect of the ground occupied by *Daryāzha*. Whatever the physical characteristics of the latter may have been, it should not be identified with either of the present-day lakes Iskandar-kul or Qara-kul, as I mistakenly did so in my Commentary, p. 211. [See further the long Addendum on *Daryāzha*, below pp. xix–xx—C.E.B.]

§ 10, 1 (p. 86). After “a kingdom . . . of Hindustān”, insert: “Its king (*pādshāy*) is called Qamarūn”. See the Commentary.

§ 10, 37 (p. 90). The “copper idol”. In fact, it would be better to translate *rūyīn* as “brazen”.

§ 11, 1 (p. 92). The nuggets of gold found in Rāng-rong are said

to be “in the form of several sheep’s heads joined together” (*chand sar-i gusfand ba-yak-para*), but in this case, *chand* should be translated not as “several” but as “as big [as a sheep’s head]”.

§ 12, end of introduction (p. 94). Instead of the sentence “The wealthiest (of the Toghuzghuz?) are the Turks” read “And they (*i.e.* the Toghuzghuz) are the wealthiest of the Turks”.

§ 23, 11 (p. 103). For the mineral products of Tūs I read “. . . antimony and the like” (*shibh*). Read now “. . . antimony and *shabah*”. In Arabic this mineral is called *sabaj*, see Bīrūnī, *al-Jawāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad 1355/1936), p. 199, Russian tr. by Belenitsky (Moscow 1963), pp. 186, 197, and means “jet, gagate, black amber”.

§ 23, 13 (p. 103). Between the boroughs Banābid and Kurī insert Tūn, and delete the footnote that the name of Nīshāpūr is added above the line.

§ 23, 51 (p. 106). M.S. suggests that Mānshān is a district adjacent to “the gate of Andara” (*i.e.* lying close to it), but in § 23, 53 “Dar-i Andara” is given as the name of the military camp lying 1½ farsakhs from Jahūdān. Delete the mention of Tamrān which by accident got into my translation, and see now the new commentary of § 23, 49 *et seqq.*, below pp. xxx ff.

§ 23, 75 (p. 109). In connection with this paragraph, M.S. examines the systematic use in our text of the expression *kūh-hā va shikastagī-hā* (cf. § 20, 9; § 24, 1; § 25, 42; § 25, 46; § 32, 24; etc.). I should have used a single term to render the expression, whereas I translated it now as “mountains and hills”, now as “mountains and broken country”. In M.S.’s opinion, the meaning is “mountains and valleys (*dara*)”. I am nevertheless unconvinced by this interpretation. Admittedly, a valley is a “break” in the mountains, but *shikastagī* would be unusual for “dales”. In § 26, 10 I notice the opposition between mountains and dales expressed by *kūh* and *dasht*.

§ 24, 5 (p. 110). It would be better to translate “There are no mosquitoes (*pasha*) in it (sc. in Nih)” rather than “flies”. See also below, under § 32, 7.

§ 25, 1 (p. 112). M.S. suggests that instead of the general expression “woollen carpets”, I should have distinguished between *bisāṭ*, *farsh* and *muṣallā-yi namāz* mentioned in the text (perhaps “woollen carpets, rugs and prayer carpets”).

§ 26, 11 (p. 120). Instead of the queried reading *gardān*, read *gird-i ān*. The translation may stand.

§ 26, 14 (p. 121). As the text stands, *rūy-i namad-i zīn* (or

rūy-namad-i zīn) seems to refer to some felt cover for a saddle. M.S. suggests *rūy* "brass" and *namad-i zīn* "saddle-cloths", in which case one would expect an additional *wāw* after *rūy*.

§ 26, 22 (p. 121). Amongst the products of Khwārzam is **tarf* (which may have embarrassed the copyist, who left the first letter without dots). In my original translation, I read it as *barf* "snow". The *Burhān-i qāṭi*, ed. M. Mo'in, i, p. 486, *tarf* is explained as *kashk-i siyāy* (in Turkish, *qara qurut*), i.e. clotted ewe's milk. M.S. quotes numerous Persian dialects in which the term still survives. The restoration **tarf* is the more probable as it is followed by *rukhbīn*, another solid milk preparation (*Burhān*, ii, p. 931). In a verse by Sūzanī quoted by Mo'in, *loc. cit.*, the two terms are combined.

§ 27, 7 (p. 123). M.S. thinks that *pānīdh* should be "white sugar" instead of "sugar candy", which is now called *nabāt*. See also § 28, introduction.

§ 27, 14 (p. 123). Read Qandābīl, not Qandabīl.

§ 28, 23 (p. 125). Read Bardasīr, as in § 28, 21.

§ 29, 2 (p. 126). Read in the singular, "an iron mine" and "a silver mine". Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, quoted in my Commentary.

§ 29, 12 (p. 127). Kāzrūn: Yāqūt gives this as Kāzarūn, at present Kāzerūn.

§ 29, 32 (p. 128). Read Mādharān, but see Commentary, p. 380.

§ 29, 42 (p. 129). Under Sardan, the term *rūdh* (*rūy*) would be better translated as "brass" rather than as "copper", as in Commentary, p. 380. [? "Brass", an alloy of copper and zinc or tin, hardly fits the present context of a mine—C.E.B.]

§ 30, 20 (p. 131). The name of the famous textile of Qurqūb is spelt in our text *sūzan-kard* (in two words), as if to stress its etymological meaning of "needle-work". In fact, it was a combined product of weaving and embroidery, in German *Nadelmalerei*, *Webstickerei*; cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, ii, p. 97, and R. B. Serjeant, "Materials for the history of Islamic textiles", *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 46. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī (MS. of the 14th century), ed. I. Afshār, p. 134, also gives *sūzan-kard*. On the other hand, the Arabic original of Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, p. 153, calls the same product (made in Fasā on a woollen base and in Qurqūb on a less suitable silken base) *sūsanjird*. This shows that in common parlance the original *sūzan* "a needle" was replaced by *sūsan* "a lily" and the final *-kard* had become *-gird* (in Arabic transcription *-jird*), following the phonetic change attested in place names, cf. Dārāb-kart "made (built) by Dārāb" > Dārāb-gird (in Arabic transcrip-

tion *Dārāb-jird (with *j* for *g*). See Marquart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Erānshahr* (Rome 1931), No. 42 and p. 93. Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, p. 123: "Dārābajird (sic), a foundation of Dārāb, therefore it was called Dārābajird, to be explained as the work of Dārā ('amal Dārā)'".

§ 31, 1 (p. 131). Under the products of Iṣfahān, I translate *hulla* as "cloaks", and under § 31, 21 I give the same translation for *burd*, but as I add the transcription of the Arabic terms, I do not see any inconvenience in my procedure. On the other hand, I admit that "shawl" would be a better translation for the *ṭaylasān* worn by the doctors of Islam.

§ 32, 7 (p. 134). Here I have translated *pasha* as "mosquitoes", not as "flies".

§ 32, 13 (p. 134). Amongst the wooden products of Āmol, two are not sufficiently clear. I have read *shāna-yi niyām*, with *idāfat*, and tentatively interpret it as "handles of a plough". In fact, amongst the various meanings of *shāna* there is "a shoulder, etc.", and *niyām* may mean "the wooden frame (*chūb*) of the plough on which the ploughman presses to make the ploughshare enter more deeply into the soil", see *Burhān-i qāṭi'*, ed. Mo'in, iv, p. 2223. If *niyām* refers to the whole wooden frame behind the plough, *shāna* might be its handle or top bar. As a matter of fact, there is no *idāfat* marked in the text, and as *shāna-niyām* follows on *shāna* ("combs" in my translation), it would be simpler to explain the composite term as "cases for combs", according to M.S.'s suggestion. As regards *tarāzū-khāna*, M.S. more precisely defines it as "cases for different weights used on the pans (*kapa*) of scales".

§ 36, 36 (p. 144). The dimensions of the fortress of Kurdivān. Read: "its high summit is broad, smooth and quadrangular (*chahār-sū*); it is four farsakhs by four farsakhs", cf. M.S.'s edition of the text, p. 193. The suggestion does not in practice differ from my "the area of the summit is four farsangs by four farsangs".

§ 42, after 14 (pp. 156-7). In the text, **bā* has no dots, and I wrongly read *az . . . *tā* "from 3,000 up to 6,000 horse", whilst expressing my doubts by the word [sic]. The reading **bā* for *tā* is suggested by M.S. and is the preferable one. The translation should accordingly run: "In each of these provinces (themes) there was (*būd*) a commander-in-chief (*sipahsālār*) on behalf of the king of Rūm (*az ān-i malik ar-Rūm*) with numerous troops consisting of (*az*) 3,000 foot together with (*bā*) 6,000 horse for the purpose of guarding the province". In my Commentary, p. 421, I noted that the number of troops in each province is out of order.

THE SECOND SERIES OF ADDENDA

§ 3, 25 (p. 55). Here Daryāzha figures among the lakes, while under § 6, 23, it is called a *baṭīḥa* "swamp". I now doubt my identification of it (§ 6, 23 and Commentary, p. 211) with the Iskandar-kul.¹ The latter is a real lake and its surface is nowadays some 3·5 sq. km. instead of the 4×4 farsakhs (28×28 km.) assigned to Daryāzha in the *Hudūd*. Its outlet feeds the important Fan-daryā (draining Yaghnob), which in its turn joins the more northerly river of Matcha accepted as the basic source of the river of Soghd (now the Zarafshān). Only after the confluence of these two rivers near the village Varziminār (now Zaḥmatābād) can one speak of a single, united course of the river of Soghd.

I submitted my doubts to A. L. Khromov (Dushamba), who has a great experience of local toponymy and tracks. In his reply (3 December 1964) he admits the ambiguity of the situation. For the four rivers forming the river of Soghd, he first of all suggests (a) the above-mentioned river of Matcha, flowing east to west, and (b) the river Fan-daryā, joining (a) from the south and formed by two rivers, one of which drains Yaghnob and the other collects the waters of the lake Iskandar-kul. The Fan-daryā joins the main river opposite the village of Varziminār (in Soghdian, *βrzah*, see O. I. Smirnova, *Trudi XXV Kongressa*, ii, p. 335). For the other two rivers, Khromov suggests (c) the river of Varziminār itself, joining the main river from the right or northern side, and (d) the river of Khushikat, joining it a short distance downstream from Varziminār.

The courses of the two important rivers (a) and (b) are considerably longer than the six farsakhs (42 km.) suggested by the *Hudūd*, whereas the streams (c) and (d) would be shorter than that norm. Thus some uncertainty remains about the indications of the *Hudūd*, whose source could not ignore the rivers (a) and (b), but for (c) and (d) might have in view the upper reaches or sources of the Fan-daryā. The system of the Zarafshān has been closely

¹ Prof. I. I. Umnyakov (Samarqand) has very kindly sent me an excerpt from an early article by O. I. Smirnova on the historical toponymy of the upper Zarafshān in the rare publication *Trudi sogdiysko-tajikskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii 1946-7*, v, p. 57. The author analyses the data of the Islamic geographers, including the *Hudūd*, and

also takes Daryāzha for the Iskandar-kul. An important report on the toponymy of the rivers of Soghd was presented by O. I. Smirnova to the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, see *Trudi XXV Kongressa* (Moscow 1963), ii, pp. 329-36 (with a map).

investigated only in the last hundred years, and c. A.D. 982 one could not expect a detailed knowledge of the gorges of the Buttamān mountains.

Very curious is the other suggestion made by A. L. Khromov. He refers to the great landslide of April 1964 near Varziminār. It dammed up the course of the Zarafshān, and the waters rose so high that Samarqand and its neighbourhood were in danger of being flooded (see *The Times*, 27 April 1964). The water returned to its normal level only after the obstruction had been blown up. Traces of salt deposits were left on the rocks of Varziminār. Some similar phenomenon in the 10th century A.D. may have accounted for the description of Daryāzha in the *Hudūd*. A landslide on a somewhat smaller scale may have occurred, and the reservoir of Daryāzha¹ may have remained as a regulator of the waters of the Zarafshān until the natural dam had been washed away by the pressure and its traces disappeared as a result of further floods and changes in the irrigation system. The task of finding the traces of Daryāzha can be expected only from geological research on the spot.

§ 12, 2 (p. 94). Hamilton identifies KŪZĀR.K, which he accordingly emends to *KŪLŪK (perhaps rather KŪLLŪK), with the K'ulluk mentioned in the itinerary of King Het'um and the Chū-lin of the *T'ang shu*, lying 80 li west of Yeh-lê and corresponding more or less to the modern Fou-k'ang. He reads the name as *Köllüg, a derivative of *köl* "lake", i.e. "place where there is a lake". See J. A. Boyle, "The journey of King Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the court of the Great Khan Möngke", *Central Asiatic Journal*, ix (1964), pp. 175–89, at p. 182 and n. 47; and J. R. Hamilton, "Autour du manuscrit Staël-Holstein", *T'oung Pao*, xlv (1958), pp. 115–53, at p. 145. [J.A.B.]

§ 12, 2 (p. 273, n. 1). For Bārlugh read *Yārlugh. This is the Yarligh of Juvaynī, the Arlekh in the itinerary of King Het'um, identified by Hamilton with the Yeh-lê of the *T'ang shu*, 180 li east of the present-day relay station Po-yang. He plausibly suggests that the name means "place where there is a cliff (*yar*)". See Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 182 and n. 46, and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–5. [J.A.B.]

§ 12, 16 (pp. 95 and 276). İRGŪZGŪKATH (?) is identified by Hamilton with the Erkop'oruk mentioned in the itinerary of King Het'um; he places it in the neighbourhood of the present-day Ulan

¹ In 1911 a landslide in the Pamir region dammed the valley of a river and formed the present-day reservoir of Sarez.

Ussu. See Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and n. 53, and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 148. [J.A.B.].

§ 23, 46–66 (pp. 105–8) *Gūzgānān: Improved translation*

46. GUZGĀNĀN, a very prosperous and pleasant province. Justice, equity and security reign there. In the east, this province marches with the limits of Balkh and Tūkhāristān down to the limits of Bāmiyān; in the south, with the [extreme] limits of Ghūr and the boundary (*hadd*) of Bust; in the west, with the limits of Gharchistān with [its] main city Bushtīn, down to the limits of Marv; in the north, with the limits of the [river] Jayhūn. Sovereignty in this province belongs to one of the margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*), whom in Khorāsān they call “malik of Gūzgānān”. He is a descendant of Afrīdhūn. And all the chiefs (*mihtar*) within the limits of Gharchistān and Ghūr are under his orders (*andar farmān*), and of all the margraves he is the greatest in kingliness, grandeur (*‘izz*), rank, policy, liberality and love (*dūstdārī*) of sciences. This country produces many things: felts, saddle-bags, saddle-girths, woven rugs and druggets (*zīlū va palas*). In it is found the tree called *khunj* (“white”); its branches never dry and remain supple so that they can be tied into knots. In this dominion there are many districts.

47. R.BŪSHĀRĀN (*Rēvshārān), a large and very pleasant district; its inhabitants are warlike. The district belongs to Gharchistān of Gūzgānān. Some of the waters of Marv rise from here. There are gold mines in it. The chiefs (*mihtarān*) of this district are among the chiefs of the Marches of Gūzgānān (*az mihtarān-i aṭrāf-i G.*) (sic), and they pay an agreed tribute to the malik of Gūzgānān.

48. DARMASHĀN (Dar-i Mashān?) consists of two districts: one is joined (*payvasta*) to Bust, and the other, adjacent to Rabūshārān, is joined to Gūzgānān. In this district rise waters which join those of Rabūshārān, and the river of Marv is formed by these waters. The chiefs of this district are called Darmashī-shāhs.

49. TIMRĀN, TAMĀZĀN, two districts close to the boundary of Ribāṭ-i Karvān, both lie in the mountains. Their chiefs are called [respectively] Timrān-waranda and Tamāzān-waranda.

50. SĀRVĀN, a mountain district. Its inhabitants look arrogant and warlike. They are professional thieves, violent, unreliable, blood-thirsty; and there are constant conflicts (*‘aṣabiyyat*) among them.

51. MĀNSHĀN, a mountain district, joined (*payvasta*) to Dar-i Andara (see 53). In the old days, its chiefs were called *B.rāx-banda*, but now a governor (*kārdār*) goes there from the capital (*ḥaḍrat*) of the malik of Gūzgānān.

All these districts are very agricultural and abound in amenities. And the chiefs of these districts [come] under the rule of the malik of Gūzgānān and pay him agreed tributes (*muqāṭa'a*). The inhabitants are mostly simple-hearted; they have great numbers of cattle (*chār-pā*), [namely] cows and sheep.

In this kingdom (*pādhshāhī*) (*i.e.* Gūzgānān) small districts are numerous. In it there grew a tree from which whips are made. In its mountains there are mines of gold, silver, iron, lead (*surb*), copper, antimony-stone (*sang-i surma*) and different kinds of oxides (*zāg-hā-yi gūnāgūn*).

21 a 52. TĀLAQĀN lies on the frontier of Gūzgānān and belongs to its king (*pādhshāh*). This town | is very pleasant. It produces much wine and also felts.

53. JAHŪDHĀN, a prosperous and pleasant town at the foot of the mountains. It is the residence (*maqarr*) of the malik of Gūzgānān, who lives at one-and-a-half farsakhs from the town in a military camp (*lashkargāh*) called DAR-I ANDARA. This last is a strong place at the foot of the mountains; [there] the air is more pleasant and healthier (*durust*) than in Jahūdhān and Pāryāb.

54. BĀRYĀB (Pāryāb), a very pleasant town on the caravan high road.

55. NARYĀN, a borough between Jahūdhān and Paryāb; its boundary is at two farsakhs [from Jahūdhān].¹

56. GURZIVĀN, a town on a hill, very pleasant and with an agreeable climate. In olden times, the residence of the maliks of Gūzgānān was there.

57. KUNDARM (?), a pleasant borough where much good wine (*nabīdh*) is produced.

58. ANBĒR (*Anbār), capital (*qaṣaba*) of Gūzgānān; it is a good and prosperous town, the residence of merchants and the emporium of Balkh, very rich. It lies at the foot of the mountains. In it is produced the Gūzgān leather (*pūst-i gūzgānī*) exported to all places.

59. K.LĀR, a pleasant and flourishing (*khurram va ābādān*) borough, with many trees and running waters. It abounds in amenities.

60. USHBŪRQĀN, on the high road, a very prosperous town. It lies in the steppe (*ṣahrā*) and has running waters.

61. ANTKHUDH,² a borough in the desert (*biyābān*), a place with much cultivation [but] not very attractive (*kam ni'mat*).

62. SĀN, a town with a prosperous district producing many sheep.

¹ Iṣṭakhri: "Its territory is of two farsakhs".

² On the margin is a note with the unexpected vocalization *Indkhū* (?).

63. RIBĀṬ-I KIRVĀN, a borough on the frontier (*sar-ḥadd*) of Gūzgānān; in its mountains there is gold.

64. SANGBUN is a part of Rabūshārān (see above, 47); the pulpit (*minbar*) [of its mosque] has been founded anew.

65. AZĪV (read Gizīv), a town at the end of the province (*'amal*) of Gūzgānān.

And all these places which we have mentioned belong to the kingdom (*pādhshāhī*) of the malik of Gūzgānān. In the deserts (*biyābān*) of this dominion (*shahr*) there are some 20,000 Arabs. These people possess many sheep and camels. Their amir is appointed from the capital of the malik of Gūzgānān, and they pay two¹ tributes (*ṣadaqāt*). And all these Arabs are richer (*tuvangartar*) than all the [other] Arabs who are scattered throughout Khorāsān.

66. ḤAUSH, a large, flourishing village situated in the desert. It belongs to this sovereign (*in pādhshāh, i.e. of Gūzgānān*), and the majority of the aforementioned Arabs stay here in the summer.

This province (*nāḥiyat*) has many other large subdivisions (*rustā-hā*) and districts (*nāḥiyat-hā*), but the towns with pulpits (*minbar*) are those which we have mentioned.

§ 23, 46–66. IIIa (pp. 328–37) *Gūzgānān : Revised commentary*

The western ramifications of the Hindūkush are formed by two main ranges: the northern one, bearing in ancient times the name of Paropamisus, and the southern one, now called Bābā-kūh. Between them is situated the long basin of the Herat river, the Harī-rūd. The Paropamisus in its turn splits into two ranges, the main southern one (now the Siyāh-kūh) and a shorter northern one (the Band-i Turkistān).

Gūzgān proper (Arabic Jūzjān) forms a kind of bridge between the two north-eastern “quarters” of Khorāsān, Marv and Balkh; the geographers usually reckoned it to Balkh. It is situated between the northern slopes of the Band-i Turkistān and the western banks of the Oxus, and is watered by two streams coming from the valleys and gorges of that mountain range, and eastern one (now the Āb-i Safīd) and a western one (now the Āb-i Qaysār). These two rivers flow independently north-eastwards in the direction of the Oxus, but are lost in the sands before reaching it. To the south of the Band-i Turkistān lies the source of the river of Marv, the

¹ Pay twice?

Murghāb, rising far in the east. Its valley half-encircles from the south Gūzgān proper, and the sources of the river come close to those of the Harī-rūd and the river of Balkh, which flows to the north. It was in this direction that the first stage of the political expansion of Gūzgān lay. But the power of the maliks of Gāzgān extended also over the main Paropamisus range into the upper Harī-rūd, which formed the northern part of the possessions of various chieftains of Ghūr. Moreover, the rulers of Gūzgān during the brief period of their florescence, as described in our source, reached beyond the second wall of mountains (the Bābā-kūh) into the upper basin of the Hilmand river, which flows down eventually to Sīstān. Here lay the domains of several petty chieftains of Ghūr, and there began a dangerous zone of rivalry with the early rulers of Ghaznī; it was to be Sebūktigin's son Maḥmūd who eventually annexed Gūzgān.

Our author's description of Gūzgān, which is included in the general survey of Khorāsān, is of special interest in view of his direct connection with Gūzgān (see above, Preface to the Second Edition, p. viii, and below, Translator's Preface, § 1), and in view of the fact that he lived in the time when the dominion was in an expanding phase and therefore included a number of neighbouring districts and feudal dependencies in his survey. However, it is only with a consideration of the geographical perspective outlined above that one can begin to understand the complex material of § 23, IIIa, which contains a number of little-known names.

As to the capital and centre of Gūzgān in the 10th century, the geographers are somewhat vague. From Ya'qūbī's somewhat disconnected text (*BGA*, vii, p. 287, tr. Wiet, *Les Pays* [Paris 1937], p. 100), one can infer that in his time the capital (*madīna*) of Gūzgān was Anbār/Anbēr, where lived the "governors" (*wulāt*). Formerly, the malik lived in [the towns of] Kundarma and Karzmāna (Varzmān?). Finally, "in former days" there was a [particular?] principality (*mamlaka*) in Shabūrkan. Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, p. 270, says that the principal town (*madīna*) of Gūzgān was Jahūdiyya (Yahūdiyya), but on the other hand indicates that the seat of government (*maqām as-sulṭān*) was the largest of the local towns, Anbār. Ibn Hauqal, ed. Kramers, p. 443, who did not revise Iṣṭakhrī's data very coherently, writes that Anbār is the largest town of Gūzgān, which is "the seat of the Afrīghūn family" and the centre of their government (*sulṭān*) in winter, whilst in summer their residence is in Jūzvān, a town "between two mountains" (reminding one of the situation of Mecca). About the town of

Yahūdiyya, it is said that it is larger than the town of Sān. Maqdisī, *BGA*, iii, p. 398, says that in his time (*al-yaum*) the power of Jūzjān was rising to first importance (*sulṭānuhu muqaddam*), that its inhabitants were generous, pious and learned, and that the local capital (*qaṣaba*) was al-Yahūdiyya.

To all appearances, the name Gūzgān is not of ethnic origin, but simply means "walnuts, walnut trees" (*gūz-akān*), whilst in the form Gūzgānān, frequent in the *Hudūd*, we have the superaddition of a second plural suffix. It seems that the author wished to stress the fact that he was dealing with the lands of Gūzgānān, *i.e.* every territory depending on Gūzgān.

What is curious is the relation of this name to the geographical term Gozbon (*Gōz-bun) found in the Armenian Geography ascribed to Ananias of Shirak (8th century) and also to the ancient legend about the "Aryan" archer Erexša (modern Persian Ārish), who on the suggestion of king Manūchihr shot an arrow in order to mark the frontier between the possessions of Iran and those of the king of Tūrān Isfandiyār (Aspādiyat). It is astonishing that Firdausī did not make use of this story in his *Shāh-nāma* at its proper place (*sc.* in the reign of Manūchihr), and only in the much later chapters mentions Ārish, who "shot arrows to the distance of a farsakh". The reason for Firdausī's reticence may have been that at the time of the declining power of the Sāmānids, he wished to avoid mentioning the limited distance of Ārish's shot, which might have been an encouragement to the Qarakhanids in occupying the Transoxanian dominions of the Sāmānids. In fact, the ancient legend easily took on a political meaning, and the fluctuations of the frontiers were reflected in the interpretations of Iranian authors.

My teacher at the Lazarevsky Institute, R. R. von Stackelberg, consecrated a very detailed article to the question of Erexša, "Die iranische Schützensage", *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), 853-63. In the Avesta, Yašt 8, 6, the distance of Erexša's arrow is indicated by uncertain names: from the mountain Aryō-Xšuθa to the mountain Xvanvant, the position of which is not clear. It may have been near Sarakhs, as indicated in the *Mujmal at-tawārikh* (written 520/1126), ed. Bahār (Tehran 1318/1938), pp. 43, 90, which says that the arrow flew from Āmol (?) in Mazandarān to the pass of the Mezduvan mountains near Sarakhs. Herzfeld, *Mitteilungen aus Iran*, ii/2 (1930), pp. 83-4, transfers the exploit of Erexša to western Persia (Pā-tāq—Alvand, between Hamadān and Kirmānshāh) which is, however, in contradiction with later interpretations. In Islamic times it was considered that Ārish had stood somewhere

in Mazandarān (see §§ 32, 9, Sārī, and 15, Rūdhān), but opinions differed as to where the arrow landed in the east.

Ṭabarī, i, pp. 435–6, reproduces very exactly the Iranian title of the “swift-arrowed” Ārish, and says that the arrow reached the river of Balkh. It is possible that by the latter he means not the left affluent of the Oxus, which waters the neighbourhood of Balkh (to the east of the rivers of Gūzgān), but the Oxus itself, see Ibn Faqīh.

According to Tha‘ālibī, *Ta’rikh ghurar as-siyar*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg (Paris 1900), p. 133, Ārish’s exploit took place during the brief reign of the king Zaw. The arrow should have fallen in Bādghīs (see § 23, 24), but an angel carried it to a place near Khulm (see § 23, 68) called Gūzīn, which Stackelberg restored as Gūzbun “roots, trunk of a walnut tree”.

In Bīrūnī’s *al-Athār al-bāqiya*, tr. 220, it is said that Ārish’s body broke up after his mighty shot, and that the wind carried his arrow to the extreme limits of Khorāsān, between the places F.r.ghāna (?) and Ṭabaristān (?), where it stuck into the trunk (*aṣl*) of a huge walnut tree. The identity of Bīrūnī’s resting-place for the arrow with Tha‘ālibī’s Gūzbun is indisputable, but the names of the places between which the tree stood are definitely distorted. Stackelberg restored the first name as *Ṭukhāristān, but I think that if one were to connect the walnut tree Gūzbun with Gūzgān, one would expect to find parallels to the names distorted in Bīrūnī in the vicinity of Gūzgān. Thus Ṭ.b.r.stān can be taken for Ṭālaqān (§ 23, 52, mentioned just before the capital town of Jahūdhān, 53), if the *lām* of the latter were taken as a *sīn* without “teeth”. The reading Farghāna is obviously unsuitable, but there are toponyms in the region which yield plausible versions. Thus Farkhār lies a little upstream from Ṭālaqān. Between the two places, the river receives a tributary from the east, along whose banks lies the small district of Gulfagān, separated from the Kishm river basin of Badakhshān by a low pass. This is actually the extreme limit of Ṭukhāristān, because Badakhshān was regarded as a separate region, see below, § 24, 24. It is also possible that the two different Ṭālaqāns, that of Ṭukhāristān (§ 23, 76) and the other situated in the western approaches to Gūzgān (§ 23, 52), were confused.

Finally, in Gurgānī’s poem *Vis u Rāmīn* (middle of the 11th century), ed. Minovi (Tehran 1935), p. 366, the arrow flies the distance from Sārī to Marv, see my “Vis u Rāmīn, a Parthian romance”, in *Iranica, twenty articles* (Tehran 1964), p. 172. We find this same indication in Ibn Isfandiyyār’s *Ta’rikh-i Ṭabaristān* (completed in

606/1209), ed. A. Eghbal (Tehran 1320/1941), p. 61, and in the further history of Ṭabaristān of Zāhīr ad-Dīn Mar'ashī, ed. Dorn, p. 18.

After these Islamic sources, we shall look at two indications in the Armenian Geography. In the first of these, *Gozbon* is given at the very end of the list of the districts of Khorāsān, which seems to coincide with the general tendency of the story about Ārish. In his composite chapter, which follows Ptolemy on the province of *Areia*, the Armenian author says in conclusion that the Persians call this region Khorāsān and include in it the districts of *Komī* (Kūmish), *Vrkan* (Gurgān), *Apršahr* (Nīshāpūr), *Mrv* (Marv), *Mrot* (Marv ar-Rūdh), *Hrev* (Herat), *Kadšan* (present-day Kādīs in Bādghīs), and then “*Gozkan*, from where the kingly horses come from,¹ **Gozbon* down to the river called Arang² of which it is said that it carries sulphur and that it is uncrossable in view of a treaty. This is apparently the Phison, which the Persians call Wehrot. It is uncrossable in the sense that it was made so for Persians and Indians by means of a treaty.³ Further come *Hrev* with *Vadgēs* (Bādghīs) and *Tukharstan*. Apparently in this country *Kozakan* were settled the captive Jews who, according to the scriptures, settled on the Gozan river”. It is noticeable that in this list, based on Persian sources, the enumeration follows a straight line from west to east (from Kūmish to the Oxus), whilst the last names (Herat, Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān) form an additional south-eastern zone. Consequently, there is some probability that *Gozbon*⁴ was situated between Gūzgān and the Oxus. As a parallel to the name, one can quote *Sang-bun* (§ 23, 64) and *Tunakābun*, which Rabino, *Mazandaran*, p. 153, explains as “under or below Tunakā”.

In any case, it would be natural to connect the frontier of Iran with the province of Gūzgān, since Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 64, 70, has shown that the eastern frontier of the Sāsānid empire “with few fluctuations” lay almost always near Ṭālaqān (“fast immer bei Ṭālakān”), see our § 23, 52, and in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 36, even

¹ Cf. the story in the *Qābūs-nāma* quoted above in § 1, p. 176.

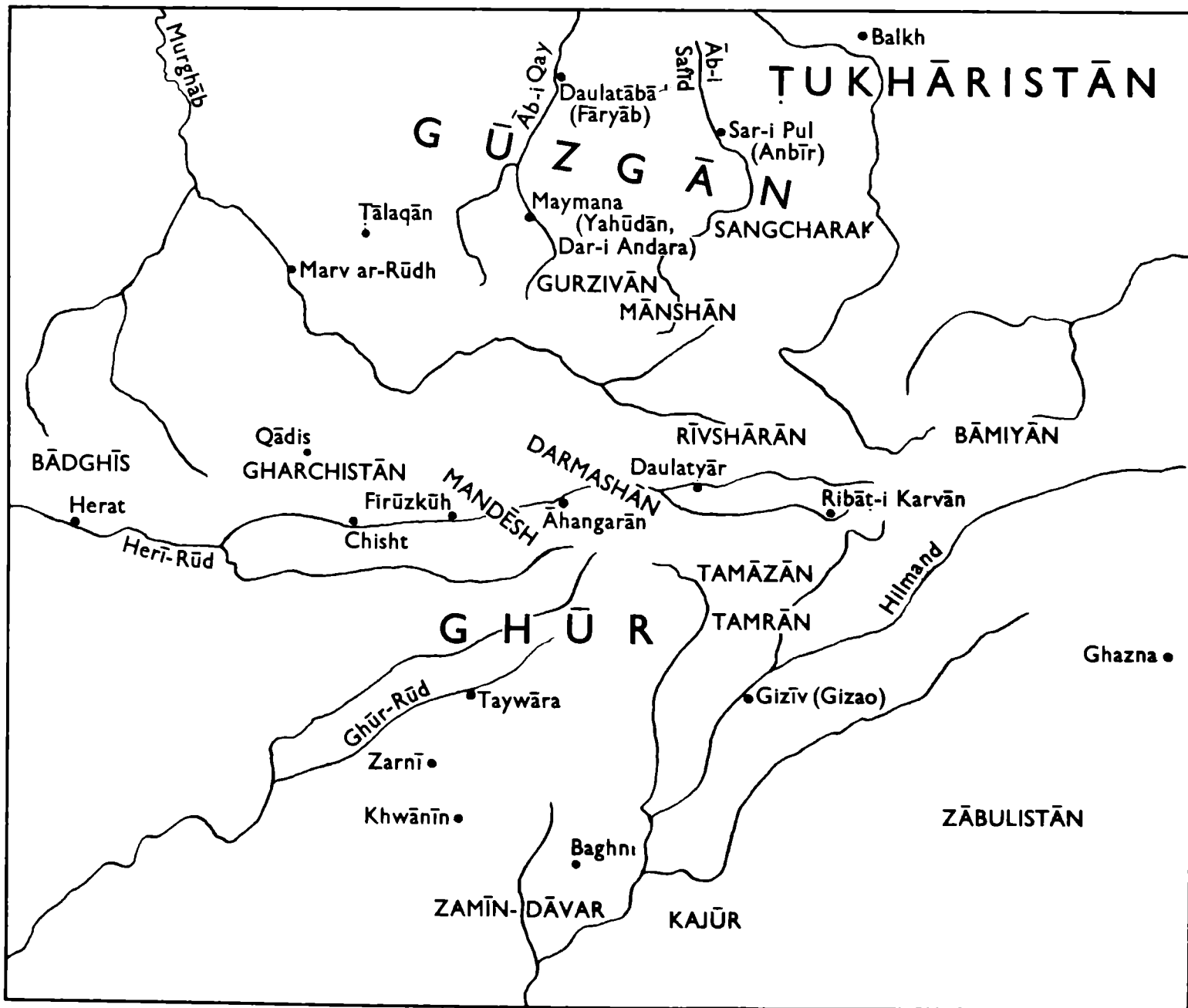
² This point is confused, see Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 153, but the order of enumeration is quite clear.

³ Apparently referring to the agreement between Manūchihr and Afrāsiyāb, who made the decision depend on Ārish's shot.

⁴ Forms found in the Armenian authors: *Gozbon*, *Kazbion*, *Gasbun*. The form *Gozbon*, which seems to correspond to the Persian *Gozbōn* (with long vowel) may have arisen under the influence of the neighbouring Babn, Baun > Bōn, the chief place of Ganj Rustāq (§ 23, 31), and later of the whole (?) of Bādghīs, see Yāqūt, i, p. 461.

Gūzgān itself is reckoned to Tūkhāristān. Of course, the "fourth quarter" of Khorāsān was Balkh on the right bank of the Oxus, but the actual frontier of Iran and Tūrān was the Oxus itself, difficult to cross, and it would be understandable to direct Ārish's arrow in the direction from which usually came the incursions from Central Asia into Iran, *i.e.* at the bend which the river makes when it turns northwards. Here, the threatened point was Marv, and it was natural to adapt the legend to the points lying directly to the east of Marv; and such an advanced point here could be situated within the confines of Gūzgān. Gozbūn, "the root of the walnut tree", was connected with the walnut groves of the district, which itself bore the name of "walnut grove" (*Gūz[a] gān).

It is true that Gozbon (var. Gozbun) comes in the Armenian geography at the very end of the list of the districts of Khorāsān, but the order of the list, although revised by Marquart in an article in the Jubilee issue of the Mekhitarist journal *Huschardzan* (Vienna 1911), with Stackelberg's remarks taken into account, still admits improvement. The province (*kust*) of Khorāsān consisted of 26 districts, but 27 names are mentioned in it. In order to equalise the count, Marquart excluded Mānsān or Mānshān, but now it should be restored in view of our § 23, 51. In his corrections of 1911, Marquart retained Mānsān, but sacrificed Katashān (or Kadman), which he merged with Herat (Hrev). The ancient name Katashān is evidently of ethnic origin. Already in Sasanian times, and possibly earlier, the warlike tribe of the Qadis or Kadish was settled in Mesopotamia to defend the western frontiers of Iran, where they gave their name, for instance, to Qādisiyya, where the Arabs defeated the Persians in 14/635. Much information on this people was collected by Nöldeke in his article in *ZDMG*, xx (1879), pp. 157–63 (on the Kadischäer). But a witness to the original habitat of the Kadisians is their "visiting card" left in northern Afghanistan in Gharchistān. These Kadisians doubtless formed an element of the Hephthalite confederation, and under Nīzak offered a stubborn resistance to the Arabs in 90–1/708–9. Today, the name Kadish survives as a place in the north of the Herat vilayet, to the east of the road to Maymana (see the administrative map of Afghanistan, 1340/1961). In all events, Kadish is both an historical and a geographical reality which it is difficult not to take into account. It even formed a Christian bishopric in Sasanian times, distinct from that of Herat. [On the Nestorian see of Qādīstān, and on Christian missionary activity amongst the local Hephthalites, see Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to*



the rise of the Šaffārids (30–250/651–864), Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome 1968), p. 9—C.E.B.]

If anything can be sacrificed in the list of districts of Khorāsān, it is Gozbun, added at the very end of the list. In the recorded toponymy there are no indications of it, and it is, indeed, a purely legendary term which was attached first to one place, then to another. It is possible that in the later Sasanian period, the legend of the arrow of Ārish was confused with the story of the spear which Spandiat, of the Vishtāsp family, drove into the ground as a challenge to the Turkish khans and Chionite chiefs, see the story on the founding of Balkh in the Pahlavi text of the history of Iranian cities.¹ The place where the arrow of the “Aryan archer” fell is thus quite illusory. At different epochs it was displaced from one spot to another, probably along the rivers serving as the main frontiers between the sedentary population and the nomads: along the lower course of the Herī-rūd (Tejen), along the Murghāb, and finally along the main water obstacle, the Oxus. Hence the varying indications on the proximity of Gozbun to these regions.

On p. 330 of the original edition of the *Hudūd*, a new combination of the paragraphs relating to Gūzgān should be substituted. It is now clear to me that, probably with some intention to stress the expansion of the dominions of his dedicatee, the author placed immediately after a general description of Gūzgān (situated primarily between the northern slopes of the Band-i Turkistān and the Oxus in the north-east, and thus forming a wedge between Marv and Balkh) the lands to the south over which the ruler of Gūzgān had spread his power, sc. those in the valley of the easternmost source of the Murghāb, in the valley of the Herī-rūd and even beyond the Kūh-i Bābā in the valleys of the upper course of the Hilmand. It is in these territories of Ghūr that the lands of the Gūzgān maliks bordered directly on the dominions of the first Ghaznavids. As a result, the districts dependent on the Gūzgān malik were inserted before the description of Gūzgān proper. Hence we have the following arrangement of paragraphs: (a) Gūzgān proper, § 23, 53–62, 66 (Haush); (b) expansion of Gūzgān into the basin of the river of Marv, § 23, 47, 64 and (c) further expansion southwards, § 23, 48–9 (Darmashān, Tamrān), 50 (Sārvān), 51 (Mānshān), 63 (Ribāt-i Karvān), 65 (Azīv).

The location of certain districts, especially of Tamrān and

¹ See Stackelberg, *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), p. 855, and Markwart-Messina, *Erānshahr* (Rome 1931), § 9 and commentary, pp. 45–53.

A catalogue of the provincial capitals of

Tamazān, must also be now altered in the light of the late André Maricq's travels in central Afghanistan in 1957, when he discovered the minaret of Jām, that remarkable monument of the later Ghūrid Sultan Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (558-99/1153-1203). Maricq travelled from Kabul across the sources of the Hilmand and the pass of Kirmān (our § 23, 63, Ribāṭ-i Karvān). He had at his disposal a British map (the $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, fol. i-iii) and an American map (USAF World Aeronautics Chart, fol. 430, ed. 1956), which were unavailable to me in 1937. On them, he found that the districts Timrān (sic) and Tamazān were shown in Ghūr in the Hilmand basin, approximately at the latitude of Kabul-Ghaznī. In his excellent report on the journey, he devoted an Appendix to the cartography of the region in question,¹ and on his Map 1 indicated the positions of Timrān and Tamazān. To the south-east of them he marked Gizāo on another source of the Hilmand. This last is undoubtedly identical with Gazīv (*Gizēv) which the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, p. 344, couples with Tamrān. In our text, § 23, 65, Azīv "situated at the end of the province of Guzgānān" must be restored as *Gizīv, and is identical with *Gizev, modern Gizāo; on Maricq's map this lies approximately on the latitude of Ghaznī. (See further on Tamrān and Tamazān, below.)

47. R.būshārān is an evident clerical error for Rīvshārān (*Rēvshārān). Place-names with the element *rēv* are numerous in eastern Iran; cf. Rīv, a ward of Samarqand; Rīvdād, a village to the south of that city (Barthold, *Turkestan*, English edition, pp. 88, 93, 102, 111). See also Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 27, where a personal name is restored as Rēv-Ardashēr.²

The position of the district is clear in our source. It must have lain on the south-eastern source of the Murghāb, the headwaters of which come close to the river of Bāmiyān (see Maricq's Map 1: the source of the Murghāb penetrates deeply to the east, with the main, southern wall separating Rīvshārān from the basin of the Herī-rūd). This eastwards extension explains why Rīvshārān is sometimes mentioned in the sources together with Bāmiyān; see the list of taxes collected by 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir in 211/826, in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 37, and cf. the list of titles on p. 40. The place

¹ A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des Sultans Ghorides (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris 1959), pp. 79-82.

² These facts show that **rēv* is here

a derivation not from the word *rīv/rēv* (?), explained in Persian dictionaries as "slyness", but from the Avestan *raēvā* > *rēv* "radiant, splendid" (I. Gershevitch).

Sang-bun, inconsistently mentioned under § 23, 64, also belonged to Rīvshārān.

At the end of the 10th century, Rīvshārān was subject to Gūzḡān and paid tribute, although apparently its ruler retained his traditional title, given by Ibn Khurdādhbih, of *Rīvshār, malik ar-Rīvshārān*. Here, the element *shār* is the same as that found in the titles of the rulers of Bāmiyān, Gharchistān and Khuttal, titles which Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 92, explained as a simplified form of Old Persian *xšāθriya*. Vacillations in the Arabic spellings between *shūr* and *shār* show that the title was actually pronounced *shēr* and equated with the meaning "lion" (translated into Arabic as *asad*). In the account in Ṭabarī, iii, p. 1875, of the seizure in 259/873 of the town of Ahwāz by the rebel Zanj, it is said that until then the town had been governed by a certain Aṣghajūn (var. Aṣfajūr), whilst the chiefs of its garrison were apparently Khorāsānians: Nīzak; Harthama, known as Shār; and Ḥasan b. Ja'far, known as Rāvshār (*Rēvshār). In the 12th century, one Jalāl ad-Dīn Rīvshārī was Vizier to the Ghūrid sultan, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. p. 396.

A certain confusion in the identification of Rīvshārān might come from a quotation from Ibn Faqīh, absent in the *BGA* text, but given by Yāqūt, ii, p. 171, v, p. 146, from his own more complete copy. In this it is said that the Oxus (*nahr Balkh*) rises at a place called *Rīvshārān: "it is a mountain bordering on Sind, Hind (the Panjab) and Kabul, and from there issues a source which begins at a place 'Andamīn'. Marquart, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 228, showed that in regard to "the river of Balkh" of Ibn Faqīh, as quoted by Yāqūt, there was a possible confusion of the information on the sources of the main river Jayhūn (the Oxus, from which to Balkh, according to Ibn Faqīh, *BGA*, v, p. 324, there was a distance of twelve farsakhs) and on the source of the proper river of Balkh (the Dahās), and restored the name of the place from which the latter issues as *Ghundumīn. It is, however, more probable that Ibn Faqīh himself intended to describe the sources of the main river Jayhūn, lying much further to the east in the Lesser Pamir. In the more complete Mashhad MS. of Ibn Faqīh, f. 163a, it is indeed said that the Jayhūn (awkwardly called by him "the river of Balkh") "comes from the direction of the east (*min nāḥiyat al-mashriq*), from a place called Dīvshārān". This could literally mean "the falls of the dīvs or devils". Of course, it is easy to restore *dīv* as **rīv*, and in this case, one would have to take it merely for a place synonymous with our § 23, 47, lying on the sources of the Murghāb. One can add,

curiously enough, that a place Andamīn (now written without 'ayn) really does exist in the Lesser Pamir and includes the lake Chilāb (Turkish *Chaqmaqting*). The Afghan author Kūshkakī, Russian tr. p. 163, mentions especially that the stream of Andamīn is the source of the mighty Oxus.

Another complication about Rīvshārān is that Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, mentions this name much further to the south in the third climate. The MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 1997, f. 99b, gives the following co-ordinates:

255	Panjwāy	long. 93°5'	lat. 32°50'
256	Rīvshārān	long. 93°30'	lat. 33°20'
257	Ghaznīn	long. 94°20'	lat. 33°35'

Meanwhile, places neighbouring on our Rīvshārān are given in the fourth climate:

460	Herat	long. 88°40'	lat. 34°30'
467	Anbīr	long. 90°15'	lat. 36°35'
471	Balkh	long. 91°15'	lat. 36°41'

In A. Z. V. Togan's edition (Delhi, c. 1938-9), the name of the southern Rīvshārān is restored from other MSS. as *Irsārān (?), and it is said that it lies in Zābulistān (in the Brit. Mus. MS., in Rāvstīn?).

48. D.mr.shān (perhaps *V.rm.shān*?) seems to be not so much a geographical as a political unit, for on the one hand part of its waters belonged to the Murghāb basin, while on the other it bordered in the south on Zamīn-dāvar (§ 24, 12-15). This province had its own chief (*mihtar*), although it was divided into two zones, one dependent on Gūzgān and the other on Bust (§ 24, 9), *i.e.* coming within the Ghaznavids' sphere of influence. The part situated within the basin of the Murghāb probably formed an enclave between Rīvshārān and Gharchistān, or else it could have lain on one of the southern affluents of the upper Murghāb, *e.g.* on the river Shorak, from where the road to Āhangarān led southwards over the mountains (see commentary on § 24, 1).

Geographically, Darmashān must mainly have formed part of Ghūr, but as the ruler of the latter (who had become weakened in the 10th century) bore the title of Ghūr-Shāh, one assumes that the Darmashī-Shāh ruled over some autonomous province. The history of Ghūr is at this time very obscure. Judging from our main source, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, tr. pp. 312-16, there were two rival families in Ghūr. One of these claimed descent from Shanasp or Gushnasp, and had since Hārūn ar-Rashīd's time enjoyed princely status (*imārat*), whilst the other family, descended from Shīth (cf.

the biblical name Seth), held the military command (*pahlavānī*). The later powerful dynasty of Ghūrīd Sultans were from the first family, and the historian Jūzjānī had been brought up in the house of one of their princesses; this circumstance may have led the historian to play down the role of the descendants of Shīth in later times. [See further on these questions the article of Bosworth, "The early Islamic history of Ghūr", *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), pp. 116-33—C.E.B.]

As for the name of Darmashān, it could, like a number of other names beginning with *dar-*, be read as Dar-i Mashān "door, gate, gorge of Mashān". Though this interpretation would be somewhat restricting for a province stretching southwards over a number of passes. On the other hand, according to Jūzjānī, the Amir B.njī, of the principal dynasty in Ghūr (in Hārūn ar-Rashīd's time), was the son of Naharān, son of Varm.sh, son of Varm.shān, and it is possible that it is these last names that are reflected in the name of Darmashān, which should be restored as *Varmashān.

The ruler of this province in question is also mentioned under the title of *Darm.sh-bat* in the description of the campaign of the youthful Mas'ūd Ghaznavī against Ghūr in 411/1021, see Bayhaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād, pp. 116-19. Mas'ūd, who was at that time governor of Herat, was moving upstream along the right bank of the Herī-rūd, and at some point, situated to the east of Shīrvān (§ 23, 50) and to the west of "the old capital of Ghūr" (Āhangarān?) had to by-pass Jurwas where Darmash-bat was residing. The latter wanted to take up, as it were, a neutral position, but after Mas'ūd's successes sent gifts to him and evacuated all the places which he had seized within the limits of Gharchistān (see § 23, 36). This last detail seems to corroborate the above-mentioned indications of our author.

49. Tamrān and Tamāzān. In 1937, not having the most recent maps at my disposal, I sought to bring these districts too close to the original Gūzgān. A. Maricq, using the British map 1:253,440, found on it Timrān, Tamazān and Gizāo (our § 23, 65), situated fan-wise from north to south on the three sources of the Hilmand, *i.e.* considerably further south of the Herī-rūd basin and the Kūh-i Bābā range. These districts lie in the heart of Ghūr, on a longitude to the east of its present-day centre Taywāra, and on a latitude between those of Kabul and Ghaznī. From the unsystematic text of the *Hudūd* it was impossible to assume that the Farīghūnids could claim the allegiance of their petty vassals so far to the south. Evidently, in view of the weakening of the rulers of Ghūr, the

chiefs who bore the ancient titles of Tamrān-varanda and Tamāzān-varanda¹ sought the patronage of the strongest actual power.

Jūzjānī in 618/1221 personally visited Tamrān and Gizīv as a guest of the Sultan of Ghūr, when the Shanaspidi had already assumed power in the whole of this region (tr. p. 344). We can rely on this author when he says that Tamrān lay "within the spurs and neighbourhood of the highest peak of Ghūr, bearing the name of Ashk" (*ibid.*, p. 319).² On the British map of 1955 (1:1,000,000, sheet 430), based on the American aerial survey, there appears to the north of Gizāo, on one of the sources of the Hilmand, a height of 13,458 feet, which even though it is not the "highest" peak of Ghūr, may still fit the situation of Tamrān.

The family of the princes of Tamāzān no longer played an independent role in local history, but at least four maliks of Tamrān are mentioned amongst the suite of the 17th Sultan of Ghūr, Muḥammad b. Sām, who died in 599/1203. His son Maḥmūd (602-9/1205-12) was married to the daughter of the malik of Tamrān Tāj ad-Dīn and her son Sām became the 20th Sultan of Ghūr, cf. the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. pp. 390, 408.

The latest editor of the history, the Qandahārī 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, says in his extensive geographical commentary (Vol. ii [Lahore 1954], p. 806) that in 1326/1947 he had visited "Gizīv, Tamrān, Tamāzān and Kajūrān", but that the names of Tamrān and Tamāzān seem to have become forgotten locally. Ḥabībī thinks that under pressure from other tribes, the Tamrānīs moved to the west, where they now form the Taymurīs, located to the south-east of Herat. [In the second edition of Ḥabībī's text, Kabul 1341-3/1962-5, the note on Gizīv and Tamrān is on pp. 341-2 of Vol. ii—C.E.B.]

In 1962 I received from Kabul the map of the administrative divisions of Afghanistan (published already in 1337/1958). On it Gizao is marked within the district of Uruzgān, depending on Qandahār, and Tamazān is given within the district of Dāyakān, immediately to the north. Tamrān does not appear on the map, but it is possible that it, too, should be sought to the north of Dāyakān (see the map in H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan* [The Hague 1962]). On a similar map, dated 1340/1961, only Gizao is

¹ Of particular interest is the spelling of these names with the Arabic letter ج = β, an interlabial v, which is found in Khwārazmian texts and early Khorāsānian manuscripts, see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de*

la prose persane (Paris 1963), pp. 137-8.

² Var. *D.r.shk* (*Dar-i Ashk?). It is possible that the name Ashk reflects the Persian word for "fang", *yashk*; see the *Burhān-i qāṭi*, ed. Mo'in, iv, p. 2435.

mentioned, lying on the longest of the sources of the Hilmand which rises to the south of the Ghōrband, not far to the west of the Pagmash mountains near Kabul. According to Schurmann, the Taymurīs are now Tājik speakers.

50. Sārvān. This should in all probability be restored as *Shārvān, or better Shērvān, as the vacillating transcription between *alif* and *yā'* points to the Persian *ē* vowel. This district must correspond to the Shīrvān (*Shērvān) mentioned in Bayhaqī, ed. Morley, p. 128, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād, p. 115. The name probably meant "the place of [the prince of] Shēr", but in his report on Mas'ūd's Ghūr expedition of 411/1021, Bayhaqī uses it as a personal name. In five marches from Herat along the northern bank of the Herī-rūd, Mas'ūd arrived at Chisht and then at Ribāṭ-i Vazīr, the first fortified place against Ghūr, cf. Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, i, p. 363. Here Bū'l-Ḥasan of Ghūr and the apparently more powerful Shīrvān, whose province bordered on Gūzgān, joined him with their detachments. Together they besieged Jurwas, where resided Darmash-bat (see above, under § 23, 48), who had remained neutral. Mas'ūd successfully attacked the castle (Vay ?) which had formerly been the ruler of Ghūr's capital, and took it by storm. The expedition then returned from there, and the frightened Darmash-bat gave back to Mas'ūd the castles of Gharchistān which he had earlier seized.

One can conclude from this account, which still needs checking on the spot, that both the unnamed province of Bū'l-Ḥasan and that of Shīrvān lay to the west (north-west?) of Chisht, and that the possessions of Darmash-bat lay further to the east and bordered on Gharchistān.

All these details show the fragmentary character of the districts making up Ghūr, the fluctuations of frontiers and the patchiness of the separate principalities.

51. Mānshān. This is not mentioned in other Muslim sources, but it is possible that it corresponds to the district of Mansan mentioned by the Armenian Geography amongst the 26 provinces of Khorāsān (see Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 85, with corrections in *Huschardzan* [Vienna 1911], p. 301). Man-shan appears in the list of administrative subdivisions which the Chinese established on the eastern fringes of Khorāsān c. A.D. 660, see Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue* (St. Petersburg 1903), pp. 71, 268; here it forms a district of the kingdom of Hou-che-kien, a name which Chavannes explains as Khujikān = Jūzjān (better Gūzgān, V. M.). For the geographical orientation of Mānshān, the following indications

can serve: (1) it came up close to Dar-i Andar, where stood the camp of the ruler of Gūzgān, one farsakh from his capital Jahūdhān (§ 23, 53), and (2) within the limits of Mānshān there was a mountain lake (§ 3, 26) near Bastarāb. It can be assumed that this last name is reflected in the name of the western source of the river on which lies Sar-i Pul (the Safīd-rūd). On the British map of 1914 (1:1,000,000) this source is called Astar-āb (on the 1955 edition, this name is omitted). Mr. Mir Husayn Shāh of the University of Kabul (letter of 20th February 1963) kindly tells me that the lake is no more known on the aerial survey of the Ministry of Mines, but experts in geology (*zamīn-shināsī*) have confirmed the existence on this spot of a swamp, now dried up. My correspondent uses for this swamp or lake the term of Indian origin *jhīl*, and in the Russian-Afghan dictionary *jihīl* is given as the equivalent for "lake". The disappearance of a mountain lake may be a useful parallel to our commentary on Daryāzha (§ 3, 25 and § 6, 23).

It seems that c. A.D. 982 Mānshān was of no great size, but on the road up the Herīrūd the Arabic geographers (Iṣṭakhri, p. 363, Ibn Hauqal, ed. Kramers, p. 457, Maqdisī, p. 349) mention at four stages from Herat the not quite clearly vocalized Astarābiyān, which could perhaps be a trace of the former spread of the Mānshān possessions to the south (or simply a settlement from Astar-āb?). The administration of Mānshān was taken over by Gūzgān, but our author also mentions the title of the local princeling.

56. Gurzivān. The name is known to this day on the maps: *Darzāb va Gurzivān*. In this district rises the river which is now called Shirīn-tagāb, on which, further downstream, lie Fāryāb and Andkhoy. Within Gurzivān, on the eastern bank of the river, is marked the place Shahr-i vīrān "the ruined city", although Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that this region lacks water in summer. To the south is situated the central part of the Māk valley and Mānshān, see below, p. 334, commentary on § 23, 51.

In Arabic sources, the name is given as Jurzvān or Kurzvān (both variants given by Yāqūt, apparently from different sources).¹ The form Gurz-vān is evidently of ethnic origin and means "dwelling of Gurz". The term *Gurz/Gurj* (where *-z/-j* is a suffix of origin) is

¹ Still puzzling is the transcription of Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, p. 287: مرزمان, which de Goeje restored as Qurzumān, which is doubtful. It is even possible that the first letter, written without dots, was taken from an old Khorā-

sānian source that had initial ج, cf. § 23, 49, yielding *V.rz.mān*. To the element *-mān* there corresponds in other sources the synonymous *-vān* "house, dwelling".

known as designating the Georgians,¹ but it is somewhat difficult to imagine a colony of Transcaucasians, about which nothing is known, settled in Afghanistan already in the 10th century. Another suggestion is, however, possible. During their penetration of India, the Arabs used the term *ḡurz* as early as the 7th century to designate the Gurjara dynasty which ruled in Qannauj. The origins of this dynasty are obscure, but V. Smith thought that the Gurjara (the present-day Gurjarajah) were a "Central Asian tribe" who appeared in India about the time of the Hephthalite invasions (sc. in the 4th or 5th centuries A.D.).² All the northern slopes of the Paropamisus were, according to the terminology of such an eminent Arabic geographer as Maqdisī, called *Haiṭal* (better **Habṭal*), the "land of the Hephthalites", a name which has probably been preserved in that of the district of Yaftal to the north of Fayzābād. Whatever may be the explanation of the Indian form *Gurjara*, the Muslim form *ḡurz*/*Gurz* (see above, § 10, 46; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 442; etc.) could on equal grounds have been used to the north of the Hindu Kush and the Paropamisus.

Gurzivān, the earlier capital of Gūzḡān, lay to the east of Bādghīs, the last principality of the Hephthalites, whose chief Nīzak was in 91/709 captured by Qutaiba (see above, commentary on § 23, 71). The place where Nīzak at last surrendered was called *al-K.rj*, which gives a form close to that of *Gurz*. It should be sought near the Salang pass, where Soviet engineers have built a tunnel through the Hindu Kush. As the crow flies, Gurzivān lies less than 200 km. from Kadis, the centre of the Hephthalite principality.

It is not out of place here to mention that in the description of the Paropamisus, § 5, 9 BC, our author strangely says that the range runs "between Kundarm and Anbīr, between Ġurzivān and Jahūdhān", etc. The only possible explanation is that the author does not speak of the watershed between the pairs of names quoted, but of the foot of the mountain separating the plains from the hilly country.

63. Ribāṭ-i Karvān.³ In my original commentary, the mistake in the location of Tamrān and Tamāzān (§ 23, 49) affects also the position of this place, which I had sought near the watershed of the

¹ Cf. the villages Gurjī-vān and Kurdi-vān in the basin of the river Ak-su in Shirvān (now the Azerbaijan S.S.R.).

² V. Smith, *Early history of India* (Oxford 1924), p. 304; La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes* (Paris

1935), p. 115; B. N. Puri, *The history of the Gurjara-Pratiharas* (Bombay 1953), pp. 2-14.

³ ? Kirvān. *Kirv* means a "hollow, decayed tooth"; possibly this conceals some hint at the character of the local mountain landscape.

Herī-rūd and the river of Balkh. This is only partly correct, as Ribāṭ-i Karvān lies at the pass between the Herī-rūd and the Hilmand, somewhat to the south of the watershed with the river of Balkh, so that the latter river skirts the northern limits of Ribāṭ-i Karvān. Tamrān and Tamāzān, on the other hand, lie within the upper Hilmand basin and skirt the southern limits of Ribāṭ-i Karvān. It is accordingly clear that the district lay on the direct route Herat-Kabul which goes up to the Herī-rūd, across the Bābā Kūh, enters the region of the Hilmand headwaters and then the Kabul river basin. Ribāṭ-i Karvān is the last point of the Herī-rūd basin from where a pass leads to the Hilmand. A description of this road is given in the book of Vavilov and Bukinin, *Agricultural Afghanistan* (1929), p. 506; cf. also the anonymous German itinerary, quoted by Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 168. This place is now called, with a slight phonetic alteration Rabāt-Kirmān. Ribāṭ-i Karvān is mentioned by the geographers (Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 265, 272; Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, p. 444) as "the extreme eastern limit of Ghūr" belonging to Gūzgān. The pathetic letter of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ūd, in which he informed Arslan Khan of his defeat at the hands of the Seljuqs, was written from Ribāṭ-i Karvān. The Sultan was retreating through Ghūr to the capital Ghazna, to reach which seven more stages were required, see Bayhaqī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, p. 630. Forty years ago, crowded gatherings of Afghan tribesmen still took place at Rabāt-Kirmān, see *Jnal. of the Royal Central Asian Society* (1954), No. 1, p. 50.

§ 25, 91 (p. 119). DHARNUKH (?) is apparently to be identified with Het'um's Zurnukh, the Zarnuq or Zurnuq of Juvaynī and the *Zafar-nāma*, the last stage before the bank of the 'Syr Darya in Timūr's march from Samarqand to Uṭrār. See Boyle in *Central Asiatic Journal*, ix (1964), p. 184 and n. 75.

§ 42, 1 (p. 156). Amongst the Byzantine "themes", the least readily identifiable name is that of the one including the capital Constantinople, sc. Ṭāblān and its numerous variants (see above, p. 421). In his note "Le thème byzantin de Taflā-tavlān", *La Nouvelle Clío*, iv (1952), pp. 388-91, H. Grégoire suggested a new etymology, i.e. "stables", referring to "la grande banlieue de Constantinople". Its initial s- may have been taken by such Arabs as Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī for the preposition *eis* "into" which has been preserved in names like Istanbul, Izmir, etc., but contrariwise, the basic s- may have been mistaken for the said particle and omitted as superfluous.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MS.

THE anonymous¹ geographical work called *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, i.e. "The Regions of the World",² was compiled in 372/982–3 and dedicated to the Amīr Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, of the local Farīghūnid dynasty which ruled in Gūzgānān in what is now northern Afghānistān (see notes to § 1 and § 23, 46.). The unique manuscript was copied in 656/1258 by Abul-Mu‘ayyad ‘Abd al-Qayyūm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Fārisī (v.i., p. 166). The same half-erased name appears on the title-page: *ṣāhibuhu³ kātibuhu al-‘abd al-mudhnib al-muḥtāj ilā raḥmati’llāhi ta’ālā Abul-Mu . . . ‘Abd al- . . . ūm ibn . . . yn ibn ‘Alī al-Fārisī . . .*

The MS. consists of 39 folios measuring 28 × 18 cm., while the size of the written text (within ruled frame) is 20 × 13 cm. Each page has 23 extremely regular lines written in good and personal *naskh-thulth* script. The paper is of *khānbāliq* description.

On the whole the text is very well preserved. Ff. 28 and 29 are slightly damaged. The lower part of f. 39 (viz., half of the lines 17–23) has been torn, so that not only the text relating to the African countries but the colophon, too, has greatly suffered. The text begins on f. 1b. The title-page (f. 1a) is occupied by the title of the book, by some mediocre verses in the same hand, but having no relation to the text, and by some later entries of no interest. Marginal notes which are found on ff. 19b, 20a, 22b and 30a, have no great importance [cf. Appendix A].

The *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* forms only one part of a bound volume of which all the folios are of the same size (28 × 18 cm.). It contains:

a. The geographical treatise *Jihān-nāma* (ff. 1b–27a) by Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān⁴, copied by ‘Ibād-allāh Mas‘ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn-Mas‘ūd al-Kirmānī on 28 Ramaḍān 663 (14 July 1267).

¹ On the author cf. p. xii; he was a sunnī, cf. pp. 375, 392.

² v.i., p. 30. The word *hudūd* (properly 'boundaries') in our case evidently refers to the 'regions within definite boundaries' into which the world is divided in the *H.-‘Ā.*, the author indicating with special care the frontiers of each one of these areas, v.i., p. 30. [As I use the word "region" mostly for

nāhiyat it would have been better, perhaps, to translate *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* as "The limited areas of the World".]

³ Certainly in the sense of 'possessor' and not in that of 'author', as confirmed by the colophon of the *Jāmi‘ al-‘ulūm*, v.i., p. viii.

⁴ Cf. Rieu, *Catalogue Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.* i, 423; Bibl. Nationale, anc. fonds persan, 324.

b. A short treatise on Music (ff. 27b–28b) by Ustādh 'Ajab al-Zamān bul-Ustādh-Khorāsān Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad Nishāpūrī.

c. *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above).

d. The well known encyclopedia *ġāmi' al-'Ulūm* (ff. 1–50)¹ by Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) with the colophon: *waqa'a al-firāgh min tahrīrihi yaum al-jum'a lil-sādis wal-'ishrin min jumādā al-ūlā sana thamānī wa khamsin wa sitta-mi'a 'ala yadī. Ad'afu 'ibād allāh wa ahqaruhum Abul-Mu'ayyad 'Abd al-Qayyūm b. al-Husayn(?)*

b. 'Alī. Consequently this work, too, was copied by the scribe of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* on Friday, 26 Jumādā al-ūlā 658 (Thursday² 10 June 1259). He must have been an eager student to transcribe in his careful regular hand a series of important works for his personal library at the momentous epoch when the Mongol invaders were exterminating the Assassins, destroying the Baghdād Caliphate and remodelling the administration of Persia!³

2. DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION OF THE *H.-'A.*

The discovery and publication of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* have a long history not devoid of romance.

The Russian orientalist, Captain (later Major-General) A. G. Toumansky, was a great friend of the Bahā'īs whom he first met in Askhabad in 1890. He eagerly studied their religious literature⁴ and rendered some signal services to the thriving Bahā'ī colony established in the Russian Transcaspian province, for example at the time when the first temple of the new religion (*mashriq al-adhkār*) was being built in Askhabad.

Probably through Baron V. Rosen, who was his teacher, or through Barthold, who then was at the beginning of his scientific career, Toumansky heard of the interest of Ulugh-beg's lost work *Ulūs-i arba'a* and made a search for it through his Persian friends. The importance of Bukhārā as a market for rare manuscripts was fully realized only after 1900 when special expeditions were sent there by the Russian Academy, yet even before that time it was natural to turn one's attention towards that Muslim centre. Toumansky

¹ Probably composed in 574/1178, cf. Rieu, *Supplément*, p. 102 (Or. 2972 contains 188 folios each side being of 17 lines).

² Thursday evening is called in Persia *shab-i jum'a* and considered as the beginning of Friday.

³ The data on the manuscript are partly borrowed from Toumansky's article (*v.i.*, p. ix, n. 2) and partly based on the notes personally taken in Paris in 1921.

⁴ See his edition of the *Kitāb-i aqdas*, SPb. 1899 (*Mémoires de l'Académie des*

availed himself of the occasional visits to Bukhārā of the learned Bahā'ī of Samarqand Mīrzā Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī who soon after, in a letter in Persian dated 2 Rabī' II, 1310 = 25 October 1892, reported as follows: "During my stay in Bukhārā all my efforts to find the *Ulūs-i arba'a* proved unsuccessful but I have found an ancient bound book which is very good and contains four treatises of which the first has geographical contents and formed a Preface to a Map (*muqaddama-yi naqsha būda*); the second, composed 943 years ago and copied 808 years ago, is also geographical and mentions the names of towns which now are absolutely unknown; the third treats of Music, and is short; the fourth is the *Ĵāmi' al-'ulūm* of Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī." When, in 1893, Toumansky joined Mīrzā Abul-Faḍl in Bukhārā, his Persian friend made him a present of his find "on condition that it should be edited and not be lost for science".

A journey to Persia and the vicissitudes of a military career made it impossible for Toumansky to publish the manuscript immediately but in an article which appeared in 1896² he explained the circumstances which led to the discovery of the *H.-'Ā.*, gave its description (date, colophon, dedication to the Farighūnid ruler Abul-Hārith, complete table of contents &c.), and, as a sample of the text, published the Persian original and a Russian translation of the chapters on the "Christianized Slavs", the Slavs, and the Rūs (ff. 37a-38a), with a short commentary.

Toumansky reserved the right of final publication of the MS., or more precisely, of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, but in spite of some preparatory work done by him,³ was unfortunately unable to carry out his intention during his lifetime.

Sciences, t. viii, No. 6) and his articles in the *Zap. Vost. Otd.*: *The two latest "lauh" of the Bābis*, vol. vi, 1896, pp. 314-21, *Bahā'ullāh's last words*, vol. vii, 1892, pp. 193-203; *The author of the history known under the name of "Tārikh-i Manukchī," or "Tārikh-i Jadīd"*, vol. viii, 1893, pp. 33-45. Toumansky maintained a correspondence on the subject of their mutual interest with E. G. Browne, see the latter's *Tārikh-i jadīd*, pp. xxxiii, lii and passim, and the review of the *Kitāb-i aqdas* in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 354-7. Among Toumansky's other works may be quoted: *Note on the Kitāb-i Qorqud*, in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, vol. ix, 1895, pp. 268-72; the interesting report on his journey in Persia *From the Caspian sea to the Hormuz strait in 1894*,

SPb. 1896; a translation of Abul-Ghāzī's *Pedigree of the Turkomans*, Askhabad 1897; *A survey of the vilāyats of Erzerum and Bitlis*, Tiflis 1909; *The Arabic language and Caucasian studies*, Tiflis 1911.

¹ On Mīrzā Abul Faḍl see E. G. Browne's *Tārikh-i jadīd*, Index.

² *Zapiski Vost. Otd.*, x, 1896 (printed in 1897), pp. 121-37: *The newly discovered Persian geographer of the 10th century and his reports on the Slavs and the Rus.* In the same number of the *Zapiski* appeared the text of Barthold's opening lecture at the St. Petersburg University, held on 8 April 1896.

³ So I was informed by Mme. Toumansky. In fact he published only the fragments on Samarqand (in the Russian

With the owner's permission a photograph of the manuscript was taken in St. Petersburg in 1894, and Baron V. R. Rosen copied the whole of the text with his own hand. Both the photograph and the copy were left in the possession of the Musée Asiatique of the Russian Academy and Toumansky very liberally allowed other Russian scholars to make use of single passages having special interest to them. V. A. Zhukovsky was thus able to utilize the passage relative to Marv in his standard description of that province (see note to § 23, 37.). V. V. Barthold quoted extensively from the *H.-'Ā* in his early *Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia* (1897), then in his famous *Turkestan* (1900), in his *History of Irrigation in Turkestan* (1914), and occasionally in many other of his books and articles.¹ After Toumansky's death he published the fragment on Tibet (see notes to § 11) and summarized the contents of the chapter on Gilān (see notes to § 32, 35.).

Nevertheless, in Western Europe very little was known about the *H.-'Ā*, and J. Marquart who had access only to the quotations found in Toumansky's article (*ZVO*, 1896), in Barthold's *Report*, and in Westberg's *Beiträge* (*v.i.* p. 427), several times expressed his regret that the MS. still remained unpublished.²

On 13 December 1921 in a Russian paper edited in Paris I published an obituary notice of the head of the Bahā'ī community 'Abbās Efendi (d. in Haifa, 28 November 1921). In it I mentioned both E. G. Browne's and A. G. Toumansky's close connexion with the representatives of the faith preached by the Bāb and the Bahā'-allāh. My article happened to be read in Constantinople by Madame Toumansky who hastened to communicate to me the sad news of her husband's death (in Constantinople, 1 December 1920) asking me in the meantime for advice as to his MSS. which remained in her possession and with which, in view of the circumstances, she was obliged to part. The *H.-'Ā* was among them, and soon after the precious MS. was on my desk in Paris. Madame Toumansky fully realized the intense interest taken in Russia in the *H.-'Ā* and the amount of work already done on it. I offered to communicate with the Leningrad Academy, and when a favourable answer came, through the late S. F. Oldenburg (d. 28. ii. 1934), she most generously agreed to repatriate the MS. to Russia, though more advantageous conditions could have been obtained elsewhere.

paper *Okraina*, 2 May 1893) and on the Burtās-Barādhās (as a supplement to A. V. Markov, *Russo-Morduan relations*, Tiflis 1914, *v.i.*, p. 462).

¹ Cf. p. 169.

² See for instance *Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. xxx-xxxi, 172, note 4; *Komanen*, 1914, p. 37.

Some time later we had the satisfaction of hearing that the publication of the *H.-'Ā.* was being undertaken by V. V. Barthold. By March 1930 the plates reproducing the 78 pages of the original, as well as 32 pages of *Preface* and 11 pages of *Index*, were printed, but for some technical reasons the publication of the book met with delay. On 18 August 1931 Barthold wrote to me that the difficulties were being overcome, but this letter reached me in London an hour after I had read in *The Times* the two lines which came like a blow, announcing the death of the great historian on August 19.

Barthold had not the satisfaction of seeing in final form the work which had been a companion of all his scientific life. The now posthumous book appeared in the editions of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. under the title: Худūd ал-'āлем. Рукопись Туманского. С введением и указателем В. Бартольда. Ленинград 1930.

3. THE TRANSLATOR'S TASK

In the concluding words of his *Preface* (*v.i.* p. 32) Barthold says that his chief reason for abandoning the idea of giving a complete translation of the manuscript was the "great number of geographical names, of which the reading remains unknown". Probably for the same reason the text was not printed but photographically reproduced. As regards the Persian original, such a procedure can only meet with our full approval, for the risks of publishing such a complicated text from a single manuscript would be too great, and a printed text would never replace the paleographically very important original in doubtful places.¹ As already mentioned the MS. is written in a script clear enough and yet in some places presenting considerable difficulties. Barthold (letter of 5. iii. 1930) was ready to admit with regard to the photographic reproduction of the MS. that "it would not be an edition in the proper sense, and orientalists who had no great experience in the reading of Muslim MSS. would feel disappointed". In such circumstances, many people interested principally in the geographical contents of the book were likely to be hampered by the character of the script, while Barthold's *Preface*, though extremely valuable, is far from exhausting the problems raised by the text.

I have decided therefore to take a resolute step in rendering this

¹ Lately Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Tehrānī has, more or less successfully, printed the text of the *H.-'Ā.*, together with that of Part III of the *Tārīkh-i Jihān-gushā*, as an annex (!) to his *Calendar*

(*gāh-nāma*) for the Persian year 1314 (= A.H. 1353-4 = A.D. 1935), Tehran 1352. The *H.-'Ā.* occupies pages 1-114 and on pp. 115-49 Barthold's *Index* is reproduced.

important tenth-century text more accessible to the public, by translating the whole of the Persian original and by supplementing it with a translation of Barthold's Russian *Preface* and with my own detailed commentary.¹ Lacunae and uncertainties are inevitable in such an enterprise, but only the sieve of translation is capable of separating what is clear from what remains doubtful. I only hope that my work will stimulate a further examination of the respective chapters by Turcologists, Indianists, Byzantologists, and other specialists.

The present book comprises the following parts:

1. A translation of V. V. Barthold's Russian *Preface*.
2. A complete translation of the Persian text of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*.
3. My commentary on the text, disposed in the order of the chapters.
4. Appendices containing remarks on the marginal notes, the language of the *H.-'Ā.*, &c., as well as a *Glossary* of the rare and less usual words and expressions.²

5. A Romanized *Index* based on my translation and consequently differing in a number of transcriptions from Barthold's *Index* (in Arabic characters). It also serves my Commentary.

My translation of the *H.-'Ā.* (Part II) follows the Persian text strictly and literally. I do not even say "wood" when the original speaks of "trees". In a unique manuscript of one of the earliest prose works of Persian literature,³ older than the *Shāh-nāma*, every word and turn of phrase is interesting and I have made a very liberal use of Romanized quotations with the double object of elucidating the difficult and doubtful readings and of affording a means of control.

¹ P. Pelliot in his note on Barthold's edition of the *H.-'Ā.* in *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, No. 1, p. 133, writes: "Puisque l'ouvrage est enfin accessible il faut espérer qu'un iraniste donnera en caractères typographiques une édition critique des sections concernant l'Asie Centrale et Orientale, et lui adjoindra une traduction annotée."

² [For some imperious material reasons only the Appendix on the marginal notes could be incorporated in the present volume. The rest will be published as an article in the *Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*. Cf. however, even now Index E.]

³ The ancient Preface to the *Book of Kings*, 346/957; Bal'ami's translation of Ṭabari's *History*, 352/963; translation of Ṭabari's *Commentary* on the Qor'ān by a group of Transoxanian scholars,

under Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ who reigned 350-65/961-75, mentioned in Muḥammad Qazvīnī's Preface to *Marzubān-nāma*, p. ۲ [cf. also E. G. Browne's description of another very archaic *Commentary* in the Cambridge University Library, *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 417-524]; Abū Naṣr Ḥasan b. 'Alī Qumī, *Kitāb-i mudhkil dar 'ilm-i nujūm*, 365/975, see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis d. arab. Handschr.*, Berlin, 1893, v, 149, No. 5663 [I owe the reference to my friend S. H. Taqi-zadeh]; the first edition of the *Shāh-nāma*, 384/994. As Shaykh Muḥammad Qazvīnī tells me (30.vi. 1936), Abū Maṣṣūr Muvaffaq al-dīn 'Alī Haravī's *Kitāb al-adwiya* can hardly pretend to the same antiquity, for the scribe's entry on the back of the book suggests that the author was still alive in 447/1055.

Practically all the rarer words and expressions figure in my translation.

I have numbered all the chapters of the *H.-'Ā*. (§§ 1-61), and, within every single chapter, all the separate items which in the original appear in red ink (these latter numbers being followed by a dot: 1. 2. 3., &c.). This system of chapter and verse has proved of great convenience for quotations and cross-references.

4. THE COMMENTARY: EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT

The object of my Commentary (Part III) is twofold: (a) to explain the text by identifying the places and names mentioned in it, and (b) to ascertain the sources of the book.

My explanation of the less interesting chapters, such as the middle zone of Islām (§§ 27-31 and 33-4, cf. p. 223) is very brief and only checks the names, locates the places, and gives the immediate parallels. On the contrary, whenever the text contains traces of some new information I have done my utmost to elucidate the question in the light of all accessible data, using by preference the sources contemporary with, and older than the *H.-'Ā*. Of the slightly younger works I constantly quote Bīrūnī (inclusive of his *Canon*, Br. Mus. Or. 1997), Gardīzī (containing a number of invaluable parallels to the *H.-'Ā*.) and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī. Having myself experienced great difficulties in finding the explanations of the names and facts relating to territories as different as China and Spain, India and the Volga Bulghārs, I could not help bearing in mind the interests of the readers who cannot be satisfied with mere references to doubtful passages in the sources and to little accessible works. Therefore at the beginning of the chapters (especially those on India, China, Tibet, the Turks, the Caucasus, and Eastern Europe) I have not only prefixed brief indications of authorities and literature, but summed up the present-day situation of the question, comprising tentative hypotheses and doubtful points, and have made my personal suggestions supplementing or modifying my predecessors' views. Though my definite object has been to comment on the particular geographical work written in A.D. 982 and conspicuous for its well-balanced brevity, my commentary may eventually prove of more general utility as covering the whole field of the *Orbis Terrarum Musulmanis notus*¹ and making

¹ Le Strange's excellent book *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, describes only the countries between Asia Minor and Transoxiana; P. Schwarz's amazingly full *Iran im Mittelalter* (in progress since 1896), covers

only Persia. See my reviews of these books *resp.* in *BSOS*, vi/3, 1931, pp. 802-3, and *Journ. As.*, July 1932, pp. 175-9. For the rest of the lands the information is very scattered. It is to be hoped that a translation of the *BGA*

a point of referring to the special sources and to recent investigations.¹ I have used notes and references very liberally in order to show respect for my predecessors' opinions and to lay stress on the great fellowship of the living and dead by whose efforts the fabric of our knowledge has been reared.

In studying the *H.-'Ā.* and in preparing the Commentary it has been my particular endeavour not to lose sight of geographic realities. I hope that my sketch maps illustrating the less known regions will be found useful by all those who like myself had to toil through the wonderful works of Barthold² and Marquart,³ unaccompanied by such graphic aids. I take this occasion to say in pious gratitude what I owe to these two great scholars who by their contributions (so different in method, yet equally admirable as results) have shed light on numberless points of Muslim historical geography.

5. THE COMMENTARY: THE SOURCES OF THE *H.-'Ā.*

The second object of the commentary has been to ascertain the sources of the *H.-'Ā.* Our geographer was evidently but a "cabinet scholar" and not a traveller. Only in the description of Gūzgānān (§ 23, 47.), and maybe of Gīlān (§ 32, 24.-5.), does the text reflect some personal experience. For the rest, the information evidently depends on other people's materials, which seem to have been of two classes, *viz.* books,⁴ and any other information coming under the rubrics of *yādhkird-i ḥakīmān* "memories of the sages" (f. 2a₂),⁵ *akhbār* "information [heard]" (cf. f. 13b₃: *ba-akhbār-hā ba-shanīdim*), or simply *dhikr* "mention" (f. 12a₂). There is no indication in the text as to which particular details were derived from non-literary sources, unless we

carried out, on the initiative of G. Ferland, by a group of French Arabists, will see the light before long.

¹ Comprising works in Russian, very insufficiently known in Western Europe. [On the as yet unedited sources cf. p. 480.]

² Barthold's (15.xi.1869-19.viii.1930) bibliography comprises over 300 titles of books and articles. See Urniakov, *V. V. Barthold, on the occasion of the 30th year of his professorship* (in Russian) in *Bulletin de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale*, 1926, No. 14, pp. 175-202; Milius Dostoyevsky, *W. Barthold zum Gedächtnis*, in *Die Welt des Islam*, xii, Heft 3, 1931, pp. 89-135; Th. Menzel, *Versuch einer Barthold-Bibliographie*, in *Der Islam*, xxi (1933), pp.

236-42, xxii 2 (1934), pp. 144-61.

³ See V. Minorsky, *Essai de bibliographie de J. Markwart [Marquart]* (9.vii.1864-4.ii.1930), in *Journal Asiatique*, October 1930, t. ccxvii, pp. 313-24 [where the obituary and bibliographic notices by G. Messina, H. H. Schaeder, &c. are quoted].

⁴ *Kitāb-hā-yi pīshinagān* "books of the predecessors", folios 2a₁ and 13b₃; or simply "books", folios 4a₁₀, 9a₉ (concerning the Kuchā river). Under 11b₁₈ *kitāb-hā va akhbār-hā* are clearly distinguished.

⁵ I see that the reading *yādhkird* has been accepted also in the text of the *H.-'Ā.* printed in Tehrān, p. 4 (contrary to Barthold, *v.i.*, p. 31, note 1).

include in this category the above-mentioned details regarding Gūzgānān and Gīlān.

Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī (v.s., p. ix) made an interesting suggestion in taking the *H.-'A.* for "a Preface to a Map". In several passages, in fact (folios 5b₁₁, 8b₁₀, 25b₁₃, 33b₁₆, 37a₁₅), our author mentions a Map prepared by himself, which was certainly more than a simple illustration of the text. We know, for example, that on it were shown the stages between Rukhud and Multān (v.i., p. 121) of which there is no mention in the text. A close scrutiny of the text has convinced me that in numerous places the peculiar order of enumeration is a result of "reading off the Map",¹ often without any regard for the natural divisions of territories, ranges of mountains, watersheds and roads.² This discovery has facilitated the explanation of numerous passages in the text. It appears then that the Map was compiled before the text, and if so, we cannot help inferring that the author worked on the basis of some previous MAP which we must consider as one of the important sources for his compilation. In his Preface (v.i., p. 18, note 5) Barthold suggests that Balkhī's book may have been only an explanation of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin's maps. The latter (in a more or less modified³ form) may have been worked upon by our author as well.

The improvement due to him personally seems to be in the first place a clearer division of the chart into "limited areas" with rigorously indicated frontiers, as recapitulated in the description of each single country. Even the title of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* indicates the importance which our author attached to this task. In the better known countries the problem presented no difficulty, though in the eastern region beginning with Khorāsān the bearings⁴ usually show some error, mostly as if the author took the north-east or east for the north (cf. notes to §§ 7, 4., 12 [p. 270], 17, 23, 24, 25, 48, &c.). This is a common mistake with Muslim geographers, cf. Iṣṭ., 253, quoted on p. 351, and may be partly due to the difference between the places where the sun rises and goes down in summer and in winter.⁵

¹ A striking example is offered by the themes of the Byzantine empire, v.i., p. 420, line 32.

² V.i., pp. 239, 338, 376, 392 (§ 33, 11.), 394, 414 (especially § 38, 15.). On the contrary in some places the enumeration follows the roads, as quite clearly appears from a comparison with Gardizī's parallels, v.i. p. 229, 260; cf. also pp. 251, 289, 293, 363, 380, 382, 391. [Cf. Index E: *Map*.]

³ By Iṣṭakhri, at least in such regions as Fārs? Cf. I.H., 236 [V.i. p. 381, l. 16.]

⁴ Cf. Index E: *bearings*.

⁵ Reinaud, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, i, (Introduction générale), pp. cxcii-iii: "Les Arabes, pour désigner le sud-est, disent quelquefois *l'orient d'hiver*, et pour indiquer le nord-est, *l'orient d'été*; de même, pour marquer le nord-ouest, ils se servent des mots *occident d'été*, et pour dire le sud-ouest d'*occident d'hiver*." Cf. the *Qor'ān*, lv, 16, where the "two Orientals" and "two Occidentals" are mentioned. [V.i. p. 285, l. 4: *mashriq-i sayfi*.]

Perhaps also the confusion of the *qibla* with the south, natural in the Middle East but very misleading farther east, accounts for the irregularities in our text.¹ In the less-known territories, the author would have been wiser not to have tried to be too precise and to have left due latitude to the imagination. He, however, wanted to force his data into map form and this is the reason of such blunders as his location of the *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* explained in the notes to §§ 46 and 53, as well as of his vagaries about the Pechenegs and Qipchaqs (§§ 20-1). He has fallen a victim to the desire for cartographic accuracy. Moreover, with the sole exception of the Pechenegs,² he did not distinguish between the historical moves of the tribes and the different forms of their names. This is particularly felt in the north-western corner of the Black Sea (see notes to § 22, § 42, 16. and 18. and §§ 45, 46, 53).

Whatever the influence of the Map on the Text, the latter, as it stands, certainly forms a complete description of the world known to the Muslims in the 10th century A.D. In spite of the vague references to the "books", *akhbār*, &c., the number of the original sources at the disposal of our author cannot have been considerable. We must certainly make due allowance for the fact that earlier data were transcribed by later authors, and not necessarily imagine, for example, that our author had a direct knowledge of Aristotle and Ptolemy (in Khuwārizmī's *rifacimento*?), who are the only authorities quoted by name (*resp.* fol. 2a *ult.*, 4a₂₀, and 5a₉).³ With this reservation, we may enumerate our author's more obvious authorities as follows:

(a) IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH, as appears from the paragraphs on China (§ 4, 9.), on Khūzistān (§ 30, 7. and 8.), on the Byzantine Empire (§ 42, as well as the points in §§ 3, 5, 6 mentioned on p. 419), on Nubia (§ 59), and the Sūdān (§ 60). Possibly the text of I.Kh. which was at our author's disposal was more complete than that reproduced in *BGA*, vi. As the names of the kings of Nubia and the Sūdān are quoted after I.Kh., one may surmise that other curious details on Africa (cf. §§ 59, 60) also belong to the same author (*v.i.*, p. 476, line 33). However, according to Maq., 41, I.Kh.'s work was sometimes confused with that of Jayhānī, and as the reason of this confusion was that Jayhānī incorporated I.Kh.'s data,⁴ it is quite possible that echoes from I.Kh. penetrated into the *H.-'Ā.* indirectly through Jayhānī.

¹ In § 4, 33. Sardinia is located to the south of *Rūmiya*. Has Sardinia been confused with Sicily?

² Cf. also § 13, 1., § 15, 12.-13.

³ Cf. also § 8, 5. "the Greeks".

⁴ Maq., 271: *idhā nazarta fī kitābi-'l-Jayhāniyyi wajadtahu qad ihtawā 'alā jamī'i aṣli Ibn Khurdādhbih.*

(b) Some unknown work which was also utilized by I. Rusta, Bakrī, Gardīzī, 'Aufī, &c.,¹ and which is usually identified with Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad JAYHĀNĪ's lost *Kitāb al-mamālik wal-masālik*.² The risk of exaggerating the importance of an unknown source is, of course, obvious and Barthold's cautious remarks, *v.i.*, p. 25, must be kept in mind. However, according to the additional passage in the Constantinople MS. of Maq., *BGA*, iii, 4, Jayhānī's work was in seven volumes and this great bulk made it possible for later authors to select from the book different details.³ This may be the explanation of the fact that the peoples *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* figure only in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī. The rare reports quoted by name in I. Rusta (*e.g.* Abū 'Abdillāh b. Ishāq on India, *v.i.*, pp. 235 and 241,⁴ and Hārūn b. Yaḥyā on the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans, *v.i.*, pp. 320, 419, 468) may have been originally collected by Jayhānī. Through him may have been transmitted even the echoes of Khuwārizmī⁵ and Sulaymān-the-Merchant,⁶ found sporadically in our text. Some of Jayhānī's written sources (Tamīm b. Baḥr's complete report?) may be responsible for the details about China which point to a time before the middle of the 9th century A.D. (*v.i.*, pp. 26 and 227).

Jayhānī's personal position gave him excellent opportunities for collecting independent intelligence. When during the minority of Naṣr b. Aḥmad he became vazīr (in 301/913-14) "he wrote letters to all the countries of the world and he requested that the customs of every court and *divān* should be written down and brought to him, such (as existed in) the Byzantine empire, Turkistān, Hindūstān, China, 'Irāq, Syria, Egypt, Zanj, Zābul, Kābul, Sind, and Arabia". After having examined the reports he retained for observance in Bukhārā whatever he found suitable, see Gardīzī-M. Nāẓim, pp. 28-9.

¹ Particularly with regard to Eastern Europe.

² On Jayhānī see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxi-xxxii and *passim*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 11-12, and *Preface*, *v.i.*, p. 23, cf. also S. Janicsek, *Al-Djaihānī's lost 'Kitāb al-Masālik wal-mamālik'. Is it to be found at Mashhad?* in *BSOS*, v/1, 1926, pp. 14-25. [We now know that the rumour about the discovery of Jayhānī's work in Mashhad was premature.]

³ According to the *Fihrist*, p. 154, Ibn al-Faḥīh "borrowed (data) from the books of various authors and plundered (*salakha*) Jayhānī's book." However I.F.'s text as published in *BGA*, v, has been of almost no use for the

explanation of the *H.-'Ā.* Cf. *infra*, p. 182, on *K.rkh* (**Karch?*), and p. 480.

⁴ Though some of his details seem to have been known to I.Kh., *v.i.*, p. 27, note 2.

⁵ Cf. note to § 6, 16. as well as the Ptolemaic data in § 3, 6. and 8., § 4, 1.-4., 18., 20.-3., 26., § 9, 12., several of which are also found in I. Rusta who was perhaps the earliest among those who made use of Jayhānī's book.

⁶ The relation of Sulaymān to I.Kh. is still obscure (*v.i.*, p. 236 *ult.*). In *T'oung-Pao*, 1922, pp. 399-413, Pelliot cast doubt on the authenticity of Sulaymān's travels.

Maq., pp. 3-4, says that Jayhānī "assembled foreigners, questioned them on the kingdoms, their revenues, the kind of roads leading to them, also on the height of the stars and the length of the shadows in their land, in order in this wise to facilitate the conquest of provinces, to know their revenues, &c. . . . He divided the world into seven climes¹ and assigned a star to each. Now he speaks of stars and geometry, anon of matters which are of no use to the mass of people, now he describes Indian idols, now he relates the wonders of Sind, now he enumerates taxes and revenues. I myself have seen that he mentions also little-known stations and far-distant halting-places. He does not enumerate provinces, nor forces, he does not describe towns. . . . On the other hand, he speaks of the roads to east, west, north, and south, together with a description of the plains, mountains, valleys, hillocks, forests, and rivers found thereon. Consequently the book is long, yet he neglected most of the military roads, as well as the description of the chief towns."² We may then attribute personally to Jayhānī many interesting items in our book on the Farther East³ and the Turkish tribes. The data on the Turks living round the Issik-kul (§ 12) reflect the complete disintegration of the former dominions of the Türgish, and even the latter's successors the Khallukh seem to be under pressure from the south by the Yaghmā (future Qarā-khānids). In some details we may even recognize traces of Jayhānī's interested curiosity to which Maq. alludes (cf. *infra*, p. 270). Some Arabic forms of names (§ 10, 45. and 46., § 15, 9., § 17, 1., § 42, 17.) may also be due to Jayhānī's original text.

(c) IṢṬAKHRĪ (<Balkhī) is without doubt the source most systematically utilized in the *H.-'Ā*. The chapters on the countries between the Indus and the Mediterranean are practically a mere abridgement of Iṣṭ., sometimes with a verbatim translation of details, *v.i.*, p. 21. For my commentary I first of all compared the text with *BGA*, i, and in cases of coincidence made no further references to parallel texts. As the names of places in Iranian and Caucasian regions have a distinctly iranized form⁴ one would infer that Iṣṭ. was used in a Persian translation. Several points in Central Asia have parallels only in Ibn Ḥauqal (*BGA*, ii) and Maqdisī (*BGA*, iii). However, our author could not have utilized I.H., as otherwise we should find in the *H.-'Ā*. traces of I.H.'s original chapters, such as those on Africa and Spain (cf. §§ 40 and 41). Probably, therefore, the addi-

¹ On this point our author totally disregards Jayhānī, for the only passing reference to a "clime" is found in our text in § 5, 2.

² Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 12.

³ Cf. the reference to the "books" with regard to the Kuchchā river, § 6, 4.

⁴ Cf. Index E.

tional items on Transoxiana, &c. existed in the original Iṣṭ. and were preserved both by I.H and the H.-'A. As regards Maq. even the earliest date in his book precludes the possibility of its use by our author.¹ Consequently in cases of coincidence we have to suppose that Maq., too, *BGA*, 5a (Const. MS.), utilized some additional passages in Balkhī > Iṣṭ., which were also available in our author's copy.

(d) More than problematic is the influence of MAS'ŪDĪ on our author. Apart from the dubious case of the two "Artush" rivers (§ 6, 41. and 42.), a conspicuous parallelism is found in the chapters on Shirvān (mountain *Niyāl!*), Daghestan, and the northern Caucasus (§§ 35-6, 48-9), but our author adds several details not found elsewhere and we should rather assume that he utilizes a source of which Mas'ūdī possessed only an abstract. Possibly the same source is responsible for the interesting details on Gīlān.

(e) Very curious are a few original points on Arabia. One might suppose (*v.i.*, p. 411) that some of them are due to an early knowledge of HAMDĀNĪ'S *Jazīrat al-'arab* but even Hamdānī does not seem to account for all of them. Do they, like some details on the African lands, belong to the more complete I.Kh., or to some unknown *Book of Marvels*?

6. LOYALTIES

My thanks go first to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial who in 1931 accepted my work for inclusion in their series, Sir E. D. Ross, with his usual kindness, acting as my sponsor. To the latter, as well as to my friends Prof. R. A. Nicholson, Prof. H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. A. S. Tritton, and Dr. (now Prof.) H. W. Bailey I am deeply obliged for their great help in checking my copy. Dr. W. Simon has kindly tried to unify my transcription of Chinese names though he certainly is not responsible for any eventual mistakes in cases where the Chinese original was not available. I hope my memory has not played me false in thanking in the text the numerous scholars of many lands who readily answered my queries on matters within their competence.

My dedication confirms the debt of gratitude which I have contracted towards the great Persian scholar who during the fifteen years of our friendship has been lavish in his aid to me in hundreds of my perplexities. My long, frequent and always instructive conversations with him constitute one of the very pleasant recollections of my life.

¹ See de Goeje in *BGA*, iv, p. vi: to the years 377 and even 387/997 Maq. himself, p. 8, dates his preface (p. 288r). A.H. 375/985 but certain passages point

My commentary would never have been written without the extensive use of the treasures of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the School of Oriental Studies, and the École des Langues Orientales. The latter's librarian Mlle Renié (now Mme Meuvré) very kindly allowed me to keep for long periods great numbers of books not found elsewhere.

I must thank Dr. John Johnson, Printer to the University of Oxford, and his staff and collaborators who have so successfully overcome the difficulties of a text bristling with difficult names, references and quotations.

My wife helped me with the translation of Barthold's *Preface*, prepared about 4,500 cards of the Index and several times typed out the revised text of my manuscript (some of the chapters four and five times!).

The printing of my book has extended over a period of three years, during which time many more sources have been consulted by me, and many more materials collected. Even Barthold's *Vorlesungen*, in Prof. Menzel's excellent edition, became available only when the whole text had been set up. Wherever possible I have introduced the requisite additions, but it must be borne in mind that the date of my Preface is not that of my text. By the end of June 1936 my commentary was in page proofs and no further important alterations were possible. Some additional notes will be found in Appendix B.

V. MINORSKY

10 December 1936.

ADDENDA TO THE HUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM

By V. MINORSKY

WHEN my translation of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* was published in 1937, it was found impossible to swell the book¹ by further remarks on the language of the Persian original, and I promised (p. xlvi) to deal with this problem at a later date.

On the other hand, the quarter of a century which has elapsed since I began my work on the *Hudūd* has brought a considerable number of new facts bearing on the interpretation of the data which I was trying to explain. In various ways my work has been continued, both in the articles which can be considered as a by-product of the *Hudūd*,² and in contributions on fresh but cognate texts.³ The object of my present article is to bring the book up to date by integrating my own research and by completing it with references to the studies of other scholars.

Part I

In my translation of the *Hudūd*, the actual Persian expressions (either in transcription, or in the original) have been profusely quoted throughout the text. This enables me in the following to refer only to the more typical cases. I wish to mention here the valuable work on the evolution of Persian style by the late poet-laureate Bahār (*Sabk-shināsī*, 3 vols. undated, from 1331/1942 on); as a specimen of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* he quotes only its Introduction (ii, 17-18), but in his careful analysis of the peculiarities of older Persian (i, 300-436) he often gives examples from our text (i, 367, 368, 376, 378, 384, 387, 403, 425).

¹ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, a Persian geography of 372/982, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S., xi, 1937, 20 + 554 pp.

² Such as "Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au X^e siècle", in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, April, 1937, pp. 305-312; "A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia", in *GJ*, September, 1937, pp. 259-264.

³ Such as "Marvazi on China, the Turks, and India", Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120) with an English translation

and commentary. J. G. Forlong Fund, xxii, The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942, 170 + 53 pp.; "Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs", *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/2, pp. 275-305; "Gardīzī on India", *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, pp. 625-640; my series of "Caucasica" (i-iv) in *BSOAS*, supplemented by *Studies in Caucasian History* (i), 1953, and finally my recent research on Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil's travels in Iran (to appear in Cairo in 1955, ان شاء الله).

I. SPELLINGS

A desire to distinguish between the *ma‘rūf* (ī, ū) and *majhūl* (ē, ō) sounds can be traced in the MS. *Kūhsaym* seems to indicate *-sēm* (instead of the usual *sīm*), 24a. Some local *ē/ā* are indicated by the forms *Anbīr* (**Anbēr*), 21a, as against Ist., 270, *Anbār*, and *shahr-salīr* (**salēr* for *salār*?). *Imadh* (for *Āmid*), 10b, is a strange combination of the Arabic *imāla* with the Persian *dh* after a vowel. The vocalization *Raudhān* corresponds to **Rōdhān* and *Kaumīs* to **Kōmīs*, 7a and 17a. One cannot attach importance to *Sauk-jū* for *Sūk-chou*, 14a, etc.

Khuwar, 19b, suggests that *w* after *kh* was still pronounced before a short vowel. [The names of the two neighbouring boroughs: *Khwar* and *Khusp* (whatever their origin) suggest a pun: “eat and sleep”.]

The *idāfat* after *ā* and *ū* is usually expressed by a *hamza* درازناء او 7a, دانکوها خوردنی 13b, or even omitted ترسان 32a (a spelling which has survived only in some place-names like برآن in Isfahan).

Ki “which” standing alone is regularly spelt کی; otherwise it is usually joined with the words that follow: بوقی کشان بیايد 2a; کانجا “at the time wanted by them”.

Dh, intervocalic and final (after vowels), is regularly marked but the initial *ḏ* in *dhadhagān*, 17a, *Dhakhkhas*, 24a, and *Dharnūkh* looks strange. By the side of *zimistān*, 19a, we have 18a clearly *dimistān* and 16b *dhimistān* (?). (On the form *dimistān* see H. W. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1930, 138–40 (on the Kumzari dialect, Oman).)

The letter ف (with three dots)—typical for Eastern Iranian usage (for *w/β*)—occurs in کناهه کناهه 10b, 27b; یافا for Jaffa, نجاح/فجاج 9a, 38a, but it is difficult to decide what reasons underlie this erratic practice. In 1258, when our text was copied, it may have been but a survival of a sign no more understood.

Sad “one hundred” is spelt with ص but *shast* “sixty” with a *sīn*.

Geographical names are given in a Persian garb: *Būshang* (for Arabicized *Būshanj*); *Khūna* and *Kara* (for *Khūnaj* and *Karaj*), *Ādharbādhagān*, **Harē* (Herat), etc.

2. GRAMMAR

The style of the *Hudūd* is matter-of-fact. The sentences are short and purely descriptive, which naturally reduces the field of observations on grammar and syntax.

(a) Nouns

Quite often nouns without any addition stand for locatives: *Bukhārā nishīnadh* 19a; *īn nāḥiyat kharān-i nik uftadh* "good asses are found in the region", 34b.

Diminutives are very common: *shahrak*; *shākhak* "a small branch", 7a; *biyābānak*, 12, *daryāyak* "a lake", 37a; *nāḥiyatak*, 38b.

The plural ending *-ān/-agān* is still general for animate beings: *jānāvarān*, 2a; **dadhagān*, 17a; *gabragān* (a plural of *gabra* and not of a diminutive *gabrak*, cf. *Fārs-nāma*, Nicholson's Introduction, xxix); and even *ḥamdūnagān*, 34a.

The suffix *-ina* is used for groups and kinds of beings and things: *gilīmīna* "various kinds of *gilims*", 22b; *rūdhīna* perhaps "madder" (?), 32b (though, f. 33a: *rūnās*).

The suffix *-nā* appears in *dirāznā* "length", 2a (but 7a: *dirāzā*); cf. *tangnā* "narrowness", *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 431.

Compounds of every kind are very frequent: *badh-dil*, *badh-rag* (see vocabulary), *giyā-khwār*, *tang-‘alaf* "wanting in grass", *javānmard-pīsha* "professional stalwart", 25b; *yak-izār bāshand* "they are people wearing only the *izār*", 15a; *tan-durust* "healthy", referring both to men and to the climate, 27a. *Bisyār* is often used with nouns as an adjective expressing abundance: *shahrīst bisyār-mardum* "a populous town", 18a; *bisyār-pādhshāy* "with many kings (or *pādhshā’i* kingdoms?)", 14a; *mardumānī bisyār-zar* "wealthy (moneyed) men", 39b. Such compound adjectives are then used as comparatives: *bisyār-khwāsta-tar*, 19a, or superlatives: *bisyār-ni‘mat-tarīn*, 32b.

The pronouns *ū*, *vay*, and *ān* indiscriminately refer to single or several objects, both animate and inanimate: *si andar vay* "three out of (seven)", 4a; *shish jazīra az vay . . . ān-ra khāliya khwānand*, 5a; *du jazīra . . . ū-ra s.qytrā khwānand*, 4b; *daryāyak-hā yakī az ū*, 4a. This curious usage seems to be connected with the use of singular and plural in the verb, see below under (d) 2.

The use of *ān-i* (with an *īḍafat*), both as "(someone's) own" and as a substitute for the noun already mentioned ("and that of") is frequent, see correction *ad* p. 87. In § 23, 6, *īn* seems to stand in the latter function جاجرم . . . بارکذه کرکانست واین کومس و نسابورست

“J. is the store-place of G. and *that of* K. and N.”, in which case the reading *in-i Kūmis* should be presumed.

(b) *Verbs*

The present particle *mī/hamī* occurs rarely, e.g. in *kūhī az gird-i in jazīra bar-āyadh* one would expect *mī-*; when used, it usually stresses the meaning as “continually, ever”: *va hamī-ravadh tā hama(-i) nāḥiyat-i Nūba bi-burradh*, 11b.

Particle *bi-*, as attested by the spelling بـ ى 5b, seems to have sounded *ba-*.

When added to the past it seems to give it the sense of what in Slavonic languages is called “perfective aspect”: *va bīshtar-i āb-i in shahr-hā az chashma-hā-st ki andar zamīn biyāvārda-and* “have brought underground” (in Russian: провели), 19a; *rūdh-kadha-hā-yi ū bi-kanda-and*.

A considerable number of verbs, now chiefly transitive, are used intransitively: *bar-dāradh*, *bar-gīradh* “begins, starts”, 2b; *bāz-dāradh* “adjoins”, etc., see Vocabulary; *ōikashadh* “stretches”, 2b; *bi-kushāyadh* “branches off”, 3b; *andar ū namak bandadh* “salt is formed”; *tā ānjā ki bi-burradh* “down to where it ends”, 5b.

**Gudhārdan* is used as a causative of *gudhashtan*: *kūhīst . . . bārḥā kī bar pusht basta bāshand bad-ān kūh *bighudhārānd* “they carry over”, 15b.

The verb *dāshtan* serves almost as an auxiliary in such expressions as: *bar sar bar-nihādha dārānd* “wear on their heads”, 37b; (*shalvār*) *bar sar-i zānū gird-karda dārānd*, 37b. cf. Gardīzī (Barthold), 92: *va chīz-i ki ishān-rā ba-kār āyad ān āvīkhta dārānd*.

After *tavān* and *bāyad* usually the full form of the infinitive is found: *va ān . . . na-tavān kushādan*, 7a; *du-tāh tavān kardan*, 38a; *bi-bāyadh burīdhan*, 34a. But: *ba hama jihān na-tavān dānist* “it is impossible to know it even for a whole world”, or perhaps “unknown throughout the whole world”, 27b.

The composite future is very rare: *bidānist ki tūfān hamī khwāhad būd* “he knew that the flood would happen”. *Hāmī khwāhad* seems to indicate the stage at which *khwāhad* had not yet become a mere auxiliary.

The past participle used with *-ast* has a passive meaning by itself, whereas at present one would expect the auxiliary verbs (*shudan*, *gardīdan*): *bar ān kūh . . . šūrat-i har maliki nigāshta-ast va sar-gudhasht-hā-yi ishān bar ān jay nibishta-ast* “are represented . . . are

written" (27b); *andar miyān-i kūh-u daryā nihādha-ast* "is situated", 29b [cf. Juvaynī, iii, 235: *gūrī nihāda-ast*].

This helps us to explain the difficult passage: *mar ū-rā andar kitāb-hā(-i) akhbār yādh kardā-ast* (see below, p. lxvi), where *kardā-ast* corresponds to the present-day *kardā shudā-ast*.

(c) Prepositions and Particles

Az stresses the use of *ān-i* (see above): *pādhā'i az ān-i Balharāy-ast* "kingship belongs to B.", 14b, 15a.

Bā/bāz indicates direction: *bāz nashriq rasad*, 2a; *bā daryā-yi Khwārazm uftadh* "(the Jaxartes) flows to (into) the Aral sea".

Bi with *shudhan*: *bi darya-yi a'zam shavadh* "turns into a great sea" (in Russian становится морем).

The use of prepositions combined with postposition (as frequent in the *Shāh-nama*) is not attested in the *Hudūd*: in the sentence *bar sar bar-nihādha dārānd*, 37b, the second *bar* is only a pre-verb belonging to *nihādhan*.

Chand with the following *yā-yi vaḥdat* stands for "the size of . . .": *chand gūsfandī*, 35b; *har yakī chand kabkī* "as big as a quail", 38a. cf. *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 261: *chand māda-pīlī*.

Particle *-rā* is sometimes attached to the subject: *dihqān-i in nahiyat-rā az mulūk-i aṭrāf budandī*, 24a; *in du kūh-rā dar kutub hā-i Baṭlamīyūs madhkūr-ast*, 4a.¹ cf. Zhukovsky, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, Introduction, Nicholson, *Tadhkirat al-auliya*, ii, Introduction, 9. Sometimes, as a postposition, *-rā* completes a preposition: *az bahr-i tavālud-rā*, 5a. Sometimes it is omitted: *mardānishān (ra ?) hīch kār nīst*, 30b. *Mar* as announcing *-rā* is rare: *marnigāk dāshtan-i nāhiyat-rā* "for keeping the province (safe)", 37a.

(d) Syntax

1. Phrases

The order of words in a phrase is free and expressive: *va paydhā kardīm hama-i jazīrahā-i kī-buzurg-ast, az ābādihān-i vay va vīrān* (2a); *va ammā rūdh-i ṭabī'i ān-ast kī ābhā'i buvadh buzurg kī az gudhāz-i barf . . . bikushāyadh* (8b). Adjectives often stand separated from the nouns to which they refer, at the end of the sentence: *shākh-i az sūy-i maghrib bāz kashadh khurd* (8a); *rūdhā kī andar jihān-ast buzurg* (2a).

¹ The meaning seems to be: "and as regards the two mountains they are mentioned".

The asyndeton construction and anacolutha are very frequent: *nuhum jazīra’ist . . . Hiranj khwānand* “[which] they call H.”, 4b; *yakī az ān kūh-i Kūfj khwānand andar miyān-i biyābān-ast* “[which] lies in a desert”, 7a; *nāhiyat-hā-i junūb mardumānīsh siyāh-and*, 39a; *nāhiyat-ist mashriq-i vay rūdh-i Atil . . . va mardumānī-and kish-i Ghūziyān dārand* “to the east of [which] is the Ātil . . . and they are people (who) have the religion of the Ghūz”; *har yakī az-īn kūh ū-rā nām-hā-i bisyār-ast*, 6a; *nām-i qaumī-st bar kūh-i Bulgharī nishīnad*, 37a. In some of such cases the *yā-yi ishārat* seems to be the link with what follows.¹

2. Singular and Plural

The complicated problem of the use of plural and singular in Persian verbs was treated by M. Minovi in *JRAS*, 1942/i, 41–7. He admits that “more often than not”, he had to depend on his ears and that the rules cannot be formulated in a way “that those to whom Persian is not natal could exercise their own judgment”. On the whole, he thinks that after inanimate and abstract nouns verbs should not be used in the plural. To this rule he adds a rider that this use seems to be subject to the “spirit of the verb”. If the action it expresses is “the peculiarity of human beings” plural might be used.

In grammar the only safe method is induction, and the “rules” of the grammarians can be taken only as generalizations from the facts observed. Outsiders cannot tamper with the facts provided by the speakers, but in the formulation of the conclusions foreigners have often rendered help to the building up of national grammars. Two points are certain:

(1) The subject must be treated historically²: what is accepted at one period may be rejected as “incorrect” at a later date.

(2) Poetical quotations are less reliable than prose in view of the temptations to which poets are exposed.

On the whole, one might suggest as a “working hypothesis” the view that the choice of singular or plural in Persian is often dictated by the character of the subject in the sentence. Should the plural elements composing the subject represent a kind of collective total, the verb is used in the singular; should they, on the contrary, have individual characteristics, or be meant to be personified, the plural is admissible. Therefore, using Minovi’s examples: *birinj-hā rīkht*

¹ A similar construction is known in Kurdish.

² On the lines of M. T. Bahār’s *Sabk-shināsī*.

requires the singular because not the individual grains but their collective mass is in view; *pañj sarbāz rasīd* also singular, because the five soldiers are treated as a group; but in *dar an vaqt pañj shā‘ir-e buzurg būdand* “at that time there were five great poets”, I should venture a plural because the poets cannot be de-personalized as grains, or even as soldiers; *sang-hā az ham mī tarakīdand* “the stones (began) to burst”, requires a plural not because their action is a “peculiarity of human beings”, but because they went off one after the other, and not like in the case when “five ton of stones” was exploded.

Here are some illustrations from the *Hudūd*: *daryāyak-hā-i khurd hisyār-ast chūn daryāyak-hā-i kī yakī az-ū* (sic) *andar kūh-hā-i Gūzgānān-ast . . . va chinānk(i) andar kūh-hā-i Tūs-ast va kūh-hā-i Ṭabaristān-ast va l(ā)kin na-ma‘rūf-and* (sic) *va yā vaqt buvadh ki khushk shavadh* (sic), 4b. In this passage the lakes are treated first indefinitely in singular; then plural is introduced, as it seems with reference to the lakes enumerated by name; then a singular is used to show that some particular group dries up at times. *Har qaumī k-andar nāhiyat-hā(-i) mukhtalif-and*, 1b. Here the plural is used *ad sensum*, whether with regard to the collective *qaum* “people”, or to the numerous cases. Other examples: *hama-biyābān-hā ki ma‘rūf-ast*, meaning the totality, 2a. هفتم دریاژه . . . کی از چهار رود “from the four rivers which (jointly) come out of Buttamān”, 4a.

A special use of plural is for recurring seasons: *ba-vaqt-i bahārān* “in the spring”, 9a (in Russian вѣснѧмѧ). For *bahār-ān*, see other similar words referring to festivals and periods of time: *bāmdād-ān*, *khatna-sūr-ān* and even *khāch-shūr-ān* (for the Armenian Twelfth-tide).

3. VOCABULARY

The following selection concentrates on the uses of words and shades of meaning more than on technical terms, the equivalents of which are given in the text and in the Indexes: D. on the products and E. of special terms, *Hudūd*, pp. 520-4.

ābādhān “prosperous, inhabited”, 3a, 3b, 17b, 18a; *ābādhānī* “cultivated lands, a settlement”, 4a.
abānk (*abānak*?) - *i surkh*, meaning unknown (a textile ?), 26a.

ābkāma “a sauce or condiment of milk, buttermilk, seeds of wild rue, yeast, and vinegar”, Zhukovsky, *Razvalini Merva*, 1894, p. 22 (quoting the *Hudūd*).

āb-khīz "floods", 20a.
afvāh "aromas", 5b.
'akka "magpie", 9a.
ālāt "objects", 17a; "accessories, utensils", 21b.
āmila "embilica officinalis", 15b (Laufer, 581).
āmizanda "sociable, good mixer", 17b.
'amūd-i rūdh "the main stream of the river", 8b.
andakī "a small quantity", 5b; *rūdh-i Nīl andakī buvadh* "dwindles", 3b.
andar parāgandan "to scatter", 6a.
anguzad "asafœtida".
arzan "millet", 37b (cf. *jāvars*).
arzīz "lead", 23a (see *surb*); "tin", 4b.
turkān-i āshī "trucial Turks", 24b.
bādhbīzan "a fan", 23a.
badh-dil "cowards" (Vullers, i, 201: *timidus*), 38b, but *badh-rag* "malicious" (see Vullers, i, 203: *malae stirpis, malae naturae, malignus*), 18b.
az bahr-i ān "therefore", 4a; *nuh bahr* and *nuh-yak* "one-ninth", 2a.
bār "plenty" (*bār-and* "are numerous"), 17a.
bar-dāradh "begins", 2b; "separates", 6b; *bar-girādh* "begins", 2b, 5b; "shoots off", 6a; (*raftan*) *bar* "to skirt", 11b; *bar hudūd* . . . *bigudharadh* "marches with", 12b; *ba bar-i Ghūz* "towards the Ghuz, to the Ghuz side", 18b.
barākūh "the slope of a mountain, uplands", 17b, cf. *barākūh va bar sar-i ān-kūh* "on the slope and on the top", 28b. cf. *Barākūh*, a mountain in Osh, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 156; and the *nisba Barākūhī* in *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 153.

bastan: *ghalaba bastan* "to vanquish", 38a.
bāz "toll", 25b, but *bāzhgāh* "toll-house", 33a.
bāzargānī (*bāzurgānī* ?) "current money", 34a; "profit, transaction", 36a.
bāz dāradh bi . . . "adjoins", 3b; *bāz gardadh* "turns off, separates", 6a; *bāz kashadh* "separates, shoots off", 8a.
bāz-khwāndan . . . *ba* "to call something after something", 29b.
bijashk (**pijashk*) "a doctor", 29a.
bīrūn az "apart from, except", 4a.
burīdhan "to end, to cease", 5b.
chādar (now *chadur*) "a kind of light shawl", 34a.
dāngū-hā(-i) khurdanī "edible cereals", 32b.
dāradh "there is", *har kūhī-rā mihtarī dāradh*, 7a; *dāradh az* . . . *ba* . . . "stretches from . . . to", 9a; *dāradh* . . . *ba* "is contiguous", 19a.
darāzā "length", 7a; *darāznā*, 2a.
dīda-bān, 24a, corresponds to Ist. 333: *al-jabal allādhi 'alayhi marqab al-aḥrās 'alā al-Turk* "the mountain on which is the observation post of the guards (watching) the Turks". Consequently *dīda-bān*, in the idea of the author, is connected with the verb *dīdan*. In the same sense the word is used in Arabic (plur. *diyādiba* "watchers", see Tabarī, iii, 1229).
dīgar "for the rest, moreover", 38a.
falāta "sweet dish made of ewe's milk", V. A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini Merva*, 1894, p. 21 (quoting the *Hudūd*), 20a.
fanak "weasel" (?), 17a. [French dictionaries give "*fennec*, petit renard des régions sahariennes". Is this the original meaning?]

- furūdh āyadh ba* . . . "follows, takes (a direction)", 6a, 7a.
- fuzūdhan* "to grow, to increase", 3a.
- ganda* "bad-smelling", 10b.
- gardanda bar havā* "(nomads) wandering in accordance with the seasons", 22b.
- gāvars* "millet, vetch", 26b. In the corresponding passages of Istakhri, 166–7: *dhurra* "sorghum", but Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 295: *walaysa bi-Turk-astān zar' illā al-dukhūn, wa huwa al-jāwars* (i.e. *gāvars*). cf. also I. Faḍlān, Mashhad MS., 203b.
- gazīt: sar-gazīt* "poll-tax", 16b (Arabic *jizya*), for the form, cf. *mazgīt*.
- ghizhgāw* "yak, bos grunniens", 17a.
- gird andar āyadh* "forms a circle", 6b; *az gird-i Kavar andar āyadh* or *gardadh* "makes a sweep round", 10a.
- giyā-khwār* "a prairie", 8b.
- gū* "a sphere, a globe", 2a.
- bi-gudārand* (**bi-gudhārand*) "they carry over", 15a; *gudhashtan* (?) "to cross (a river)", 16a.
- gudhāzanda* "fusible", 22b.
- ḥadd* "extent, length" (as opposed to *karāna* "limit"), 2b; *hudūd* (1) "confines (i.e. the area within certain limits)", 6a, 10a (cf. Preface, pp. i and xv); (2) "marches, outlying territories", §§ 24, 26.
- ḥamdūna* "a baboon", 34a.
- havāšil* "a pelican", 5b.
- illā-kī* (after negation) "but", 7b.
- jauz [gōz]-i buwā* "a nutmeg", 5b.
- jāvars*, see *gāvars*.
- jihāz* "merchandise, commodities", 15a, 16b, 34a.
- jūr.b* "bags (stockings?)", 37a (the form possibly reflects the Arabic original).
- ba-zar kanda* "inlaid with gold", 15b.
- kapī* "monkey", 34a.
- karāna* "confines, limits", 2b.
- kārdār* "deputy governor", 13b, 20b; *kārkard* "works", 21a; *bi-kār dārand* "they use", 12b, 30a; *bi-kār shavadh* "is used, used up (?)", 10b, 11b, 29b.
- **karg (k.rk)* "rhinoceros", 14.
- k.rk.rī* "some Indian bird", 14a. H. W. Bailey compares this name with Skt. *kukkuṭī* "domestic fowl", which survives in many Indian dialects. [In *IF*, 1313: *juwānk.rk* "a fantastic bird (?)".]
- kashāvarz* [sic] *kunand* "they till", 17b.
- kās* "a hut", 37b.
- kazdum* (for *kazhdum*) "a scorpion", 32a.
- khar-i wahshī* "wild ass" (Persice: *gōr*), 8b.
- khargāh* "felt hut", 6b.
- khāukhīr-i chīnī* "some kind of (silk) textile", 13b, 30a (see below, note *ad p.* 84).
- khayzurān* "bamboo", 5b.
- khing-but* "the White Idol", 21b.
- khunb* (now *khum*) "earthen vessel", 37b.
- khutū* "rhinoceros horn"? 13b; but see *surū*. cf. Manīnī-'Utbi, ii, 31, and Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 82.
- khwār*, e.g. *giyā-khwār*, 17b, "grazing-ground"; *mardum-khwāra* "man-eater", 4b.
- khwāsta* "wealth, belongings", 2a.
- kīmukhta* "shagreen", 30a.
- khushk* "dry land, mainland", 5a; *ḡāba-yi khushk*, 6b, "Ḥāba of the mainland"; *khushk-rūdh* "dry bed", 22b.
- jāma-yi k.nīs*, some kind of textile, 30a.

kushūdhan "to conquer", 7a; *az gudhāz-i barf bi-kushāyadh* "is formed from the thawing of snow", 8b.

mardum "a man", 6a; *mardumān* "men", 6a; *mardumānī-and ba-mardum nazdīk* "they are men near to humanity", 17b; *dūrtar az tab'-i mardī* "more remote from humanity", 36b.

maḥfūrī "stamped velvet", 33b; cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 512; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh*, 101; Dozy, Supp. i, 303.

Mānavī "Manichæan", 23a.

jāy-i manzil "port of call", 4b.

mār-i shikanj "deadly snake", 28b.

ma'rūfgar "a pious man, a conformist", 31a.

mazgit-i ādhīna "a Friday mosque", 14b, 27a.

mīhmān-dār "hospitable", 29b.

ba-miyāna "in the centre", 4b;

bar-miyāna "on the middle (course ?)", perhaps "a middling (town)", 16a.

murtafi "excellent", 4b.

musalmānī "Islamic world", 17b; "Islamic behaviour", 16a.

mūy "furs", 17b, cf. Gardīzī, 100.

nāḥiyat "direction", 6a; *hama-nāḥiyat* "every direction"; also "a region".

nakhchīr-zan "a hunter", 17a.

na-ma'rūf "unknown", 4a; *nē-badh* "not bad, so-so", 20a; *na-maḥdūd* "indefinite, unlimited", 8a.

namāz-burdan "to venerate", 18b.

namūdhan: *musalmānī namāyadh* "he makes show of Islam", 16a.

nighūshāk "Manichæan *auditores*", 23a.

nihād "the lie (of a country)", 2a.

nīk-akhtarī "auspiciousness", 1b.

nī'mat, for the meaning see Translation, pp. 126, 162; *kam-nī'mat va bisyārmardum*, 4b; *bisyār nī'mat va kam-khwāsta*, 37a. This special use differs from *Gulistān*, ch. ii, story 18, where *nī'mat* stands for "goods, wares".

nishast "residence", 17b, 28b; *andar nishastan* "to embark", 13b; *bar nishastan* "to mount, to take the field" (on an expedition), 15b, 19a.

padhīdh kardan "to elicit", 13b (see *paydhā*).

pādshā "king", 14, 16a; *pādshāh*, 16a; *padshā'i* (often spelt *padshāy*) "kingdom", 14b.

pānīdh "sugar, candy", 21a.

paydhā kardan "bring to light, elucidate", 1b, 2a.

pāy kūftan "to dance", 30b.

pāy-zahr "an antidote", 23b.

ghāzī-pīsha "a professional ghazi".

pīshinagān "the earlier generations", 2a.

pull for *pul* "a bridge", 31a.

rāy "an Indian raja", 6a.

rūdh "copper (red), brass", 24b.

rūdh-kadha "river-bed, river", 5b, 8b.

rūdh sadan "to play on a stringed instrument", 30b.

rūspī-khāna "a brothel", 15a.

rūnās "madder" (in Barda'), 33a; *rūdhīna* in Mūqān, 32b, supported by I.H., 249, who refers to madder (*fuwwa*) in Varthān on the Araxes; *rūyan* [sic] on an island of the Caspian, 5b, cf. I.H., *ibid*.

rūyīn "made of brass", 15a.

ṣābiyān, as applied "to (Turkish) heathens", 17a.

s.bija, some animal (?), 17a.

sakht "hardy", 17a; *sakht 'azīm* "very great", 8a.

- samūr* "sable-marten", 6a.
sanjāb "grey squirrel, petit gris", 6a.
sang-i fasān "whetstone", 19b.
sāra "Indian turban", 15a.
ṣifat kardan "to describe", 7a.
shikanj: *mār-i shikanj* "a deadly snake, viper", 28b.
siṭabr "thick", 5b.
sar-gazīt, see *gazīt*.
shahr-i Jibāl "the J. province", 10a; cf. *az in shahr* 70,000 *jangī bīrūn āyadh*, 16b.
shamanī "Buddhist" (?), 13b.
shikastagī "hills, broken country", 21b.
shīr-khisht (in Herat) "manna", 20b (cf. *tarangabīn*).
sūdh-u ziyān "profit-cum-loss, i.e. trade", 28b.
sunbādha "emery", 5b.
sunbul "spikenard", 5b.
sundus "a silk stuff?", 37a.
surb "lead", 6a.
surū "horn"; *surū-yi karg* "rhinoceros horn", 13b (mentioned separately from *khutū*).
tākhtan baranda "a raider", 17b.
ṭanfisa "carpets?" (from Rūm), 37a.
tarangabīn (in Kish) "manna", 32a (cf. *shīr-khisht*).
ṭayfūrī "a deep plate", 30a; cf. Dozy, *JA*, 1848, xi, 101: *ṭayfūr* "plat creux et profond". Muqaddasi, 23, calls the river of Gurgān "Ṭayfūrī".
tāzī "Arabic", 7a.
tūṭak "parrot", 14a.
tūdh-i sabīl "mulberries offered for God's sake", 33a.
tuvargar (*tūngar*?), thus spelt throughout, "mighty, rich", as opposed to *darvīsh* "poor", 16b.
uftadh ba- "gets into, is brought to", 15a; *uftadh az-* "comes from".
yādhkard (*yādhgard*?) "memory, memorandum, notice", 2a, 33b.
ḥayvān-i zabād "civet cat", 5b.
zabarjad "chrysolite".
zafān dāshtan "to know a language".
zīrāk "because".
zīra "cumin", 26b, mis-spelt *zīrīra*, 26b. *Zarīra* would be "sweet flag", cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 583, but Kerman is famous for cumin, cf. Ist., 167, and Juvaynī, i, 16; *kasī-ki badhīn mauḍī qumāshī āvarad zīra-st ki ba-Kirmān tuḥfa mī-āvarad*.

Part II

A list of the reviews of my translation of the *Hudūd*, known to me, will be found in my bibliography, *BSOAS*, 1952, xiv/3, p. 676. I am obliged to Prof. I. I. Umnyakov (Samarqand), who drew my attention to a line which is missing from my translation, whereby the orientation of § 16 (Chigil) is disfigured, and to Prof. A. Eghbal (Tehran) who in a conversation (Paris, 2nd October, 1937) corrected some of my readings of the difficult script of the original. I am sorry that the text of the *Hudūd*, printed in Tehran by Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Tehrani, in appendix to his calendar (*gāh-nāma*) for the

year 1314/1935, reached me too late to make use of some of his readings.¹

Here are my additional and fresh remarks on the text.

P. vii. More exactly the *H.-‘Ā.* was begun (not completed) in 372/982-3.

P. viii. Instead of *Ustādh ‘Ajab al-zamān bul-Ustādh-Khorāsān*, read: *‘Ajab al-zamān, bal* (“nay even”) *Ustādh-i Khorāsān*. (A.E.).

P. xiv. *Ba akhbār-hā shanīdīm* may refer to such special collections of stories as *Akhbār al-Ṣin*, etc., see Marvazī, Index, and below under p. 172. The meaning of 4a: *مر او را اندر کتبها اخبار یاد* is probably “concerning them mention is made in the books of *akhbār*”.

P. 15. On Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī see now F. Rosenthal, “Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarahsī”, in *American Oriental series*, vol. 16, 1943 (on geography pp. 58-81), with additions (from Ibn al-‘Adīm) in *JAOs*, April, 1951, pp. 135-142. Sarakhsī lived apparently between 218/833 and 286/899.

P. 16. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, i, 142: *wa kāna . . . lil-ḡayhānī . . . jawārīn yudirruhā ‘alayya*. Barthold’s interpretation of *jawārī* as “female slaves” is wrong. See A. Muller in *Fihrist*, ii, 56, who explains *jawārī* as a plural of *جارية* “grants, pensions”.

P. 17. Balkhī’s monthly salary was 500 (later 1,000) *dirhams*, not *dinars*. The mistake is not Barthold’s but the translator’s.

P. 24. Instead of *Tawāḍu‘ al-dunyā* A.E. suggests **nawāḥī*. Perhaps **mawāḍi‘*?

P. 37. *Bā-ni‘mat* can be paralleled with the Greek *εὐδαίμων*, see Strabo, xi, 14, 4, “prosperous, opulent”. In Russian “благодатный”. But see Sa’dī, *Gulistān*, ii, No. 18: *kārvānī-rā bizadand va ni‘mat-i bī-qiyās burdand*, which suggests “goods”.

P. 49. Read *yādhkard* (A.E.) as in § 23, 67, *kārkard*.

P. 50. *Nihādh* “the lie of the Earth”. Penultimate: “animals and fishes”, read: “which is the habitat (*ma’wā*) of the animals” (S.J.).

P. 51. “Khūzistān and Ṣaymara”, read: “Khūzistān and *Baṣra” (A.E. and S.J.).

Pp. 61 and 194. The mysterious name of the range Mānisā (مانسا) may be connected with the Min-shan mountain on the

¹ The corrections derived from these sources are acknowledged with the initials I.U., A.E., and J.T. The criticisms formulated in A. Z. V. Togan’s article “Die Völkerschaften des

Chazarenreiches in neunten Jahrhundert”, published during the war in *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, 1940, iii/1, pp. 40-75, seem to be based mostly on misunderstandings.

frontier of Szechuan with Eastern Tibet, see Nevsky, "On the name of the Tangut state", *Zapiski Inst. Vost.*, ii/3, 1933, p. 145. But more appropriately *Mānisā* might stand for Nan-shan? (نانشان*).

P. 71 read: *Khūkand-ghūn* 9a (*k* being clear).

P. 83-86. On China see now my commentary in "Marvazi" and my article *Tamīm ibn Baḥr*, see above p. lv. The word *khāvkīr* occurs in the text twice. Under China (13b), *khāvkīr-i *chīnī* (hardly *khavjīr* as in S.J.) comes after *ḥarīr va parand*) and seems to refer to some special variety of this textile; under Sārī (30a) it stands without any qualification. One might recall here that in Persian *khāv* means "pile (of a textile)". Under China, some confusion is not excluded with *kīmkhāu* (or *kīnkhā*?) which I. Khurdādhbih, 70, mentions under China, after *al-ḥarīr wal-firand*! *Kīmkhā* (perhaps *kīnkhā*) is "silk worked with gold and silver flowers, brocaded silk", in English *kincob*, from Chinese *kin-hua*, see Quatremère, *Notices et extraits*, xiv/1, 214, 304, and Blochet, *Introduction*, 245.

Pp. 86-92. On India see now "Marvazi" and my article "Gardīzī on India", see above, p. 250. See below *ad* p. 235. P. 87 (§ 10, 12). Better: *pādshā'ī* (*pādshāhī*?) *az ān-i zanī buvadḥ Rāniya khwānand* "and the kingship belongs to a woman (whom they call) Rānī".

Pp. 92-4. On Tibet see below, under p. 254.

Pp. 94-5 and 97-8. On Toghuzghuz and Khallukh, see "Tamīm ibn Baḥr".

P. 98. Several words are missing from the translation, which is misleading (I.U.). Read: "East and South of the Chigil country are the limits of the *Khallukh*; west of it are the limits of the *Tukhs*". The commentary p. 227 should also be altered accordingly.

P. 100 (§ 18, 2): instead of *Q.rq.rkhān* A. Z. Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, p. 328, suggests **Qirqiz-khan*, which would suit the indication that the customs which the inhabitants follow are those of the *Khirkhīz*.

P. 102. § 23, 2: "**Sabzavār*, a small borough on the road to Rayy and the chief place of the district *Byh*" (S.J. and A.E.). The author definitely wishes to say that *Sabzavār* is the centre of the district which in the Arabicized form is called *Bayhaq*. The older Persian form must have been **Bēhak*, later **Bēha*. In fact, this latter form is attested in the "History of Bayhaq" (563/1164), Tehran 1317/1938, p. 33, where various etymologies are suggested.

See also Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Geography*, Brit. Mus., Or. 1577, fol. 185b, which explains that *Bēha* means *bihtar* “better”. It is possible that in our text *بيہ* is a mis-spelling for *بيہ* attested in the other sources and supported by the Arabic *بيہ*.

P. 112. § 25, 1. For the title of the Samanids, Malik-i Mashriq, cf. Rūdakī in *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 323: Amīr-i Mashriq.

P. 113. § 25, 14. Now *Panjikand, where recently remarkable discoveries have been made of ancient (Soghdian?) frescoes, see A. Yakubovsky, “The paintings of the ancient Panjikant”, *Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR* (historical series), 1950, vii, No. 5, pp. 472–491, and A. Yakubovsky in *Po sledam drevnikh kultur*, 1951, 211–270. More recently “Zhivopis drevnego Pyanjikenta”, Moscow, 1954, 200 pp., 41 plates. In fact *varagh* means “a weir”.

P. 119. § 25, 93. A Turkish document gives the reading **Y.kānknt* (Henning), but in Muqaddasi, 48, **Takābkath* and **Yakānkath* figure side by side, under Isbījāb. cf. *BSOAS*, ix/3, 552.

P. 122. § 26, 25: the division of Gurgānj into two parts, inner and outer (*bīrūnī*), is interesting as accounting for the *nisba* of Abū-Rayhān Bīrūnī.

P. 133. § 32, 2 (and p. 385): read **Alī ibn al-Layth al-Ṣaffārī*, as in Ist., 246 (the source of this report).

P. 144. On Sunbatmān see Minorsky, “Caucasica, IV”, in *BSOAS*, 1953, xv/3, p. 506: the fief of Sahl b. Sunbāt, west of Shakkī.

P. 152. On the talisman against the crocodiles in Egypt (Fustāt) see Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 259, who does not quote his source but in parallel passages refers to *al-Qibt* (“Egyptians”?).

P. 159, l. 15 (on the Rūs) instead of *بزرک* read: *زرک* “of large frames”. cf. I. Rusta, 149: *wa lahum juthath*.

P. 161, § 49, 2. See below *ad* p. 447.

P. 162, § 50.: the Khazar king “is one of the descendants of Ansā”. A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn-Faḍlān*, 1939, p. 270, has restored the name as “sicher Asena, das heisst *a-se-na* oder *a-če-na*”, a well-known name of an ancient Turkman clan or family. I strongly doubt this hypothesis. I treat the sources comparatively. In this part the *Hudūd* runs entirely parallel to I. Rusta and Gardizī and there is no doubt possible that all the three are based on the same

report.¹ The most important fact about the Khazars is that they had two rulers, the one personifying the idea of “kingship” and the other acting as the real ruler.² This striking arrangement was known already to Sir J. G. Frazer, see his article. “The killing of the Khazar king”, *Folk-lore*, xxvii, 1917, pp. 382-407, and *The Golden Bough*, iv, 120.

Ibn Rusta, 139-140, at the given place says³: “They have a king who is called Īshā (Ayshā). The supreme king is Khazar Khāqān. He does not enjoy the obedience of the Khazars but has the name only. The power to command belongs to the Īshā, since in regard to control and the armies he is so placed that he does not have to care for anyone above him. Their supreme ruler is a Jew, and likewise the Īshā and those of the generals and the chief men who follow his way of thinking. The rest of them have a religion like the religion of the Turks”.

The corresponding passage in Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p. 95 (and checked by me on the Cambridge MS., f. 190a) is as follows: “And they have a king whose name is Abshād-malik the great (?) and they call the great king Khazar-Khāqān and the Khazar-Khāqān is only a bearer of the name, whereas the direction (*madār*) of every office (*shughl*) in the country and at the court (*hasham*) is incumbent on Abshād and no one is greater than Abshād. The greater chief and Abshād are Jews (by religion), as well as those who are inclined thereto (or friendly to him? to them?) as well as (some) commanders and noblemen (*buzurgān*). The others are holding a religion which resembles that of the Ghuz Turks . . .”.

The passage in the *Hudūd* (f. 38b) is as follows:

آتل شهرست کی روز آتل بر میان وی بگذرد و قصبة خزرانست و مستقر
پادشاه است و اورا طرخان خاقان خوانند و از فرزندان آنسا است و اندر نیمه
مغربی نشیند ازین شهر باهمه لشکر و این نیمه باره دارد و اندرین (کذا)
نیمه دیگر مسلمانان و بت پرستان اند و این پادشاهرا هفت حاکمست اندرین
شهر از هفت دین مختلف بهر ساعتی چون داوری بزرگتر افتد از پادشا
دستوری خواهند یا اکه کنند بحکم آن داوری.

¹ Marvazi, p. 33, also uses the same report but at his time the Khazars' power had been destroyed and he omits the part concerning the kings.

² cf. p. 333 on the division of power in Ghūr (§ 23, 48).

³ I quote D. M. Dunlop's translation, “The History of the Jewish Khazars”, 1954, 104.

We cannot, evidently, restore *A-se-na* in I. Rusta and Gardīzī, and thus the name in the *Hudūd* (based on the same source) would be an *exception*. It is clear that the epitomizer has drastically compressed the original, and should we read *A-se-na* (which no other source knows) the last trace of dyarchy would disappear from the text. Misunderstandings in Persian sources while translating from the Arabic¹ are not uncommon and I have a strong suspicion that the author of the *Hudūd* in the passage *و لهم الملك يقال له ايشا* (see I. Rusta) has somehow misread an indistinctly written *له* as *ولد* and translated it accordingly *az farzandān*. In conjunction with the *two other parallel* sources this is likely, but if we treat each source separately, we run the risk of reading into it what we wish.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 42, the first king was called *ὁ χακάνος* and the second only *ὁ πεχ* (*bek*). Therefore in Muslim sources one can suspect some minor title, like *shad*. Could we then restore the whole title tentatively *Ay-shad* “the Moon-shad”? See the names of Oghuz-khan’s sons Gün-khan, Ay-khan, etc.

P. 168. Several oversights in the dates. Ya‘qūbī’s history *ends* in 278/892. Qudāma wrote after 316/928 and died in 337/948. Bīrūnī’s “India” *circa* 421/1030, but according to A. Z. V. Togan *circa* 1025. *Tafhīm* 420/1029 (also p. 170).

P. 172. Sulaymān, *Silsilat al-tawārīkh*, see now an excellent new edition of this text by the late J. Sauvaget, under the more appropriate title: *Akhbār al-Šīn wal-Hind*, 1948. Sulaymān-the-Merchant is now considered only as one of the sources of the book. cf. my “Marvazī”, 143.

P. 177. Another scion of the Gūzgānān house may have been the author of the *Ĵawāmi‘ al-‘ulūm*, “ibn Farīghūn”, see F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 1952, p. 32. As he is said to have been a pupil of Abū Zayd Balkhī (d. 322/934) he must have lived in the earlier part of the 10th century.

P. 183. § 3, 12. *سماطی* occurs in Sarakhsi, see above, under p. 15.

P. 187. § 4, 9: delete *Kra* after *Keda*!

P. 193. Read: *kasaka hya kapautaka* (H. W. Bailey).

P. 195. § 5, 6. Could not *Turfan* itself refer to the *T‘u-fan* “Tibetans” who occupied the region of “the four garrisons”

¹ I presume that the original source was Jayhānī and that the latter’s work was in Arabic.

(Kashghar, Khotan, Kucha, and Qarashahr) between 790 and 860, see H. Hoffmann, "Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte", in *Saeculum*, ii, München, 1950, p. 270. A parasitic *r* appears in *Kucha-r* and some other names of this region (see in Marco Polo forms like *Succuir* for **Suk-chou*).

Pp. 196–200. The fact that the "Belt of the Earth" was called *Mintāqat al-Ard* points to an Arabic source. Apart from I. Hauqal, 109–111 (ed. Kramers, p. 249): *jabal ‘ala zahr al-ard*, see Biruni, *India*, 96 (tr. i, 197), on "the range of towering mountains like the vertebrae of a pine stretching through the middle latitude of the earth from China to Galicia (Jalāliqa) in Spain". A similar idea was known even in antiquity. The late E. Honigsmann drew my attention (8th January, 1952) to Orosius, *adv. paganos*, i, 2, 17–18, and H. Berger in *Wissen. Erdkunde*, 2nd ed., p. 418.¹ A different idea is found in the *Bundahishn*, ch. viii and xii ("the other mountains have grown out of Alburz, in number 2244 mountains"). I. Faqīh, 295, transfers the centre to *jabal al-Qafq* (the Caucasus), which he traces down to Mecca. cf. also *Ĵihān-nāma* (circa A.D. 1200), quoted in Barthold's *Turkestan*, i, 81, on the orography of Central Asia and al-‘Omari in Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes*, 1932, pp. 302–8, who speaks of *Jabal-Qāf* as *Umm al-jibāl* but purely theoretically and following Ptolemy. In any case, the passage of the *Hudūd* remains the most remarkable and realistic synthesis of little-known facts—nine centuries in advance of modern exploration! See my articles: "A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia", in *Geogr. Jour.*, September, 1937, pp. 259–264, and "Géographes et voyageurs musulmans", in *Bull. de la Soc. R. de Géographie d’Egypte*, Cairo, November, 1951, pp. 19–46.

P. 199. In the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, Tehran, p. 19, the following countries are enumerated: 45. *Ṭukhāristān*, 46. *Bilūr*, 47. *Qashmīr*, 48. *Bilād al-thalj* ("country of the snow") and 49. *Soghd*.

P. 211. As Juvaynī, i, 47, spells *فناکت*, the original name must have been *Panākat*.

P. 212. The river *Khwābdān* is mentioned between Shiraz and Naubandagān, see Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, ed. Margoliouth, iii, 183.

¹ The exact reference is to H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 418. The Macedonian writers gave the name of Caucasus to the (theoretical) range continuing the Taurus of Asia

Minor throughout Asia. See Eratosthenes in Arrian's *Anabasis*, v, 3, 1, and Strabo, xv, C689. The range formed the wall (*διαφράγμα*) between the northern and the southern zones of the Earth.

P. 214. *Dahana-yi shīr* must correspond to the whirlpool which Abū-Dulaf strangely calls فم البواب, see my “*Abū-Dulaf Mis‘ar ibn Muhahil’s travels in Iran*”. Cairo, 1955, p. 60. cf. also the name of a whirlpool in the Caspian in I. Faqīh, 290: *mauḍi’ yuqālu lahu dahān-shīr wa fihi durdūr*.

P. 218. § 6, 49. Add: Le Strange, “Al-Abrik, the capital of the Paulicians”, *JRAS*, 1896, p. 74.

P. 223. On China see in more detail my “Marvazī” and the analysis of Abū-Dulaf’s travels in the work quoted above *ad* p. 214.

Pp. 227 and 256. The most original part of the *Hudūd* is that concerning Central Asia and the eastern Turkish tribes. The source which our anonymous author used is probably Jayhānī’s lost work, but even Jayhānī could have combined various reports (see my “Marvazī”, p. 7). *Prima facie*, the basic itineraries utilized for the *northern* and *southern* parts of the present-day territories of Sin-kiang (Chinese Turkestan) may seem to form one block, but it is quite possible that the original inquiries were carried out by different persons and at different times. The shifting scenes of the 9th century, when the Tibetan-Chinese struggles were still going on and the Uyghur and other Turkish tribes were advancing westwards, greatly complicated the unification of the heterogeneous reports.

In my commentary I assumed that the date of the occupation of Kan-chou by the Uyghurs was A.D. 843–4, and that—as only Tibetans and Chinese are mentioned in our paragraph on Kan-chou (§ 9, 7)—the description of the latter must be previous to that date. In my “Tamīm”, p. 278, following the advice of the late Prof. G. Haloun, I amended the dates of the Uyghur occupation—of Kan-su as “after 847”, and of the region of Turfan as “after 866”—adding that both the principalities “came into their full rights only at the beginning of the tenth century”. As according to the *Hudūd* Kuchā (§ 9, 10) was exposed to the attacks of the Toghuzghuz, I had admitted the possibility of the Toghuzghuz being, in this case, some remnants of the *pre-Uyghur* “Western T’u-chüeh”. This hypothesis has been doubted by J. R. Hamilton in his carefully written book *Les Ouïghours à l’époque des cinq dynasties* [907–960], Paris, 1955, p. 13, in which he says: “on doit dater cette mention de *H.-‘Ā.* (§ 9, 7: Kan-chou) des années après 848, et on remarque alors que les renseignements de la géographie persane sur Kan-tcheou et sur Koutcha sont pratiquement contemporains”.

If, however, we consider the chapter on the Toghuzghuz (§ 12),

we see that the author represents the region of the Eastern T'ien-shan as solidly occupied by the Toghuzghuz, and in this case the term refers apparently to the Uyghurs. Gardīzī, whose sources are close to those of the *Hudūd*, adds that the religion of the Toghuzghuz settled in Panjikant (i.e. Bish-baliq) is Manichæan (*Līnāvarī*), and this was a typical feature of the Uyghurs.

Consequently, in consideration of § 12, we might assign to the report on Kuchā even a considerably later date than 847 (or even 866)—for example “*circa* 900”—which would bring it nearer to the time of Jayhānī. Should the report on Eastern T'ien-shan (§ 12) be connected with that on Kuchā (§ 9, 7), it would be tempting to assume that the report on Kan-chou (§ 9, 7) also belongs to the same original source. However, in view of the possible multiplicity of reports such a conclusion is not indispensable: our § 9, 7, may still have in view the situation *circa* or before 847 (848?).

I am afraid that for the time being we cannot fix any closer the exact period to which the *Hudūd* refers. All we can say is that the reports on the distribution of the Turkish tribes are so remarkably circumstantial that they must be based on very careful intelligence. More precision may yet come from Saka, Soghdian, Tibetan, or Chinese documents.

P. 229. The late G. Haloun derived the name of Khumdān from Chinese, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, p. 408.

P. 235. On India see now my “Marvazī” and “Gardīzī on India”, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, pp. 625–640. The king *Dahum* has been identified as Dharma-pāla of Bengal.

P. 251. *K.rmān* in I. Athīr, xi, 108, is not Farmul but Kurram, as in Juvaynī, ii, 139.

P. 254. On Tibet see my “Marvazī”, pp. 89–91, and L. Petech's remarks in *Oriente Moderno*, October, 1947, pp. 245–7. Also Petech, “Il Tibet nella geografia Musulmana”, in *Acc. dei Lincei, Rendiconti, scienze morali*, 1947, viii 2. More likely Tūsmat is to be looked for in the eastern part of Tibet.

P. 268. My analysis of the data of Tamīm is accompanied by an additional note, p. 431, which was further developed in my article “Tamīm ibn Baḥr”, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii 2, pp. 275–305, in which I arrived at the conclusion that this traveller visited the old Uyghur capital on the Orkhon. The reference to Qudāma should be 262, l. 5.

P. 271. *Misti kamṭha* refers not to Panjikant (Bish-baliq) but to the preceding *Sēcu* (H. W. B.).

P. 272. *Bārugh* mentioned between Panjikat (Bish-baligh) and Jāmghar is possibly identical with برلیغ (read *برلیغ) which Juvaynī,

ii, 225, mentions as the birthplace of Kurkūz, at a distance of 4 farsakhs from Bish-baligh.

P. 273. Instead of our *S.tkath* (§ 12, 4) read **Sikath*, i.e. Yar-khoto, see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 7.

P. 274. Instead of Baluchi *gwād* read: *gwāt* (H. W. B.).

P. 277. The ruins of Qayalīq lie on the right bank of the Ili near Chingildi (Dungene), in the district of Qara-tal, see *Kratkive soobshch. inst. mater. kulturī*, 1940, iv, pp. 43–5.

P. 280. In support of the Yaghma origin of the Qara-khanids see also *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20: *padshāh-i yaghmā rā Bughrā-khān khwānand*.

P. 287. Instead of *H.skī* Marvazi gives بعسکلیه which A. Z. V. Togan reads *Hayṭiliya* (?) and O. Pritsak (1951): *Baḡa-čigil*.¹

P. 288. Instead of *Chūnpān* O. Pritsak suggests **ḡabbūy-khān*.

P. 295. In Bīrūnī, *Canon*, No. 597 (A. Z. V. Togan, "Biruni's Picture of the World", p. 52) read: *Ajmā qaṣabat al-Khotan*. Now Achma, where some Saka MSS. were found. See Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, 468, and ii, Map: east of the Qara-tash-Chira river. Ūch and Bārmān (spelt *Fārmān*) are mentioned in *Zafar-nāma*, i, 485, in the course of 'Omar-shaykh's campaign.

P. 297. § 16. See correction *ad* p. 98.

P. 298. In Mīr Ḥaydar Tilpe's *Makhzan al-asrār*, Iskandar pādshāh is called the ruler of the Barlas, Qiyat, and M.qlīq (?).

P. 303. A. N. Bernstam locates Sū-yāb differently on the Great Kemin, above its junction with the Chu, see *Trudī Semirech. expeditsii* (the Chu valley), 1950, map i.

P. 305, l. 1. *Ajlād* (اجلاد) stands probably for *Ighrāq* (اغراق), cf. p. 275, and Juvaynī, ii, 138–9.

P. 309. Instead of Juvaynī, i, 101, read: ii, 102.

P. 316. According to Nasawī, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, 25 (trans. 44), Tārkan-khatun, mother of Jalāl al-dīn, was of the tribe Bayāwut, one of the subdivisions of Yimak. On the other hand, Juvaynī, ii, 198, says that she was a Qanqlī. In the Russian Lavrentievsky chronicle (year 1184) the term половцы Емякове reflects the name *Yimāk*.

P. 319. On the Dominican Julian, see now D. Sinor, *BSOAS*, 1953, xiv/3, p. 598.

¹ "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden", *ZDMG*, Band 101, 1951, 271. In this article O. I. Pritsak has discussed several of the names appearing in the

Hudūd, Gardīzī, Marvazī, etc. See also his other article, "Die Karachaniden", in *Der Islam*, Band 31/1, 1953, 18–68.

P. 326. § 23, 13. On Tabas-i Gīlakī see A. Eghbal “Amīr Dād Ḥabashī and Amīr Ismā‘īl Gīlakī”, in *Yādegār*, iii, No. 9, 49–63.

P. 327. § 23, 31. Ganj-rustāq was the fief of the well-known Rāfi’ b. Harthama (rather: Rāfi’ b. Naumard, Harthama being the name of his step-father), see I. Khallikān, iv, 326.

P. 328. § 23, 40. *S.ng* should read *Shing, see *Akhbār al-daulat al-Saljūqiya* (M. Iqbāl), p. 10. Dandānaqān has been identified with Tash-rabat and described by B. Zakhoder in *Istor. zhurnal*, 1943, No. 3, pp. 74–7, and S. A. Yershov, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kult.*, 1947, xv, 126–136.

P. 330. The *Shāh-nāma* (Tehran), v, 1199, insists on the appurtenance of Gūzgān to Iran: “and also Gōzgānān, the ‘blessed place’, as it has been called by the ruler of the world (Manūchihr or Kay-Khusrau ?)”.

P. 331. In *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, 360 (Raverty’s transl. 1054), فيوار قادن is mentioned at 10 fars. from Kālbūn (?). cf. Ṭabari, ii, 79, Balādhuri, 4–9, on the appointment (in 41/661) of Nāfi’ b. Khālīd as governor of قادن من ايواران **Ēvār-ān* possibly corresponds to *Fēvār* (should the latter be read with a ف *βēvār*?). cf. Marquart, *Wehrōt*, 42.

P. 334. § 23, 49. On an expedition against نمرون (?), the king of Gharchistān, in 107/725, see Balādhuri, 428, Ṭabari, ii, 1488, I. Athīr, v, 102. The name of the peak *Ishk means “a tusk”, see Minorsky, “Gardīzī on India”, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, 635 (cf. *yishk* in *Vis-u-Rāmīn*).

P. 335. For the titles composed with *-banda*, cf. Ṭabari, iii, 815–16: *Oṭrār-banda*.

It is tempting to identify Gurzivān (Qurzumān) with the kingdom of the petty king Waručān-sāh, mentioned in a Manichæan fragment. W. B. Henning, in *Jour. of the Greater India Soc.*, xi, No. 2, p. 88, came very near to this identification: “it would thus appear probable that the country Waruč lay in or close to, Gōzgānān and Gharčistān, or at any rate to the S.W. of Balkh”. Our Gurzuvān satisfies this condition, and seems to represent a regular phonetic development *V.rč > Gurz*.¹ The position of Jurzuvān “between,

¹ It remains to be seen whether this name appearing in the neighbourhood of the Hephthalite nest in Khorasan (Marquart, *Wehrōt*, 40–5, and recently

R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, 1948, p. 98) has any further links with the Hephthalite *Gurjara* in India.

two mountains” reminded I. Hauqal, 66, of the situation of Auda-ghusht in Morocco. cf. also Henning, *BSOAS*, 1947, xii/1, 49.

P. 336. § 23, 62. In 120/738 a famous battle was fought at Sān between Asad and the khaqan. It was called *waq‘a Sān* or *waq‘a Kh.rystān* (?), Tabari, ii, 1608–1613. cf. Juvaynī, ii, 219: *ḡ.rīstān* (?).

P. 338. § 23, 70. On the antiquities on the Khulm river see also Dr. Vyacheslov, in the collectanea *Afghanistan*, Moscow, 1924, pp. 147–155: *takht-i Rustam*. cf. *Zafar-nāma*, ii, 15.

P. 347. On the Khalaj see my “The Language of the Khalaj”, in *BSOAS*, 1940, x/2, pp. 417–437.

P. 349. It would be worth while to trace the origin of the name of the *Afghān* (not of the Afghan *nation*) to some Far Eastern tribe which at some time may have given its *rulers* to the Pathans. There is a Mongol tribe called Aokhan in Manchuria. O. Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 1935, pp. 264–5, tries to connect the name either with *aoga* “strength, might”, or with *aogan* “elder, senior”. It is curious that the epics of Keser-khan are known in the Burushaski language, which might indicate an early passage of some Mongol tribe through Pamir, or Western Sin-kiang to India. However, D. L. R. Lorimer, “An Oral Version of the Kesar saga from Hunza”, *Folk-lore*, xvii, No. 2, June, 1931, pp. 105–140, points out that the local version is derived from the Tibetan version of Ladakh. G. N. Roerich, “The epic of King Kesar of Ling”, in *JRAS. Bengal*, 1942, viii 2, p. 311, is also definite about the birth of the epic in north-eastern Tibet. My second reference to Mongols should be omitted.

P. 353. The historical sources on the present-day Tajikistan have been analysed by A. M. Belenitsky (on Khuttal) and N. Negmatov (Usrūshana) in *Tajikskaya arkheol. ekspeditsiya*, i (1950), pp. 109–127, and ii (1953), pp. 231–252.

Under §§ 25, 26, read: *Rēg-ar*, *lang-ar*, *band-ar*, though W. Henning (letter 3rd Nov., 1953) thinks that they may be of different formation. On Chaghāniyān see the ode of Farrukhī, *Dīvān*, 332, in which hints are made at the local mines of gold and silver.

P. 355, § 25, 60. Pāp, now Minchak-tepe, on the right bank of the Sir-darya, see Masson, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kulturi*, 1940, iv, 53.

P. 357, § 25, 78. I. Hauqal, 510, lists mints in Bukhara, Samarqand, and Īlāq.

P. 360. The famous “Treasure of Oxus”, now in the British Museum, is said to have been found near Fayḍābād.

P. 367. On the hot spring on the Lutkuh river see Morgenstierne, "Iranian Pamir languages", p. 485: the hot geyser in the Garm-Chashma valley in Shughnan is called *shund* "hot".

P. 370. On Khwārazm see Sachau, "Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārazm", in *SBWAW*, Phil.Hist.Kl., 1873, lxxiii, 471–506, and lxxiv, 285–330. Very important is the passage in Muqaddasi, 260, in which "al-Ma'mūn" (apparently the ruler of Khwārazm) is said to have captured Ātil (the former Khazar capital on the Volga). The numerous expeditions to Khwārazm headed by S. P. Tolstov have totally changed the archæological picture of the oasis. See S. P. Tolstov's *Ancient Khorezm* (in Russian), 1948, and the numerous later publications. On the Khwārazmian language, see the publications of W. Henning and A. A. Freiman (*Khorezmsky yazik*, i, 1951).

P. 378, § 29, 16. Correct: according to Yāqūt, i, 193: Arrajān (which al-Mutanabbī calls *Arjān*) "is called *Arghān* by the Persians" (thence probably the vulgar form *Arghūn* in the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 600.

P. 384, § 31, 21. The author of the *Ta'rikh Mayyāfāriqīn*, B.M. Or. 5803, fol. 180a. who travelled to the court of the "king of Jibāl" (Fakhr al-daula), also mentions the tombs of Kisā'i, of Muḥammad b. Hasan ṣāhib of Abū Ḥanīfa, etc. In fact I. Faqīh, 253, refers to the *aṭbāq al-mudahhana* "glazed dishes" of Rayy.

P. 391. On the region between Gīlān and Mūqān see Minorsky, "A Mongol Decree", in *BSOAS*, 1954, xv/3, 515–527.

P. 392. The proverb: *laysa warā' 'Abbadān qaryatun* is quoted in Juvaynī, iii, 20, and in Nizāmī's *Haft Paykāṛ*, ed. Rypka, 146.

P. 395. On I. Hauqal's passage, p. 254, concerning the local rulers of Ādharbāyjān, see now Minorsky, "The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān", in *BSOAS*, 1953, xv/3, 514–529.

P. 397. *Sangān/Sanjān* is possibly the original home of the Rawwādids. See Minorsky, "A Mongol Decree", *BSOAS*, 1954, xvi/13, p. 518.

P. 398. On Arrān, see new geographical data in Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, and "The Caucasian Vassals", *BSOAS*, xvi/3.

P. 341. In addition to the important list of Caucasian highlanders in the *Armenian Geography*, see also the list in the Armenian historian Elishe (Russ. transl., p. 157) and the report of the journey of the bishop Israel in Moses Kalankatvats'i, ii, ch. 39. See also the analysis of data on Daghestan in Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (II)—ready for publication.

Pp. 405–411. The form attested in the sources before the

16th century is شروان *Sharvān, but already in the *Hudūd* the form *Shīrvān* makes its appearance on f. 33b. The term "Mazyadids" is misleading for it coincides with the designation of an entirely different Mesopotamian dynasty. The dynasty of Sharvān, as attested in Khāqānī's *Dīwān*, 50, 474, 686, called themselves *Yazīdiyyān*, "Yazidids". The later "Kisrānids" also considered themselves as Yazidids. The tree on p. 405 has been revised in my *Studies* (II). [On the original form of the name see the quotations collected by S. Nafīsī in his article *Sharvān-va-Shīrvān*, in *Armaghān*, 1327/1948, No. 1 (Farvardīn), pp. 23-32.]

P. 411, § 37. Ibn al-Mujāwir's work is called *Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir*, see now "Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis", i-ii, edidit O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951-4.

P. 418, § 42. Arabic descriptions of the Byzantine Empire are exhaustively quoted in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Bruxelles, i (1935), ii (1950)—now entirely revised by M. Canard. cf. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines", in *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, ii, 455-469. See also a short list of Byzantine titles in *Mujmal al-tawārikh*, Tehran, 1318/1939, pp. 424-5.

P. 419. Read: "the neighbouring kingdoms of the Burjān, Abar, Burghar, Saqāliba, Khazar, and others (*wa ghayri-him*)". (Here *Abar* may refer to the Avars of *Daghestan*).

P. 420, l. 2: the use of the term "the Khazar sea" for the Black Sea is attested even in the history of the Seljuqs of Rum by Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, iv, 129: *dhikr-i guzashtan-i lashkar-i sulṭān az daryā-yi Khazar*. The most probable explanation is that the author of the *Hudūd* misread خزر into جرز *Jurz*, which he then

reproduced in the Persian form گرز *Gurz*. P. 422. The "islands" of the Black Sea refer to the Taman peninsula, which, in point of fact, consisted of islands divided by branches of the Kuban, see V. I. Moshinskaya in *Vestn. drev. istorii*, vol. 3 (17), 1946, pp. 203-8.

P. 425. An example of the strange deformations of the Northern Spanish names is found in the *Ākām al-marjān*, ed. A. Codazzi, p. 412: والثغر الاعلى فيما يحاور بلاد الشما كسة ومن الثغر الشرقى وشفة: والثغر الاعلى فيما يحاور بلاد الشما كسة ومن الثغر الشرقى وشفة (for people of Jacá (?), Huesca, Aragon).

P. 427, § 43. In his *Ibn Fadlān*, A. Z. V. Togan has obscured the situation by playing down the rôle of the Slavs, while trying to give a new explanation of the term *Şaqāliba*, p. 305: "Anfangs, als man die Bulgaren, Burtasen und andere Völker der mittleren Wolga

noch *Ṣaḡālība* nannte, hat man das ganze System der Wolga als “*Nahr al-Ṣaḡālība*” bezeichnet, später aber, als das Wort ‘*Ṣaḡālība*’ in Bezug auf Ost- und Nordeuropa mehr für die germanischen und finnischen Völker, und speziell (*sic*—V.M.) für die Germanen und baltischen Völker verwendet wurde, bedeutete ‘*Nahr al-Ṣaḡālība*’ offenbar nur die Obere Wolga”. For the situation in 10th-century Europe—which had changed since the times of Ptolemy and Tacitus—see the independent contemporary reports on the *Ṣaḡālība* by Mas‘ūdi (A.D. 943) in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95–160; and by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb (A.D. 355/965) in Th. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim b. Ja‘kūb de itinere slavico*, Kraków, 1946, and A. Z. V. Togan’s own quotation of Khuwārizmī, No. 1593 (indicating the *changes* which had taken place in the area of Ptolemy’s *Germania*).

B. N. Zakhoder, in his review of my “*Marvazī*”, *Izv. geogr. obshch.*, 1943, 75/6, pp. 25–43, has objected to my identification of the *Ṣaḡālība* kings with the Moravian princes. The fact is that the Arabs often fused their information on various kinds of *Ṣaḡālība* in the same rubric. Thus Moravia could be placed under the same roof as the town *وانتبث*. (This latter (*Hudūd*, 431, note 4), has still considerable chances to reflect the name of the *Viētic*, *Vyatichi*, as, first suggested by Westberg, “*Beiträge*”, 1899, p. 213, despite Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 200).

P. 432, § 44. In Soviet literature the origin of the *Rūs* (or rather of their name) is still debated with great animation—although the events of the 9th–10th centuries have no more bearing on the situation obtaining in the 20th century than the origin of the names *France* or *Prussia* on contemporary politics. Some arguments seem to miss the point and tone down such facts as the terminology used by Const. Porphyrogenitus and the *Initial Russian Chronicle*, new edition, 1950, i, 24. To the literature quoted at the beginning of § 44 (p. 432) should be added V. Barthold’s “*Arabskiye izvestiya o russkikh*”, written in 1918 but published posthumously in 1940, in *Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, i, 15–50. See also the unexpected new facts on the expeditions of the *Rūs* on the Caspian, in Minorsky, “*Rus’ v Zakavkazye*”, in *Izv. na instituta na bŭlgar. istoriya*, Sofia, 1954, v, 377–380. Pp. 432–3: the term *Warank* first emerging in *Bīrūnī* was probably heard by the latter from the Bulghar ambassador to Sultan Maḥmūd, see Minorsky, “On some of *Biruni*’s informants”, in *Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 233–6. P. 436, note 2: the identity of *Arthā* with the Finnish

Erzya is far from conclusive. By no means would the Arabs have confused the appearance of a Finnish people with the Rūs of Kūyāba (Kiev) and Novgorod. The character ث in *Arθā* is highly problematic and, having regard to the variant ابارقه and to the fact that among the goods coming from Arthā (Iṣṭakhri, 226) was *riṣās* “lead or tin”, one should not discard Chwolson’s tentative identification of this territory with Biarmia, though not with *Perm* but with the old region of the Sagas near the White Sea and Lake Ladoga, visited by Norsemen from Norway, cf. M. A. Tallgren, “Biarmia”, in *Eurasia septentrionalis*, 1931, vi, 100–120.

P. 438, § 45. A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlan*, 317, writes of the Inner Bulghar: “hier die Donau Bulgaren, sonst die Kaukasischen Bulgar-Balqaren”. Some confusion in the use of this rare term is not excluded, but D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 1954, 218, retains the interpretation of I. Hauqal’s reference (p. 279, second edition, 291) to Inner Bulgaria as having in view the Danube Bulgaria.

P. 442. On the Arab occupation of Apulia and Bari and their expeditions against Ragusa, see Babinger, *Raguse* in *EL*.

P. 444, § 48. On the Alans a mass of information has been systematized in V. I. Abayev’s articles collected in *Osetinsky yazik*, i, 1949. See also Minorsky, “The Alan capital Magas”, in *BSOAS*, 1952, xiv/2, 221–238: Mas’ūdi’s *Maghaṣ*, interpreted in the manuscripts as ديانة, should be restored as ذبابة “a fly”! P. 446: Marquart’s interpretation of *Cherkes* as *Chār-Kas* “the four Kas” finds support in the name of one of Saladin’s generals: جهاركس, Abul-Fidā, iv, 245.

P. 447. On the Sarīr, see Nizāmī’s poem *Iskandar-nāma* (*Sharaf-nāma*), ch. xl, ed. Ali-zade and Bertels, Baku, 1947, p. 300. P. 448: خندان must certainly be restored as *خيداق; in Khaqani, *Dīvān*, p. 240, غيداق. *Barshaliya* (*Barashliya* ?) most probably corresponds to *Varac’-an* (in Armenian) and the present-day *Bashli* (**Barash-li*) “borough”. As a parallel to our رنجس (or rather دنجس) one can quote ديكس in the *History of Bāb al-abwāb*. The place probably corresponds to the present-day Dilgasha.

P. 450, § 50. See now D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954. cf. also S. T. Eremian, “Moses of Kalankatuk’ on the embassy of the Albanian prince Varax-Trdat

to the Khazar khakan Alp-Ilitver", in *Zap. Instit. Vostokoved.*, 1939, vii, 129-155. A. Z. V. Togan's article "Die Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches", see above, p. lxvi, is vitiated by his polemical tone and contradictions. On the one hand he admits the compilatory character of the Islamic sources (p. 40) and their tendency to fuse heterogeneous materials (pp. 45, 49: "zusammengeworfen"; p. 61: "verworren"). On the other hand, he accepts the data of the *Hudūd* on Eastern Europe literally and reconstructs them into a rather fantastic scheme (pp. 43-4) which he then tries to identify with the area over which ran the writ of the Khazar khaqans (p. 45). My own contention was to analyse the composition of § 50, which is almost definitely an *amalgam* of the sources partly known to us (I. Khurdādhbih, Iṣṭakhri) and partly capable of being reconstructed from the combination of such parallel sources of I. Rusta, the *Hudūd*, and Gardīzī.

P. 453. The later *Saqsīn/Sakhsīn* is definitely a haplology of I. Khurdādhbih's *Sārigh-shīn* (or better *-*sīn* "tomb, monument", as the form *Saqsīn* seems to suggest). This assumption of mine has an importance for the mutual fixation of the position of either of them. **Khamlīkh* cannot be *Khan-balīkh*, as already stated by Marquart. The position of Sarkel/Sharkel/Bela-veza has been fixed near Trekh-Ostrovnaia, above the place where the Sakarka (whose name seems to reflect *Sarkel*) joins the Don (on the left bank), see K. V. Kudryashov in *Izv. Ak. Nauk.* (historical section), 1947, iv/6, pp. 536-568. P. 459, para (7), the quotation from the *Zafar-nama* should be omitted, because طانوس should be restored as *طانوس Tanus, as the plateau above Khunzakh (Avaria) is called.

P. 460. The mistake in the title of § 51, which in our MS. is *Burṭās*, was already noticed by Barthold in an additional note (Russian text, p. 32, note 3): "(Our source) erroneously refers the report on the Bulgars (*BGA*, vii, 141) to the Burṭās, see the title of the king (*Alm.š*), the Islamic religion and the three tribes (*aṣṇāf*). The confusion of the Bulgar with the Burṭās is also found in Yāqūt, i, 567". In full agreement with these remarks, and in conformity with I. Rusta, 141, I have restored the title of § 51 as: "[Bulkār]". A. Z. V. Togan, who disapproves of this indispensable improvement ("Völkerschaften", p. 44) must have neglected to read either Barthold's or my own explanations. In addition to the excellent old book by Shpilevsky, *Ancient towns and other Bulghar-Tatar remains in the government of Kazan* (in Russian), Kazan, 1875, see now B. D. Grekov, "The Volga Bulgars in the

9th–10th cent.”, in *Istor. Zapiski*, 1945, vol. 14, pp. 3–37, and A. P. Smirnov, *The Volga Bulgars* (in Russian), Moscow, 1951, 275 pp.

P. 462, § 52. See now Rikov, *Sketches of the history of Mordva according to archeol. data*, Moscow, 1933, 122 pp., and E. I. Goryunova, “Selische Polyanki”, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kulturi*, xv, 1947, 106–110 (the author knows the *Hudūd* and identifies the Burtās with the Moksha Mordvans). I must again stress the fact that the *Hudūd* locates the Burādhās (Burtās) to the west of the Volga. To the older Iranian elements in the Volga languages I wish to add the name of the “old man of the woods (леший)” in Chuvash: *arzurri* (*BSOAS*, xii/1, p. 81) which may be *arzur-āri*. The second element is Turkish, *ār* “a man”, but the first strikingly resembles the Avestan and Pahlavī *arzūr* “wood”, which (according to Marquart) underlies also the name of Shahrazūr (in Iraq).

P. 465, § 53. See H. Grégoire, “L’habitat primitif des Magyars et les Σαβάρτοι ἀσφαλοι”, *Byzantion*, 1938, xiii, 19–30, where he wishes to identify the *V.n.nd.r.* with the settlers from Adrianople established on the Danube between 813 and 836. The fact is that the *V.n.nd.r.* seem to be connected with the *Eastern* Bulgarian tribes (see pp. 466–7).

P. 468. I wrote: “The qualification of the *V.n.nd.r.* in our sources as cowards (*badh-dil*)¹ may be due to a wrong interpretation of the word *tarsā* (which means both ‘Christian’ and ‘coward’). In Gardīzī the *N.nd.r.* are definitely called Christians (*tarsā*) and Rūmī, i.e. ‘Byzantines’, very possibly with reference to their religion”. This is slightly different from how A. Z. V. Togan puts it (*ibid.*, 41): “(Minorsky) beziehtigt den Verfasser [*scil.* of the *Hudūd*] erneut der willkürlich [?V.M.] veränderten Wiedergabe des Wortlautes seiner Quelle, so habe er das richtige Wort *tarsā* ‘Christ’ bei Gardīzī einfach in *bad-dil* ‘Poltron’ abgeändert”. My entirely objective purpose was to account for the discrepancy of the two parallel sources. I have yet to hear of a different explanation.

P. 473, § 56, 2. *Kalāh-bar* is not Kra but Kedah, which lies south-east of the northern corner of the Kra peninsula in Malaya.

¹ Different from *badh-rag*, see Vocabulary.

PART ONE

V. V. BARTHOLD'S PREFACE

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

V. V. BARTHOLD'S PREFACE

THE present edition is intended to discharge an obligation under **P 3** which Russian science has long lain; namely, that of rendering available to the specialists the important work dealing with Muslim geography which was discovered in 1882 in Bukhārā¹ through the initiative of the Russian orientalist, A. G. Toumansky (d. 1920).

I

The activity of the early Islamic scholars, who wrote almost exclusively in Arabic, is known to us not only by their original works that have reached us, by references to the books that have disappeared, and by quotations from them, but also through bibliographical surveys, of which the necessity was felt even then. Only five years² after the date of the treatise preserved in the Toumansky MS., al-Nadīm composed his *Fihrist*; from this work and from later bibliographical compilations³ European scholars have culled most of their information as to what works, known to be important and not yet to be found in European libraries, must still be sought for. Such quests, even if successful in bringing to light desired volumes, have sometimes brought disillusion as well, even in the cases when the book was linked with a great name.

The Persian Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī, who had the luck to discover the present precious MS., was searching in Bukhārā, on behalf of Toumansky, for the historical treatise of Ulugh-bek. Judging by what is already known of the latter work, its discovery

¹ On the discovery of the Toumansky MS. and its contents see *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya (ZVO)*, x, 121–37.

² Now we know that the year 377 H. is given not only in the Leiden MS., as stated in Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 147, but, for instance, in Yāqūt's *Irshād* (vi, 408). It is known that the same date is several times given in the treatise itself (cf. *ZVO*, iv, 402); for the completion of parts i and ii even the day is given (Saturday, 1st of Sha'bān = 26.xi.987), though in isolated passages, apparently written by another person, later dates are given. Particularly characteristic are the words (p. 132) about the scholar

Marzbānī, born in Jumādā II, 297 (II–III. 910): “And he is alive in these our times, in 377; and we beg of God for him health and continuation of life, from God's clemency and bounty; and he died in 378, may God have mercy on him.” The last words belong, evidently, not to the author (otherwise he would have deleted the previous words) but to another person. [? V.M.]

³ The work of the wazīr Maghribī who continued al-Nadīm, see *Irshād*, vi, 467, has not reached us. On the wazīr Maghribī see Brockelmann, i, 353; E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanovre 1927, p. 15.

would have brought but little benefit to science.¹ But while engaged in his search, Gulpāyagānī found a document quite unknown until then and mentioned in none of the bibliographical surveys, which has proved to be of the greatest scientific importance.

The MS. does not contain the author's name, but the date of its composition is indicated: the author began his work in 372 H. (between 26.vi.982 and 14.vi.983) for Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, prince of the province of Gūzgān or Gūzgānān (in Arabic garb *ḡūzjān*, or *ḡūzjānān*), which lies in the north-western part of the present-day Afghānistān. It is quite natural that the author allows more space (ff. 20b–21a) to this province than would have been expected from its comparative unimportance, even though at that time Gūzgān was experiencing, under the Farīghūnid dynasty, a period of political and cultural prosperity.

On Gūzgān and the Farīghūnids Toumansky's article² gives only a fragment from Rashīd al-dīn's *ḡāmi' al-tawārikh*, almost literally copied, as is the whole of the corresponding part of this work, from P 4 'Utbī's history in its Persian | translation by Abul-Sharaf Jarbādhagānī.³ In a note added to Toumansky's article I have mentioned a fact recorded by an author of the eleventh century—Gardīzī—that the amīr of Samarqand, Nūḥ ibn-Manṣūr (A.D. 976–97), had accepted ties of relationship with the head of the Farīghūnids. This fact belongs to the beginning of the reign of Nūḥ (who ascended the throne at the age of thirteen). The prince of Gūzgān in the Gardīzī text, as in that of our author, bears the name of Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad (in 'Utbī: Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad).⁴

Both our author and other geographers of the tenth century describe the Gūzgān of the Farīghūnids as much more extensive than it had hitherto been. Both at the time of the Muslim conquest⁵ and later, according to the geographers of the ninth century A.D., Fāryāb (on the site of the town of Daulatābād, or that of the village of Khayrābād)⁶ was not reckoned as in Gūzgān, the western frontier of the latter, as attested by Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary,⁷ passing between

¹ V. Barthold, *Ulugh-bek*, Petrograd, 1918, p. 113 and sq. (in Russian).

² ZVO, x, 128 and sq.

³ On the original and translation see my *Turkestan*, ii, 20 and sq.; Engl. ed., GMS, p. 19 and sq. The text of the chapter on the Farīghūnids borrowed from the Persian translation of 'Utbī, *Tehrān*, 1272, p. 305 and sq., is given by Rashīd al-dīn with some unessential alterations and abbreviations. The

Arabic original 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 101.

⁴ Text of Gardīzī, according to the Cambridge MS., King's College, 213, f. 104b: *va bā amīr Abul-Ḥasan ibn Farīghūn khwīshī kard tā bad-īshān pusht-i ū qawī gash*.

⁵ e.g. Balādhurī, p. 406 below.

⁶ V. Barthold, *Historico-geographical Survey of Iran* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 23. [See Map viii.]

⁷ BGA, vi, 3211.

Fāryāb and Shabūrquān¹ (or Shubūrquān;² in our author: Ushbūrquān or Ashbūrquān,³ now Shibarghān), at an equal distance (9 farsakhs) from both. According to Ya'qūbī, Fāryāb was "the old town"; the second most important town at that time, and the residence of the Arab governor (*'āmil*) of Fāryāb, was the town of Yahūdān (in Iṣṭakhrī and others: Yahūdiya; in our author: Jahūdhān, on the site of Maymana). But, on the other hand, the mountainous province Gurzivān, on the upper course of the river Āb-i Maymana, was considered a part of Gūzgān; there lived the local ruler (*malik*) of Gūzgān, whereas the Arab governors of Gūzgān resided in Anbār (according to our author: Anbīr), on the site of the present town Sar-i-Pul. In Iṣṭakhrī's time (or that of his source, Balkhī) the situation had changed. It is not mentioned whether at that time Fāryāb was part of Gūzgān, but Yahūdiya was reckoned as belonging to it and as being even its principal town, while Anbār was the seat of the government (*sulṭān*); evidently at that time a distinction no longer existed between the Arab governor and the local ruler. As to our author, he names Jahūdhān as the residence of the "king of Gūzgān", and Anbār as the capital of the province (*qaṣaba*, the same term is used by Bīrūnī,⁴ in whose work we also find the form Anbīr).

Our author assigns to the rulers of Gūzgān the first place among the vassal princes (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) of the Sāmānid kingdom, not only for their political importance, but also for their "love of science". At that time the sway of the prince of Gūzgān reached to the north as far as the Amū-daryā and to the south was recognized by all the chiefs (*mihtar*) of the mountain provinces of Gharchistān and Ghūr. A part of Gharchistān was called "Gharchistān of Gūzgān" and was administered directly by the prince of Gūzgān, whose frontier towns were those of Ṭālaqān, on the site of Qal'a-Walī,⁵ and Rabāṭ-i Karvān on the upper Harīrūd.⁶ On the upper Murghāb Gūzgān had a common frontier with that of the prince of Bust (on the Hilmand). It may be concluded therefrom that nearly the whole of the province of Ghūr owed allegiance to the prince of Bust. But in his description of Ghūr (f. 21b) the author calls the ruler | of this province, the Ghūrshāh, vassal of the amīr of Gūzgān. To the latter tribute was

¹ Such vocalization in Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 270; in Marco Polo, *Sapurgan*, with several variants.

² Vocalization, *BGA*, vi, 32₁₁; vii, 287₁₀; distorted vocalization in Yāqūt, iii, 254₁₀ and 305₄, though Yāqūt had visited the place.

³ *BGA*, ii, 321₁₇ and 322₇: Ashbūrquān.

⁴ Thus in the work of A.-Z. Validov [Validi], *Al-Bīrūnī āthārī*, now in the press, p. 18; in the Berlin MS. (on it see Ahlwardt, No. 5667), f. 123a, instead of *qaṣaba* stands *qaṣr*.

⁵ On its situation see *ZVO*, xiv, 031.

⁶ Similarly in Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 272; cf. *ibid.* 265 below. [V.i., p. 336.]

likewise paid by the nomad Arabs of the neighbouring steppes, who numbered 20,000, possessed herds of sheep and camels and were considered to be the richest of all the Arabs of Khorāsān.

The Farīghūnids called themselves descendants of the mythical Farīdūn,¹ but apparently there exists no information as to whence this dynasty sprang, when and how it gained its power, and whether or not it was related to the pre-Islamic rulers of Gūzgān, the Gūzgān-khudāts.² The name of the dynasty had some relation to a locality in the extreme north of the province; Maqdisī³ mentions a Rabāṭ Afrīghūn, one day's march from Andkhoy and two from Karkī. According to Narshakhī,⁴ Aḥmad ibn-Farīghūn was already amīr of Gūzgān in the last years of the ninth century, at the time when the relations between the Ṣaffārid 'Amr ibn-Laith and the Sāmānid Ismā'il ibn-Aḥmad were broken off. Since Iṣṭakhri⁵ mentions an Abul Ḥārith ibn-Farīghūn, apparently the same Abul Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad who was a contemporary of our author, this ruler must have lived unusually long.⁶ It is probable that the name of this prince was not yet recorded in Balkhī's original work, as it is mentioned not in the chapter on Khorāsān, but in that on Fārs, a chapter which, according to de Goeje,⁷ belongs without doubt to Iṣṭakhri and not to Balkhī, though Iṣṭakhri wrote it a long time before his work was brought out, not later than in 933, *i.e.* half a century before the appearance of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Iṣṭakhri mentions also a secretary or minister (*kātib*) of the amīr of Gūzgān, Ja'far ibn-Sahl ibn-Marzubān, of the family of Marzubān ibn-Zādiya, who was a native of Shīrāz. This Ja'far was still alive at the time when Ibn Ḥauqal composed his chapter on Khorāsān, *i.e.* at the end of the nine hundred and sixties;⁸ Ibn Ḥauqal⁹ was acquainted with him and speaks of

¹ There is no foundation for reading Afrīghūn instead of Afrīdhūn, as Toumansky proposes, *ZVO*, x, 130.

² J. Marquart (Markwart), *Ērānshahr*, p. 80. ³ *BGA*, iii, 347₆.

⁴ Ed. Schefer, p. 85.

⁵ *BGA*, i, 148₂.

⁶ The year of his death apparently is not mentioned anywhere. He was still alive in 999 at the time of the conquest of Khorāsān by Maḥmūd ('Utbi-Manīni, i, 316); the account of the battle of Charkhiyān (4 January 1008; cf. my *Turkestan*, ii, 287) names, as the ruler of Gūzgān, his son and successor Abū-Naṣr ('Utbi-Manīni, ii, 84), who died in 401 (1010-11). Contrary to Markov, *Invent. Catal. of Muslim Coins*

of the Hermitage (in Russian), SPb. 1896, p. 178 and sq., and Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 205, the Farīghūnids never possessed Balkh and did not strike coins. The names and dates given by Zambaur do not in the least correspond to reality and represent a step backwards in comparison with Sachau's article to which Zambaur refers.

⁷ *ZDMG*, xxv, 50.

⁸ As the Sāmānid amīr contemporary with himself Ibn Ḥauqal names Maṣṣūr ibn-Nūḥ (961-76), *BGA*, ii, 341₁₄. In 358 (968-9) this author was on the Gurgān (*ibid.*, p. 282₁₀), in the same year "for the last time" in Mosul, *ibid.*, p. 146₉, and apparently returned no more to the east. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

the rare unanimity with which the qualities of the Gūzgān minister were extolled by his contemporaries. About all other statesmen, alongside with favourable reports, unfavourable ones might be heard or read; but Ibn-Hauqal never encountered any one who had an unfavourable opinion of Ja'far ibn-Sahl. Every one who visited Khorāsān during the previous fifty years was indebted to him for some kindness; those who could not visit him personally were not excepted, as they received letters and presents from him. On his lands he built *rabāṭs* and assigned revenues of his estates for their maintenance; in every *rabāṭ* and village he kept cows, to the number of one hundred or more, in order to provide milk for the refreshment of passing travellers. In no respect had he his equal in Khorāsān. It is very probable that Ja'far ibn-Sahl patronized Ibn-Hauqal's work.

Whether the author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* made any travels himself does not appear from his work. He speaks only of borrowing information from books, though he names | none of his Muslim sources. P 6 As Toumansky¹ remarks, "nowhere does he name his sources, except for Ptolemy, and even him, probably, only as a rhetorical figure". This remark does not entirely correspond to the facts, for besides Ptolemy, Aristotle is named (f. 2a), and his "Meteorologica" (*al-Āthār al-'ulwiya*) cited. The same passage (about the ocean encircling the earth) is quoted by al-Kharaqī, an author of the beginning of the twelfth century.² Ptolemy, as a matter of fact, is cited twice (4a and 5a), not in the chapters consecrated to separate provinces, but in the general part, *viz.* in the chapter on islands. There are mentioned thirteen islands and two mountains projecting into the Indian Ocean, and it is added that these two mountains are found in Ptolemy's books; but in Ptolemy's *Geographica* there is nothing on which this information could be founded. According to our author Ptolemy enumerated twenty-five islands in "the Western Ocean" (Ptolemy's *δυτικὸς Ὠκεανός*). These names are given and the majority are really borrowed from Ptolemy, beginning with the six "islands of the Blest" (*αἱ τῶν Μακάρων νῆσοι*, Ptolemy, iv, 6, 34, in Arabic authors generally al-Khālīdāt, in our author al-Khāliya, and in Battānī al-Khāliyāt).³ From Ptolemy was derived the information

¹ ZVO, x, 132.

² Text in Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnii opus astronomicum*, pars i, Mediolani, 1903, p. 175.

³ Battānī-Nallino, i, 17, note 2. This is not the only case of coincidence of Battānī's text with that of our author. According to Battānī, *ibid.*, p. 18, note 5, and our author (f. 4b), near

India and Ceylon there were fifty-nine islands; according to Ibn-Rusta, *BGA*, vii, 84₁₅, and Kharaqī, in agreement with the text of Ptolemy (vii, 4, 11-13), the islands were nineteen. In Nallino's opinion Battānī read *نط*, instead of *ط*, which stood in his list; this mistake was evidently made by the source common to Battānī and our author.

about the "isles of Britannia", of which, according to our author and to Arab geographers,¹ there were twelve (this number is not in Ptolemy). Concerning Britannia, as well as the "Isles of the Blest" (Canary Islands), our author gives information which, apparently, does not exist in other sources: he says that in the "Isles of the Blest" there are "gold mines; once a year people from the Sūdān and from towns of Sūs al-'Aqṣā make their way there and bring away gold from those mines; no one can live there on account of the intense heat". Britannia is called (f. 37b) "the storehouse of goods from Byzantium (Rūm) and Spain (Andalus)". Yet among the names of the twenty-five islands there are some that do not occur in Ptolemy: by mistake the author places Rhodes and Arwād in the Western Ocean; as to the legendary "Isle of Men" and "Isle of Women", their mention at this place is, no doubt, due to the fact that the legend of the Amazons was in Islamic times localized in the Baltic sea,² perhaps owing to a linguistic misunderstanding. The references of the author, like those of many other Muslim geographers,³ are, evidently, not to the original text of Ptolemy, but to the readaptation of his work by the Arabs; but there is nothing "rhetorical" about these references.

II

The history of Arabian geographical science has been very insufficiently investigated.⁴ In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which is P 7 not quite consistent | in the choice of the catch-words (cf. *Adab*, *al-Djabr*, on the one hand, and on the other *Astrology*, *Astronomy*), where we might have expected to find an article on this subject, nothing is to be found either under *Djaghrāfiyā*, or *Geography*. In Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* there are sections consecrated to geographical literature but, as has already been pointed out by its reviewer,⁵ the insufficiency of Brockelmann's book⁶ is apparent, particularly as regards this topic. The learned critic,

¹ BGA, vii, 85₁₃, Ibn Rusta; Battāni-Nallino, i, 18.

² Kunik-Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, &c., i, 80; Peschel-Ruge, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 90; Nallino, *Al-Huwārizmī*, p. 50.

³ Nallino, *l.c.*, p. 52.

⁴ In the broadly planned *Introduction to the History of Sciences* (G. Sarton, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 376, 1927; cf. a review by E. J. Holmyard in *JRAS*, 1929, 209 and sq.) much space is allotted to geographical science "from Hecataeus to Bīrūnī". It is stated there that Greek

knowledge was transmitted by the Christian school to other Oriental Christians—Syrians and Arabs—and finally to the Muslims; that from the second half of the seventh century to the end of the eleventh century Arabic was the principal language of science and progress, and that in the twelfth century "the intellectual supremacy of the Muslims had already come to an end" (p. 18), which is hardly true.

⁵ [Seybold, *Edrisiana*, I.], ZDMG, lxiii, 596.

⁶ [See now its *Supplement*. V.M.]

writing in 1908, was of opinion that the best survey of Arabian geographical literature was that of Reinaud, published in 1848.¹ The work of Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, which in the first half of the ninth century laid the first foundations of Arabian geographical science, became accessible in a printed edition only in 1926.² But as early as 1895 this work had been the subject of a classical study by C. A. Nallino,³ who later took up again numerous questions concerning Khuwārizmī and Arabian geographical science in general, in his extensive Latin work on the astronomer Battānī (d. in A.D. 929).⁴

It is a well-established fact that Arabian geography, like Arabian astronomy, was founded on Ptolemy. In the Middle Ages Ptolemy was studied only in the East, at first in the Christian East, later in the Muslim East, whereas in Western Europe until the fifteenth century he remained quite forgotten.⁵ From Ptolemy's astronomical work was also borrowed the historical canon, that is, the chronology of reigns from the eighth century B.C. to the second century A.D., which was adopted by the Christian world jointly with the chronology of Eusebius (fourth century A.D.), in which history begins with Abraham and the kings⁶ contemporary with him and with his descendants. Some efforts, not always successful, were made in Muslim literature to localize ancient geographical traditions; thus Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (eleventh century) tried to identify the classical Ilion with the Syrian Tripoli.⁷ There is no literal rendering of Ptolemy's text in Arabic; from the outset Muslim scholars treated this text much more independently than at a later date did the West-European scholars.

¹ *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, t. i, Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux.

² *Das Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ des Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī*, herausg. von Hans v. Mžik, Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, III. Band.

³ C. A. Nallino, *Al-Ḥuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, Reale Acad. d. Lincei, Serie V, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, &c., vol. ii, parte 1a.

⁴ C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, Public. del Reale Osservatorio di Brera in Milano, No. xl, parte i-iii. The third part (Arabic text) appeared in 1899, the first in 1903, the second in 1907.

⁵ K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore*

of the Time of the Crusades, New York, 1925, Amer. Geogr. Soc., Research Series, No. 15, pp. 10, 19.

⁶ See the text of Ptolemy's *Canon*, e.g. C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 305 sq. On Eusebius, *ibid.*, p. 163 sq. According both to Eusebius and Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 85, the list of kings begins with Bel, father of Ninus.

⁷ Berlin MS. Ahlw. 5667, f. 34a:

طوطالوس — في أيامه فتحت ايلون وهو (sic!)

اطرابلس شام بعد حصار عشر سنين لسبب

استيلا اسكندر فيروس امرأة بعض الملوك

cf. *Chronologie*, p. 86.

- Already in Muḥammad Khuwārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* we find a new version of Ptolemy, partly corrected and completed, partly distorted. According to Nallino¹ Khuwārizmī's *rifacimento* is a work the like of which no European nation could have produced at the dawn of its scientific activity. Yet this early independence of Muslim scholars had its negative side as well. There was no firm and definite starting-point for scientific thought and no possibility of discriminating between facts borrowed from different sources; even in the tenth century, geographers did not know what was authentic in Ptolemy and what had been added by Muslim authors.]

P 8 The exact date of M. KHUWĀRIZMĪ's work is unknown. The scanty biographical information about him has lately been summarized by E. Wiedemann.² The appellation *al-Qutrubbuli* indicates that he was associated not only with Khorāsān, but also with the locality on the Tigris whither, perhaps, already his ancestors had migrated; the appellation al-Majūsī shows that his ancestors were not Christians but Zoroastrians; this may partly account for the fact that he was more influenced by Indian and Persian traditions than by Greek ones. Besides astronomical and mathematical treatises (it is well known that "algorithm" is a distorted form of al-Khuwārizmī's name), he compiled an historical work, references to which are found in so early an historian as Aḥmad ibn-Abī-Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr;³ in Ṭabarī the earliest reference to Khuwārizmī's work deals with the death of the caliph Mahdī (A.D. 785),⁴ while the last reference is made under 210 (A.D. 825-6).⁵ Khuwārizmī took part in the scientific activity which flourished in the reign of the caliph Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33); his geographical work is surely connected with the map drawn up for Ma'mūn, which was regarded as a joint production;⁶ later, under the influence of the legend of the Septuaginta, &c., it was said that seventy scholars took part in this work.⁷ Consequently in Nallino's⁸ opinion Khuwārizmī's work undoubtedly was composed under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33). Meanwhile, Nallino determines tentatively the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem*. Among the towns of the third climate the insignificant village of Qiman⁹ in Upper Egypt is named, which could have become known in consequence of a victory of the Government troops over the rebels in 201 (A.D. 816-17);¹⁰ if so, Khuwārizmī wrote not earlier than 201 H. As the latest

¹ *Al-Huwārizmī*, p. 53.

² *Enc. of Islam*.

³ *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Keller, p. 349.

⁴ Ṭabarī, iii, 551₁₂.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1085₁₃. ⁶ *BGA*, viii, 331₄.

⁷ Reinaud, *Introd.*, p. xlv, note 2.

Nallino, *Al-Huwārizmī*, p. 13.

⁸ Nallino, *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ In Mẓik's edition, No. 153.

¹⁰ A more exact date in Kindī (GMS, xix, 166₈): Jumādā I, 201 (25 Nov.-24 Dec. 816).

date, 210 (A.D. 826-7) is proposed, but no explicit reason for its adoption is advanced. In reality the work of Khuwārizmī in its present form cannot be placed in the reign of Ma'mūn, as it mentions the new capital Surra-man-ra'ā (Sāmarrā),¹ the construction of which began in 211 (A.D. 836)² under the caliph Mu'taṣim (A.D. 833-42). The *terminus post quem* must therefore be advanced by twenty years; as *terminus ante quem* could be taken the date of Khuwārizmī's death, if that date were known to us; the last time Khuwārizmī's name seems to be mentioned is on the occasion of the caliph Wāthiq's death in A.D. 847.³

In Khuwārizmī's treatise we meet along with geographical names of the Muslim period a great number of ancient names; later these names rapidly begin to disappear; Yāqūt in his dictionary says, with reference to geographical names occurring in pre-Muslim authors, that "owing to the length of time"⁴ they have mostly become unintelligible. It is interesting to note the efforts of Khuwārizmī to connect the ancient names with those of his time. Germany is called land of the Slavs; the two Sarmatias are respectively identified with the land of the Danube Bulgars and that of the Alāns; both Scythias, respectively, with the land of the Turks in general and that of the Turks of the extreme east, the Toghuzghuz; Serika, with Šīnistān, i.e. China.⁵ The last example shows that for comparison with Greek terms Persian geographical names were utilized as well. | For the P 9 exact title of Ptolemy's book Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, "Geography" or in the Arabic version *ḡaghrāfiyā* was substituted; this word was generally translated as "image of the earth" (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*),⁶ and here probably lies the explanation of the title of Khuwārizmī's book. The author of the *Fihrist*⁷ knew that Ptolemy's work consisted of eight books or sections (in Greek βιβλίον, in Arabic *maqāla*). The first translation, an unsatisfactory one, was made for a younger contemporary of Khuwārizmī, Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-KINDĪ, tutor and familiar of Aḥmad, son of the caliph Mu'taṣim. The death of Kindī is given as 260 (A.D. 873-4).⁸ It is very probable⁹ that Kindī utilized this translation for his own geographical work, "Description of the inhabited part of the earth" (*Rasm al-ma'mūr min al-arḍ*), mentioned

¹ In Mżik's edition, No. 301.

² Ṭabarī, iii, 1180; BGA, viii, 357s.

³ Ṭabarī, iii, 1364₁₆.

⁴ *Li-tatāwuli-l-zamān*, Yāqūt, i, 7s.

⁵ Mżik's edition, p. 105 (Nos. 1593, 1596, 1600, 1601, 1602).

⁶ e.g. Yāqūt, i, 7s, also H. Khalifa, ii, 601. In Mas'ūdī, BGA, viii, 33₁₈, the

translation is *qaṭ' al-arḍ* (the crossing of the earth).

⁷ *Fihrist*, p. 268; ZDMG, I, 213.

⁸ Thus according to Nallino's Arabic work, *ʿIlm al-falak*, p. 115; Tj. de Boer, *Enc. of Islam*, ii, p. 1095, says only that he was still alive in 256 (A.D. 870).

⁹ Thus Brockelmann, i, 225.

by Mas'ūdī.¹ A pupil of Kindī, Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ṭayyib SARAKHSĪ (d. in A.D. 899),² was also author of a geographical work; the title "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" (*Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*),³ frequently occurring in Arabic geographical literature, is also often applied to this work. At the same time an improved translation of Ptolemy was made by Abul-Ḥasan THĀBIT IBN QURRA (A.D. 836–901), a native of pagan Ḥarrān and a great admirer of his native pagan culture. By a similar disposition Nallino⁴ explains the tendency of BATTĀNĪ, who also belonged to the pagan (Ṣābian) milieu of Ḥarrān, to revert in some cases from Khuwārizmī to Ptolemy, though it constituted a step backwards (*un vero regresso*).

From the geographical works of such mathematicians and astronomers as Khuwārizmī, Kindī, Thābit ibn-Qurra, and Battānī the "Books of Routes and Kingdoms" greatly differed in that much more space was allotted in them to political and economical than to mathematical and physical geography. These works contained not only a list of provinces into which the world, and principally the Muslim world, as known to Arabic science, was divided, but also information on towns, commercial routes, articles of export from particular provinces and towns, &c. According to the *Fihrist*⁵ the author of the first work on "Routes and Kingdoms" was Abul-'Abbās Ja'far ibn-Aḥmad AL-MARWAZĪ; his work remained unfinished; after his death in Ahwāz his books were taken to Baghdād and there sold in 274 (A.D. 887–8). These data might lead to the belief that the composition of Marwazī's work belongs approximately to the same time, and this renders doubtful Marwazī's priority. Another work of the same title was also written by a ninth-century geographer, Abul-Qāsim 'Ubaydullāh ibn-'Abdillāh IBN-KHURDĀDHBĪH. This work is likewise mentioned in the *Fihrist*, with no historical details except that the author was a familiar of the caliph Mu'tamid (A.D. 870–92).⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbih dedicated his work to some member of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, whom he addressed in the second person without giving his name. The question of the dates of Ibn Khurdādhbih's life and work is treated in detail in de Goeje's Preface to the edition of the text. According to de Goeje⁷ Ibn Khurdādhbih originally wrote his work in 232 (A.D. 846–7), i.e. in the reign of the caliph Wāthiq (A.D. 842–7), and rewrote it in 272 (A.D. 885–6), under the caliph Mu'tamid. If the first date is exact, the "Book of Routes and

¹ BGA, viii, 2518.

² On the author Brockelmann, i, 210; *Fihrist*, p. 261.

³ H. Khalifa, i, 509 (No. 11870).

⁴ *Al-Huwārizmī*, p. 24.

⁵ *Fihrist*, 150; GMS, vi, 2, p. 400.

⁶ *Fihrist*, 149.

⁷ BGA, vi, p. xx.

Kingdoms" by Ibn Khurdādhbih appeared in its first version long before the work of Marwazī, and the mistake of al-Nadīm | must be P 10 explained by the fact that only the second version was known to him, as is shown by his words relating to the caliph Mu'tamid. De Goeje's opinion was opposed by Marquart, who¹ sought to prove that there was only one edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work, terminated not earlier than 272. Marquart attributes a decisive importance to the fact that already in that version of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work which de Goeje considers as the earlier one are mentioned the Toghuzghuz, as the Arabs usually called the Uyghurs, this information having been borrowed by Ibn Khurdādhbih from the traveller Tamīm ibn Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwi'ī, who visited the Toghuzghuz in a region which the Uyghurs, according to Chinese sources, conquered only in A.D. 866. Yet in another passage² Marquart himself quotes (though with a wrong interpretation) the text of Jāḥiẓ, who died in 255 (A.D. 868-9), in which the Toghuzghuz are mentioned not as new-comers, but as old inhabitants of the same locality, in the neighbourhood of the country of the Kharlukhs (Qarluq). Evidently the word Toghuzghuz, as is only to be expected from its etymological origin (*toquz-oghuz* "nine Oghuz"), did not always designate the Uyghurs; the Arabs apparently transferred to the Uyghurs the name of the previous inhabitants of the locality conquered by them.³ Therefore, in order to refute de Goeje's opinion on the two versions, other proofs ought to be adduced. It is doubtful, for instance, whether Ibn Khurdādhbih could speak about the caliph Wāthiq in his lifetime without using the traditional formulae accepted in such cases; but this argument would have significance only in case the full and not the abbreviated version of Ibn Khurdādhbih had reached us.

Unlike the work of Marwazī, forgotten at an early date, that of Ibn Khurdādhbih obtained a wide circulation and was utilized by many scholars, among whom was undoubtedly, though perhaps not at first hand, our author. The problem of what exactly was borrowed by later authors and from which of Ibn Khurdādhbih's works it was borrowed, is somewhat obscured by the fact that the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" has reached us, as de Goeje has proved,⁴ only in an abridged form. In quotations from Ibn Khurdādhbih by other authors a more complete text is sometimes found than in the two

¹ J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 390. Cf. Westberg in *Journ. Ministry of Public Instruction (YMNP)*, New Series, xiii, 1908, p. 374 (in Russian).

² *Streifzüge*, p. 91.

³ Cf. for instance, my *Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia, 1893-1894*, SPb. 1897 (in Russian), p. 33 and sq.

⁴ *BGA*, vi, p. xv and sq.

known MSS. of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work; many statements of such authors as Ibn al-Faqīh,¹ Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta,² and others are founded on Ibn Khurdādhbih. Besides the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" Ibn Khurdādhbih wrote several other treatises, of which the nearest to the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" as regards subject-matter was, judging by the title, the "Book of the Genealogies of the Persians and of their Colonies", and it is possible that some of the references to Ibn Khurdādhbih belong to this latter work. Another question to be elucidated is whether some of the authors could have utilized directly the same sources as those from which Ibn Khurdādhbih's data were derived.

Ibn Khurdādhbih says in his Preface that he translated Ptolemy's Geography³ from a foreign language (it is not said whether from Greek or Syriac); this translation is not mentioned in Arabic literature. According to Nallino,⁴ the translation of Ptolemy's Geography was made by Ibn Khurdādhbih for his own use and was not put into circulation. It is remarkable that even this author, who calls himself a translator of Ptolemy, attributes to Ptolemy the statement, which does not occur in the Greek original, namely, that in his times there were 4,200 towns altogether.⁵ In Ptolemy there is no such estimate of towns.

P 11 In spite of his study of Ptolemy, Ibn Khurdādhbih wrote his book on a totally different plan. The astronomical divisions are entirely put aside; the principal part is devoted to "itineraries", *i.e.* the description of routes connecting provinces and towns, with an exact indication of distances. Mas'ūdī,⁶ with some contempt, calls geography, as understood by Ibn Khurdādhbih, a science for couriers and letter-carriers (to a Russian these words may recall the well-known words of Mme Prostakov in Fonvizin's comedy *Nedorosl*). Actually, hardly any one will deny that the "Books of Routes and Kingdoms" form precisely the most precious part of Arabic geographical literature. Thanks to them we know the topography of the Muslim Near East of the ninth to tenth centuries much better than that of the ancient world. It is a matter of regret that among documents of ancient literature such compositions as Isidore of Charax' *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί*, and to a certain extent the "peripli" of the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean, occupy such an isolated place, though Ptolemy would have probably classed them with "chorography", which he opposes to scientific geography.

¹ BGA, v.² BGA, vii.³ BGA, vi, 54.⁴ BGA, vi, 39.⁵ *Prairies d'or*, ii, 70 and sq.; BGA,⁶ *Al-Ḥuwārizmī* p. 7.

vi, p. xii.

We have seen that a translation of Ptolemy had also been in the hands of a contemporary of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Kindī, who wrote a geographical treatise under a different title, indicating a closer relation to mathematical geography; but a pupil of Kindī, Aḥmad Sarakhsī, wrote, like Ibn Khurdādhbih, a book of routes and kingdoms. Sarakhsī, as his appellation denotes, was a native of Khorāsān, but his life and work, as far as it is known, were connected only with Baghdād, where he perished in 899, seemingly a victim to court intrigue.¹ Another disciple of Kindī, who came to 'Irāq from the eastern provinces, Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī, returned to his birthplace, where he lived for many years (he died in 934) and where he wrote his geographical work, which had a great influence on later geographers, among whom was our author.

III

De Goeje devoted a detailed article² to the question of the geographical work of ABŪ ZAYD BALKHĪ and of its relation to those works of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn-Hauqal which have reached us. In it he quotes biographical data on Balkhī found in the biographical dictionary of Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bil-wafāyāt*.³ It is clear now that Ṣafadī borrowed this information from Yāqūt,⁴ who, in his turn, found it in the book on Abū Zayd, which was composed by Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn-'Ubaydillāh ibn-Aḥmad, "client of the Commander of the Faithful". As to Abū Sahl, he utilized an earlier biography of Balkhī, the author of which was Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad al-Wazīrī who personally knew Abū Zayd Balkhī and had studied under him.⁵

The most important addition to de Goeje's data is Yāqūt's testimony according to which Balkhī died (in Dhul-qa'da 322/October 934) at the age of 87 or 88; he was therefore born about 235 (A.D. 849-50).⁶ His geographical work, composed, as may be gathered from de Goeje,⁷ in 308 or 309 (A.D. 920 or a little later), was therefore written by him | in his late old age. His journey to 'Irāq, mentioned **P 12** by de Goeje (Yāqūt⁸ says that he went there on foot with a caravan of pilgrims), belongs to his early youth, as is confirmed by the fact

¹ The version of the *Fihrist*, p. 261, according to which the wazīr Qāsim fraudulently added the name of Sarakhsī to the list, confirmed by the caliph, of persons condemned to death, is in contradiction with that of a familiar of the caliph Mu'taḍid, Ibn Ḥamdūn, recorded by Yāqūt, *GMS*, vi, 1, p. 159, according to which the caliph deliberately sent Sarakhsī to his death as an

heretic who had tried to lead astray the caliph himself.

² *ZDMG*, xxv, 42-58.

³ Brockelmann, ii, 32.

⁴ *GMS*, vi, 1, pp. 141-52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144, and 147

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷ *ZDMG*, xxv, 49.

⁸ *GMS*, vi, 1, p. 145.

that he studied under Kindī, who died soon after 870 (see above). Balkhī spent eight years in 'Irāq and while there visited the neighbouring countries. He acquired broad and many-sided knowledge and when, by way of Herat, he returned to his native Balkh, his learning won him great fame.¹ The eight years spent in 'Irāq do not cover, in all probability, the whole of the time of his travels; seeing that nothing is said about his life in Balkh before the accession to the throne of the Sāmānid Naṣr II (A.D. 914-43), one may conclude that he only returned to his birthplace in his old age. To the first years of the reign of Naṣr II belong, in all probability, Balkhī's comments, quoted in the *Fihrist*,² about his relations with the general Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī al-Marwazī (or Marwarrūdhi) and also with the wazīr Abū-'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad Jayhānī. Balkhī received from Ḥusayn and his brother Muḥammad Ṣu'lūk³ regular material assistance, but forfeited this subsidy in consequence of having composed a religious treatise, which later was highly appreciated in orthodox circles. Yāqūt⁴ quotes an opinion according to which Balkhī's work was ranked with the most useful, from the Muslim point of view, that had ever been written. (Ḥusayn was an Ismā'īlī heretic; Balkhī, too, in his youth held Shī'ite views, which he later abandoned.) The wazīr Jayhānī used to send to Balkhī presents of female slaves, but later deprived him of this attention because of Balkhī's treatise on sacrifices (*al-Qarābīn wal-Dhabā'ih*), which he disliked. The wazīr Jayhānī was suspected of dualism, and some peculiarities of his personal life were connected, in the minds of the people, with his religious opinions: he would not touch a man otherwise than through cloth or paper, and could not suffer the presence of cats.⁵

So far as is known, Balkhī was employed in the service of the State only during the short administration in Khorāsān of the eminent dihqān of Marv, Aḥmad ibn-Sahl (A.D. 918-19), who was held to be a descendant of the Persian kings.⁶ Aḥmad was at the head of the Sāmānid troops who quelled the revolt of Ḥusayn Marwarrūdhi, and took the latter prisoner. Subsequently, while in Nishāpūr, Aḥmad abandoned the cause of the Sāmānids and was obliged to retreat to Marv where he was defeated and taken prisoner, and later died in the prison of Bukhārā. Aḥmad ibn-Sahl came from a family

¹ GMS, vi, 1, p. 147.

² *Fihrist*, 138, quoted in Yāqūt, *l.c.*, 141 and sq. In the *Fihrist* Abū-'Alī stands, by mistake, instead of Abū-'Abdillāh.

³ On him de Goeje, *ZDMG*, xxv, 54, note 1.

⁴ GMS, vi, 1, p. 149 below.

⁵ On this GMS, vi, 6, p. 293, according to Sallāmi's *History of the Rulers of Khorāsān*, now lost. On this cf. my *Turkestan*, ii (Engl. ed., p. 10).

⁶ On him my *Turkestan* (Russian ed.), i, 6 and sq., ii, 251 and sq. (Engl. ed. p. 240).

of zealous Iranian patriots; his brothers fell victims to the national fanaticism (*ta'aṣṣub*) of the Arabs; there lived with Aḥmad in Marv a certain Sarv, to whom Firdausī refers when recounting the lays of Rustam.¹ At that time Abū Zayd tried to keep outside of the national disputes about the relative superiority of Arabs and Persians, as well as outside of the religious discussion of the relative merits of 'Alī and the other companions of the Prophet.² Whatever his own national origin, and whatever his native language, he, as a scholar, spoke the literary Arabic, and in the same language, though with no great success, did the amīr Aḥmad ibn-Sahl³ try to communicate with him when he arrived in Balkh (there is no other information on Aḥmad ibn-Sahl's stay in Balkh). When Balkhī declined the office of wazīr offered him by Aḥmad ibn-Sahl, there was appointed to this position a friend and countryman of his, Abul-Qāsim 'Abdullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Maḥmūd Ka'bī, who also wrote treatises of a religious nature, though even farther removed from orthodoxy. In Sam'ānī he | is called head of the Mu'tazilites.⁴ Balkhī took a post as secretary **P 13** under Ka'bī with an allowance of 500 dīnārs a month. Abul-Qāsim was entitled to a sum of 1,000 dīnārs, but he himself gave orders to the cashier to pay him 900, and to increase Balkhī's salary to 600, on the express understanding that Balkhī should receive his salary in good coin, while all questionable coins were to be put down to his own account.⁵ At that happy time Balkhī, thanks to the generosity both of the amīr and the wazīr, acquired some property in his native village of Shāmistiyyān, on the Gharbangī canal (one of the twelve canals irrigating the environs of Balkh), and this property was inherited by his descendants.

After the fall of Aḥmad ibn-Sahl, Balkhī, apparently, lived as a private person on his own lands. Without indication of date⁶ it is reported that a Sāmānid amīr (probably Naṣr) invited him to come to Bukhārā, and that Balkhī declined the invitation, giving as his reason that he was frightened by the violence of the current and the width of the Amū-daryā. Other persons of high rank, with whom Balkhī kept up a correspondence, were the amīrs of Chaghāniyān (later viceroys of Khorāsān), Abū-Bakr Muḥammad and his son Abū-'Alī Aḥmad,⁷ but he seems not to have met them in person.

¹ ZVO, xxii, 280.

² GMS, vi, 1, p. 148. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴ GMS, xx, p. 485. Ka'bī, who died in 319 (A.D. 931) also wrote historical works; cf. *Turkestan*, p. 11.

⁵ GMS, vi, 1, p. 147.

⁶ Only in Maqdisī, BGA, iii, 4. De

Goeje, ZDMG, xxv, 55, refers to Maqdisī and Ṣafadī, but the reference of Yāqūt, GMS, vi, 1, p. 152, to Maqdisī shows that Ṣafadī borrowed this information through Yāqūt from the same Maqdisī.

⁷ GMS, vi, 1, p. 143.

The number of Balkhī's compositions, according to his grandson,¹ was sixty. The geographical treatise of Balkhī, which in all probability (reports are somewhat contradictory)² bore the title *Ṣuwar-al-aqālīm* ("Images of Climes"), is not expressly mentioned among them. The contents of Iṣṭakhri's work, founded, as is known, on that of Balkhī, make one suppose that the title referred not to the division of the habitable world into seven climes from south to north, but to climes as geographical divisions, representing independent entities. Of such climes Iṣṭakhri enumerates twenty, and the same number appeared in Balkhī.³ As a matter of fact in the list⁴ of Balkhī's works there are mentioned some titles referring to geographical contents. Such are, for instance, the "Book of the Heavens and the Universe" and a "Commentary on Images" (*tafsīr al-ṣuwar*). It is possible that by the latter title is meant the geographical work of Balkhī which, according to Maqdisī, was only a very short commentary on Balkhī's maps.⁵

Already in those times the question of the authorship of the work, which now forms the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, was not quite clear. Maqdisī⁶ saw only three copies of this work, one—in Rayy,⁷ another—in Nīshāpūr, and the third—in Bukhārā. In the first case, the authorship [of the maps? *yunsab ilā Abī Zayd bil-ashkāl*. V.M.] was attributed to Balkhī; in the second (in the MS. itself there was no author's name), to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn-al-Marzubān al-Muḥawwalī al-Karkhī, who died in 309 (A.D. 921–2); in the third, to Abū-Ishāq Ibrahīm ibn-Muḥammad al-Fārisī AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ, who was named in the MS. itself. Maqdisī considers the last to be the most probable, as he had seen several persons who had known Iṣṭakhri and witnessed the composition of his work; one of these witnesses was Abū-Naṣr al-Ḥarbī, muḥtasib of the town of Bukhārā.⁸ The putative authorship of Karkhī is mentioned

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

² *ZDMG*, xxv, 57.

³ According to Maqdisī, *BGA*, iii, 410.

⁴ Given by Yāqūt (*GMS*, vi, 1, p. 142 and sq.) more fully than in the printed edition of the *Fihrist*, p. 138.

⁵ [In an additional note Professor Barthold gives expression to the view that, in the printed editions, *Fihrist*, 138₂₄, Yāqūt, *GMS*, vi, 1, p. 142₁₇, a full stop may have wrongly cut into two the unique title *Kitāb tafsīr ṣuwar kitāb al-samā' wal-'ālam li Abī Ja'far al-Khāzin* "Book of Interpretation of the Maps of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin's Book

of the Heavens and the Universe". He then proceeds: If this title refers to the geographical work of Balkhī, this could lead to the conclusion that to Balkhī belonged only the explanation of the maps, but not the maps themselves. The astronomer Abū-Ja'far al-Khāzin is often mentioned in Arabic literature, e.g. in Birūnī, see Sachau's *Index* to his edition of the *Chronology*.]

⁶ *BGA*, iii, 5a.

⁷ On the library of the minister Ismā'il ibn-'Abbād in that town see *ibid.*, p. 391.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136₁₂.

again¹ in the chapter on Sind; but in the references and quotations Maqdisī names only Balkhī and Iṣṭakhri. According to de Goeje² all the P 14 quotations in which Balkhī is named correspond entirely to Iṣṭakhri's text. Nevertheless de Goeje thinks it possible that Maqdisī might have had in his hands, besides the text of Iṣṭakhri, that of Balkhī,³ but that Yāqūt, on the other hand, was in possession of a single book, and that quoting from this he referred principally to Iṣṭakhri, but sometimes to Balkhī as well, "as though following a definite system".⁴ This last guess is hardly supported by the facts: Yāqūt refers to Balkhī without mentioning Iṣṭakhri only once, with regard to the distance between Jedda and 'Aden;⁵ the corresponding words are of course to be found also in Iṣṭakhri.⁶ In all the other cases Iṣṭakhri alone is quoted, e.g. with regard to the distance between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Aden.⁷ Consistency, which de Goeje vainly seeks in Yāqūt, can be discovered only in Maqdisī: with regard to three out of the twenty climes mentioned, viz. the last three: Khorāsān, Sīstān, and Mā-warā' al-nahr, Balkhī is preferentially quoted; while in three others, Fārs, Kirmān, and Sind, preference is given to Iṣṭakhri.

In de Goeje's⁸ opinion the work of Iṣṭakhri represents a second and greatly enlarged edition of Balkhī's work, compiled between 318 and 321 (A.D. 930-3), i.e. in Balkhī's lifetime. In Russian works⁹ the date 340 (A.D. 951) is often attributed to Iṣṭakhri's work, but according to de Goeje¹⁰ this was the date of the MS. which was the basis of most of the copies circulating in the East; at that date the work, composed twenty years earlier, was published. De Goeje places Iṣṭakhri's meeting with Ibn Ḥauqal at the same date.¹¹ The meeting is confirmed by IBN ḤAUQAL himself, who, with Iṣṭakhri's consent, undertook the revision of his work.¹² Unfortunately, Ibn Ḥauqal does not say a word as to when and where this meeting took place, and only mentions¹³ that by that time he had already compiled a map of Ādharbayjān¹⁴ and Mesopotamia.

Ibn Ḥauqal intended to give at the end of his work a full synopsis

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 475₁₀; cf. the interpretation of the text, *ibid.*, p. 52, in fine, as against ZDMG, xxv, 48. Grammatically, however, the previous interpretation seems more natural.

² ZDMG, xxv, 47. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46. ⁵ Yāqūt, ii, 41₁₇.

⁶ BGA, i, 27 above.

⁷ Yāqūt, ii, 285₁₀; Iṣṭakhri, 273.

⁸ ZDMG, xxv, 50.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Toumānsky's article, ZVO, x, 127.

¹⁰ ZDMG, xxv, 51 and sq.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48 and 51 (below): in the one place: "vermutlich nicht später als 340"; in the other: "schwerlich früher", though the same date is meant.

¹² Whether Iṣṭakhri in his time had received a similar consent from Balkhī, and whether he had met him at all, is not known.

¹³ BGA, ii, 236.

¹⁴ In the final edition of Ibn Ḥauqal's work, Ādharbayjān, as in Iṣṭakhri, is represented on the same map as Armenia and Arrān. [Cf. our § 35.]

of his travels,¹ but never carried out his intention; the only definite date given is that of his departure as a young man from Baghdād (Thursday, Ramaḍān 7, 331, *i.e.* in May, A.D. 943);² otherwise it is merely said that he visited certain towns in certain years. The year of the termination of his work is held to be 367 (A.D. 977–8).³ During
P 15 such a lapse of time Ibn Ḥauqal could evidently visit | the same towns several times; thus in 358 (A.D. 968–9) he was in Mosul for the last time.⁴ He wrote his work as a subject of the Fāṭimid caliph, and apparently spent in the West the years preceding the completion of his book, since in 361 (A.D. 971–2) he was in Sicily.⁵ This may account for the fact that his work did not acquire, in the Eastern parts of the Muslim world, the same fame as that of his predecessor. Only the work of Iṣṭakhri was translated into Persian; the manuscript which Sir W. Ouseley took for a copy of the translation of Ibn Ḥauqal and edited as such was found to be an abridged version of Iṣṭakhri's book.⁶ The acquisition by the library of Shāhrukh in the fifteenth century of a copy of the Arabic original of Iṣṭakhri gave an impulse to the composition in Persian of the geographical work of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū.⁷

¹ *BGA*, ii, 236₈₋₉.

² *Ibid.*, 518. It is apparently not quite exact, as the day of the week does not correspond to the date. If instead of *khalauna* one reads *baqīna*, the date would be 1 June, 943, but such a supposition would be untenable. Ibn Ḥauqal adds that on the same day the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-daula left Baghdād, fleeing from the Turks. Nāṣir al-daula became chief amīr of Baghdād (*amīr al-umarā*) on Sha'bān 1, 330 (A.D. 21. iv. 942); the same date in Ibn-Miskawaih, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 28, and in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 286. His rule came to an end as a result of the battle mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal; it had lasted, according to Ibn-Miskawaih (*Eclipse*, ii, 41), 13 months and 3 days; according to Ibn al-Athīr, 13 months and 5 days, which brings us in any case to the first days of Ramaḍān 331; it is possible that Thursday, Ramaḍān 3, is meant (A.D. 11.v.943). In Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 9) the day of Ramaḍān 7, 331, is given as the date of the passing of the power from Nāṣir al-Daula to the Turk Tuzūn; but, according to Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 298), Tuzūn received from the caliph the title of *amīr al-*

umarā only on Ramaḍān 25.

³ In de Goeje's opinion, *BGA*, iv, p. v, this date results from the mention, *BGA*, ii, 201₅, of the khuṭba, read "last year", by the Ziyādid ruler of Yemen, (Lane-Poole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, Russian transl., p. 72; Zambaur, p. 115), in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. But de Goeje fails to say at this place (and apparently at any other) in what source he found the change of the khuṭba in Yemen in 366. In Ibn al-Athīr there is no information on the subject. Sir J. W. Redhouse in his Introduction to Khazraji's *History of Yemen* (GMS, iii, 1, p. 11) says that when in 377 (A.D. 987) "the Hiwāliyy ruler of Ṣan'ā" took Zabīd, he suppressed the khuṭba in the name of the Fāṭimids. Reinaud (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Introduction, p. lxxxiii), without proofs, places the termination of Ibn Ḥauqal's work in 366 (A.D. 976) [evidently after Uylenbroek, *Specimen*, p. 15?].

⁴ *BGA*, ii, 146₃; see above.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 221₄₋₁₆.

⁶ Rieu, *Pers. MSS.*, p. 416.

⁷ *Al-Muẓaffariya* (a volume dedicated to Baron Victor Rosen by his pupils), pp. 3, 13, and 18

It is beyond doubt that our author had before him a copy of the work of Balkhī or of Iṣṭakhri. This is particularly evident in the chapters devoted to the western provinces; for instance, the words of our author (f. 34b) on Malatya correspond perfectly with Iṣṭakhri's text, p. 62:

وملطة مدينة كبيرة من اكبر الثغور التي دون جبل اللكام وتحف بها جبال كثيرة الجوز
وسائر الثمار مباح لا مالك له

The text of Iṣṭakhri is sometimes not very exactly rendered; our author calls Mārida "the greatest town of Andalus" (36b), while Iṣṭakhri, p. 43, speaks of it as "(one) of the greatest towns of Andalus". A quotation from Iṣṭakhri, p. 68 and sq., not exactly understood, accounts for what our author says of Athens. South and west of Constantinople Iṣṭakhri distinguishes the Athenian and the Roman shores, but the words "Athens" (*Athīnās*) and "Rome" (*Rūmiya*) remain to him names of towns; of Athens, as a town, it is said that there was "the residence of the wisdom of the Greeks" (*yūnāni-yūn*). According to our author (f. 37b), "the Athenian coast" included the entire sea-coast from the strait of Constantinople (Bosphorus) to Andalus (Spain); he knows "Athīnās" only as the name of a locality where in ancient times there stood a town Yūnāniyān, and, as he says, "all the wise men and philosophers rose from this region (*nāhiyat*) of Athīnās".

Historical facts are likewise now and then borrowed from Iṣṭakhri (or Balkhī). In the chapter on mountains (f. 7b), as in Iṣṭakhri's account of the Arabian peninsula, a mountain is mentioned, the summit of which occupied an area of 20 farsakhs in circumference, where there existed cultivated fields and running water, and, also as in Iṣṭakhri, it is said that the locality was conquered by the Qarmaṭian Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl. According to our author this event took place "in ancient times", which is not very accurate, in that it refers to an event of *circa* 300 H.;¹ but perhaps the words *andar qadīm*, used also two lines above with regard to the ancient capital of the Yemen kings, were repeated by a clerical error. Some passages in our author more nearly resemble Ibn Ḥauqal than Iṣṭakhri. In the chapter on 'Irāq (f. 31b) Qaṣr ibn-Hubayra is called the largest town between Baghdād and Kūfa; these words | do not figure in *BGA*, i, 85, but **P 16** they exist in *BGA*, ii, 166. Of course one cannot conclude from this

¹ The Qarmaṭian Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl, apparently, the brother of the Qarmaṭian 'Adī ibn-al-Faḍl, who sacked Zabīd according to Lane-Poole, *The*

Muhammadan Dynasties, 1894, p. 90, shortly after 292/904, and according to Zambaur, *Mamel*, p. 115, in 303 H.

that our author utilized Ibn Ḥauqal's original; in this case, as in many others, Nöldeke¹ is right in saying that Ibn Ḥauqal's relation to Iṣṭakhri cannot be determined by a simple comparison of the two texts of *BGA*, i and *BGA*, ii. The missing words of Iṣṭakhri's text, as published by de Goeje, are to be found in the abridged version (Gotha MS.) and in the Persian translation edited by Ouseley; consequently they were undoubtedly in Iṣṭakhri.

The terms of our author's description (26a) of three Muslim colonies on the lower reaches of the Sīr-daryā² corresponds almost literally to Ibn Ḥauqal's text, p. 393. In *BGA*, i, these colonies are not mentioned; but it is sufficient to compare Iṣṭakhri's text in de Goeje's edition, p. 333, with Yāqūt's³ quotation from Iṣṭakhri, to be convinced that the course of the Sīr-daryā was described in Iṣṭakhri with much more detail than in the de Goeje edition.⁴

Did our author have before him Balkhī's work in its primitive form, or in Iṣṭakhri's version? Some passages apparently show the influence of those chapters of *BGA*, i, which are principally attributed to Iṣṭakhri, e.g. the chapters on Sind and especially the description of Manṣūra (f. 26a), cf. Iṣṭakhri's text, p. 173. But this passage may also have stood in Balkhī. The dependence on Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri is still more noticeable in the chapters of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* dealing with Khorāsān and Transoxiana which, in the original, belong undoubtedly to Balkhī: *vide* the passages on the Herat mosque and the number of people who spend their time there (f. 19b, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 265); the description of Būshang (*ibid.*, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 270); the account of the river Murghāb, which crosses the village Diza (f. 20a, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 270); the account of the three Buttam (or Butmān) mountain chains (f. 23b, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 333); the account of the outposts at Osh (f. 24a, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 333); and the account of Khatlām or Khaylām as being the birthplace of the amīr Naṣr (*ibid.*, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 334). In two instances, namely in the accounts of the market in Marsmanda (f. 23b, cf. Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 384₅) and of sixty villages near Sokh (f. 24a, Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 396₁), our author's words can be compared only with the text of *BGA*, ii, because in *BGA*, i, the corresponding passages of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri text have

¹ ZDMG, lvi, 433.

² Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii, 179, Engl. transl., p. 178; Barthold, *History of Irrigation in Turkestan*, SPb. 1914 (in Russian), p. 149.

³ Yāqūt, ii, 404 and sq. The text in Yāqūt, as de Goeje points out in a footnote, *BGA*, ii, 393c, is clearly corrupt, especially 405₅ where instead of *fa*

yamtaddu 'alā al-atrāk al-Ghuzziya one must read *fa yamtaddu ilā al-qaryat al-ḥadītha*.

⁴ De Goeje himself says that in *BGA*, i, he gives only the abridged text of the description of Transoxiana "während der eigentliche Text des Iṣṭakhri bei Ibn Ḥauqal und in den Anmerkungen dazu zu finden ist".

not come down to us. Apparently, among the passages of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri text, that have distinctly influenced our author, there is none that from a chronological point of view could belong to Iṣṭakhri alone. Ḥallāj, who was executed in 309 (A.D. 922), is mentioned by both our author (f. 28a) and Iṣṭakhri (p. 148 and sq.), but he would hardly have been named by Balkhī. Yet it is possible that our author had another source in this case, as Ḥallāj is mentioned by Iṣṭakhri elsewhere than in the description of Ḥallāj's native town al-Bayḍā.

Moreover, the question whether or not Balkhī's version has been preserved in Arabic MSS. along with that of Iṣṭakhri would now require a fresh consideration. De Goeje has proved very convincingly¹ that the MSS. that were at his disposal, inclusive of the Berlin MS. (which Brockelmann² in spite of de Goeje still ascribes to Balkhī), **P 17** all contained Iṣṭakhri's version. But since then certain new MSS. attributed to Balkhī have been discovered; viz. the MS. acquired in Egypt by Aḥmad Zakī bey³ and the "Balḥikodex mit schönen Karten", acquired in Baghdād for the Hamburg library:⁴ the necessary evidence as to the extent to which their texts differ from that of BGA⁵ is still to be given.

IV

A geographical work, under the same current title of "Book of Routes and Kingdoms", was written by the Sāmānid wazīr Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad JAYHĀNĪ, who is mentioned in Balkhī's biography. References to this work are often met with, but the work itself seems to have completely disappeared. Among the geographers of the tenth century who utilized it are Ibn Ḥauqal⁶ and Maqdisī. It can be seen from the latter's⁷ comments that Ibn Khurdādhbih's work formed the basis of that of Jayhānī. Occasionally the same MS., if it did not contain an indication of the author's name, was attributed by some to Ibn Khurdādhbih, and by others to Jayhānī. But it can be gathered from Maqdisī that Jayhānī,

¹ ZDMG, xxv, 42-58. The final conclusion, p. 57, is that both MSS., taken as the basis of the edition, viz. the Bologna one (on which see V. Rosen, *Remarques*, &c., Rome, 1885, p. 94) and the Berlin one (in printed editions respectively A and B), transmit if not entirely, at least in its greater part, the work of Iṣṭakhri.

² GAL, i, 229.

³ Ign. Kratchkovsky, *Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī*, Leiden, 1912, p. 24.

⁴ C. Seybold in ZDMG, lxxvii, 541.

⁵ In the summer of 1929 when the

present work had already gone to press I had the opportunity of examining the Hamburg MS. Like the Berlin MS., it proved to be the work of Iṣṭakhri, not of Balkhī. It also contains the famous story of the author's stay in Samarqand (BGA, i, 318), which could not belong to Balkhī, who, according to the direct evidence of Maqdisī (BGA, iii, 414), never crossed the Oxus.

⁶ BGA, ii, 236, with an unfavourable mention both of Jayhānī's work and of that of Ibn Khurdādhbih.

⁷ Cf. my *Turkestan*, p. 12 and sq.

besides written sources, utilized oral information; he assembled foreigners and bade them speak of their native lands and of the roads leading thereto. Thus, according to Maqdisī,¹ it was a 140 days' journey from Tūnkat² to the principal town of China, "as Jayhānī was told by the ambassadors, and he mentioned this in his book and clearly expressed it in his statement".

Unfortunately this itinerary has not come down to us either through Maqdisī or any other author; I have not met with quotations from it. But one might suppose *a priori* that the great number of geographical names belonging to Central Asia and found in our author shows the latter's dependence on the itinerary given by Jayhānī. It is somewhat difficult to determine the extent of such a dependence, seeing that our author does not give any itineraries; but many of the geographical names of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* are also quoted by an author of the eleventh century, GARDĪZĪ,³ who gives the distances between the towns and the itineraries, *i.e.* precisely the information missing in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Gardīzī states that he borrowed these data from Ibn Khurdādhbih, Jayhānī, and a third anonymous work under the title *Tawāḍu' al-dunyā*.⁴ At one place⁵ Gardīzī's expressions literally coincide with the quotation from Jayhānī found in Bīrūnī,⁶ though referring not to the route to China, but to that from Khotan to Tibet. According to Bīrūnī, Jayhānī said that "the Chinese in ancient times built a bridge from the summit of one mountain to the summit of another, on the way from Khotan into the province of the Tibetan⁷ Khāqān; whoever crosses this bridge enters the locality where the air impedes respiration and renders the tongue heavy; many of those who pass there die from this, but many recover as well. The Tibetans call it Mountain of Hell." The same passage (of course in Persian translation) is found almost verbatim in Gardīzī, where the building of the bridge is attributed to the people of Khotan, which perhaps can be explained by a mistake of the copyist (ختن instead of چین). Evidently mountain sickness is

¹ BGA, iii, 346 (345b).

² South of Tashkent, on the river Āhangarān (in Russian: Angren). But it is possible that instead of Tūnkat one should read Navīkat, the town of Navākat or Navīkat being the starting-point of several routes to China, V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 114, note 1.

³ V. Barthold, *Report*, &c., pp. 78-126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103 (text) and p. 126 (transl.). [Barthold translates *Tawāḍu'*

by "Insignificance", "Frailty", which is rather a strange name for a geographical treatise. It is more probable that the book bore the name **Rab' al-dunyā*, "Habitable part of the World", as indicated by a variant, see M. Nāzīm's ed. of *Zayn al-akhbār*, Berlin, 1928, p. 4. V.M.]

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88 (text) and p. 112 (transl.).

⁶ *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, 271.

⁷ Instead of *byt*, read *Tbbt*.

meant here, which even now hampers traffic along the high passes leading from Eastern Turkestan into India.¹

It is hard to say how far such a specific dependence of Gardizī on Jayhānī confirms a similar dependence of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* on Jayhānī, for in the passage on Tibet² there is less resemblance between the text of the Toumansky MS. and Gardizī than in such other passages as those on the Toghuzghuz and China. Gardizī mentions none of the Tibetan towns, while the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* names a whole series of them and even attributes to Tibet several towns placed by Gardizī on the way from Kāshghar to Khotan,³ though the town of Khotan itself (as in Gardizī) is described in the chapter on China (f. 14a); moreover, Khotan is placed on the frontier between China and Tibet, and the title "Chief of Turks and Tibetans"⁴ is attributed to the Khotan ruler.

A passage at the beginning of the chapter on Tibet in the Toumansky MS. (on the involuntary gaiety felt by every one entering Tibet) is clearly borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih.⁵ The data on the Tibetan towns are apparently derived from various sources; two names, Lhāsā and Krsāng,⁶ designating, it seems, the same town, are given as names of two different towns. As in all compilations, such examples are fairly frequent in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which not only refers to the Burtās and the Barādhās as two distinct nations,⁷ but also, in the chapter on Khūzistān (f. 28b), separately mentions Rāmhur (?), *i.e.* Rāmhurmuz (as in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri,⁸ place of the assassination of Mānī), and Rām-Urmuzd, a large and rich commercial town on the frontier between Fārs and Khūzistān, though it is evident that the latter is only a more correct and fuller Persian form of the first name. In the chapter on Khūzistān the name of another large town is given in the Persian pronunciation, Vandūshāvur, instead of in the Arabic, Junday-Sābūr; the spelling of the Toumansky MS. approximates very closely to the pronunciation Vandēw-Shāpūr proposed by Nöldeke.⁹ In the data borrowed from Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri the author sometimes substitutes a local Persian form for the literary

¹ Kornilov, *Kashgariya* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1903, p. 349.

² Cf. *Doklady Akademii Nauk*, Series B, 1924, p. 73 and sq.

³ V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 94 (text) and p. 119 (transl.); Tadrūf and Ras-tūya, mentioned there, figure in the Toumansky MS. among the towns which formerly belonged to China, and "now" belong to Tibet.

⁴ Cf. the title 'Aẓīm al-Khotan in a

twelfth-century author, *Turkestan*, i, 20a.

⁵ *BGA*, vi, 170a.

⁶ Muḥammad Ḥaydar (sixteenth century) gives Arsāng, cf. *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, transl. by E. Denison Ross, London, 1895, pp. 136 and 411.

⁷ [But see p. 44, note.]

⁸ *BGA*, i, 93. [See my notes. V.M.]

⁹ Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 42.

Arabic one; thus in the passage on Herat (f. 19b), evidently borrowed from Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri (p. 265), he writes *Harī* instead of *Harāt*

The similarities of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and Gardizī, and the dependence of both on a common source, are perhaps most obvious in the chapters on China and the Toghuzghuz. Many names of towns, and among them the Persian names Baghshūr and Sangalākh,¹ occur in both authors as names of localities between Turfan and Khami and between Sha-chou and Su-chou. Gardizī gives itineraries which are not to be found in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, but the sequence of names in both clearly shows that the itineraries were also known to the latter, who in accordance with the general plan of his composition P 19 enumerates the towns | from east to west, while Gardizī does it in reversed order.² There is no complete correspondence between the text of the anonym and that of Gardizī; the former (f. 14a) mentions a "stone tower" (*burj-i sangin*), which seems to be the only trace of influence of Ptolemy's geography in this locality (i, 12, 9, λίθινος πύργος, cf. Qudāma,³ *burj al-ḥijāra*); in Gardizī no such name occurs. On the other hand, the *Hudūd al-'ālam* contains no mention of Qamul or Khami, which is found in Gardizī.⁴ From this we may conclude that at this place Gardizī reflects a later stage of geographical knowledge; and it is possible that here our author depends on Ibn Khurdādhbih, and Gardizī on Jayhānī. In any case our anonym's information cannot be up to his own epoch, or even to that of Jayhānī. Particularly characteristic is the description of the town of Kan-chou (*Khāmchū*, f. 13b and sq.; same in Gardizī): "Half of it is owned by the Chinese, half by the Tibetans; a perpetual war goes on between them; they are idol-worshippers; their government⁵ is on behalf of the Tibetan khāqān." Such could have been the situation in the times of Ibn Khurdādhbih, or in those of him whose work was his source, the traveller Tamīm ibn-Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwi'ī;⁶ but during the whole of the tenth century Kan-chou was an Uyghur principality.⁷

In no greater degree does our anonym reflect the situation in India in the tenth century. The original source of Ibn Khurdādhbih and

¹ *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 13b and f. 14a; Gardizī in Barthold, *Report*, p. 92 (text) and p. 117 (transl.).

² Cf. e.g. the itinerary in Gardizī, text p. 91, transl. p. 116, and the order in which the towns are enumerated in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 17a.

³ *BGA*, vi, 264₁₅, cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 316. Text in Birūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 149₁₃; cf. *Ērānshahr*, p. 155. In Muḥammad Ḥuwārizmī

(ed. Mžik, No. 865): *burj hijāra*.

⁴ *Report*, p. 92 (text) and p. 117 (transl.). [But see note to § 12, 9.]

⁵ [Barthold translates: *sultān*, but in the tenth century this word meant more probably "government". V.M.]

⁶ Yāqūt, i, 840, above; Barthold, *Report*, p. 34.

⁷ Cf. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 241 and sq.

other early Arabian geographers was in this case provided by the work of the traveller Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq, who lived two years in Khmer (Qimār), *i.e.* Cambodia;¹ he it was who originated the passage (f. 14b) on the strict forbiddance of adultery in that country,² as well as the story of the woman who ruled Orissa. The name Orissa occurs in two forms: Ūrsfin³ and Ūrshfin (in the story of the queen).⁴ The work of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri was utilized for instance in the passage dealing with the Arab rulers of Multān and with the town Bābī (in Iṣṭakhri, *Bāniya*). According to Iṣṭakhri⁵ the khuṭba in Multān was read in the name of the caliph; according to Ibn Ḥauqal⁶ in the name of the 'Abbāsids whom Ibn Ḥauqal, writing in the kingdom of the Fāṭimids, did not recognize as caliphs; according to Maqdisī, in the name of a Fāṭimid.⁷ Our anonym (f. 15a) says that the khuṭba was read in the name of Mu'izzī (*bar Mu'izzī*); but it is not clear whether we have to do here with a clerical error, the possibilities being Mu'izz (the Fāṭimid caliph who ruled from 953 till 975), and "Mu'izzī" which might designate the son and successor of Mu'izz, the caliph 'Azīz. The acceptance of either of these hypotheses [but see my translation and note, V.M.] would bring us to the conclusion that the anonym, perhaps from oral sources, knew of the Shī'ite *coup d'état* in Multān which evidently took place after Ibn Ḥauqal and before Maqdisī. It is known that Multān remained in the hands of the heretics till its conquest by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid in 1006;⁸ the epitomizer of Ibn Ḥauqal, who wrote in the twelfth century, gratuitously supposed, in order to explain Maḥmūd's expedition, that Multān, after Ibn Ḥauqal, had again passed for a certain time into the hands of the Hindus.

In the chapters on Central Asia and China there are no indications of events that could have taken place a short time before the work was composed. It is possible that here, too, as in many other instances, the use of different sources made the author mention the same localities under different names. The town Panchul (*Bnjūl*), Wen-su of the Chinese sources, was situated probably on the site of the present-day | Uch-Turfan,⁹ as confirmed by the Chinese source in P 20 which it was stated that this town bore the name of Yü-chou. Gardīzī

¹ BGA, vii, 132.

² *Ibid.*, and vi, 66 and sq.

³ Together with *Smndr*, as in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 642, who gives *Ūrn-shin*. [But see my note, p. 243. V.M.]

⁴ As in Ibn Rusta, p. 134₁₃.

⁵ BGA, i, 175.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 230₄.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 485₃.

⁸ On this 'Utbi-Manīnī, ii, 72; Elliot, *History of India*, ii, 441.

⁹ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, SPb. 1903, p. 9, placed Wen-su on the site of Aqsu, but later (in M. A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, p. 544) adopted the opinion that Wen-su was Uch-Turfan. [See my notes, pp. 294-7, V.M.]

uses the name *Bnchūl*,¹ but not *Ūj*; Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (eleventh century)² gives *Ūj* but not *Bnchūl*, whereas our author (18a) names *Bnchūl* and *Ūj* separately, with the additional remark, absent in other sources, that *Bnchūl* "now" belongs to the Khirkhiz. This detail can hardly pertain to the times of the author, since it can only reflect the situation at the time of the Qirghiz empire, at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries,³ but could have been incorporated in the works both of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī.

In the chapter on lakes are mentioned side by side (f. 3b) the lake of Tuz-kul, from which seven tribes of the Qarluq procured salt, 10 farsakhs long and 8 farsakhs wide, in the country of the Khallukh (Qarluq), and the lake of Issik-kul, lying between the possessions of the Chigil and the Toghuzghuz, which was 30 farsakhs long and 20 farsakhs wide, and on the shore of which was situated the town of Barskhān. In spite of the different estimate of the size of the lakes,⁴ it is very probable that the first name Tuz-kul also designates Issik-kul.⁵ Nallino,⁶ on the strength of a quotation in Kharaqī, an author of the twelfth century, has shown that Issik-kul was mentioned by Jayhānī; the same quotation from Jayhānī, unnoticed by Nallino, exists in Yāqūt, II, 224, where some copyist substituted for the name of Issik-kul that of the port Abaskūn on the Caspian.

In the few cases where the author mentions events of his own times these events pertain to the history of the Muslim world. In the year 372, in which the author completed his work, there died the Būyid shāhānshāh Fanākhusrāu (in our author Panākhusrāu) who bore the title 'Aḍud al-daula (d. 8 Shawwāl 372 = 26 March 983);⁷ his massacre of the Balūches, an event mentioned by our author (f. 26b) and by Maqdisī after him,⁸ probably belongs to the end of his reign.⁹

¹ V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 91 (text) and p. 116 (transl.).

² Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, Constantinople ed., i, 38; he several times (i, 335, 381; ii, 121) cites words from the dialect of its inhabitants.

³ V. Barthold, *A Sketch of the History of the Semirechye*, p. 19; Barthold, *The Kirghiz*, Frunze [= Pishpek], 1927, p. 19.

⁴ Gardīzī attributes to Issik-kul a still greater size, viz. of 7 days' journey, see Barthold, *Report*, p. 89 (text), p. 114 (transl.).

⁵ Cf. *Report on Capt. Iv. Unkovsky's Embassy* (1722-4), ed. Veselovsky, pp. 187 and 193, and the map appended to it on which Issik-kul is called *Tuskel* (<*Tuz-köl*.) [But see my note. V.M.]

⁶ Battānī, i, 172 and 175. [But Battānī, p. 169, quotes al-Jayhānī, *wa ghayra-hu min al-'ulamā*. V.M.]

⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 13; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 202.

⁸ BGA, iii, 4895.

⁹ Ibn Ḥauqal (BGA, ii, 221₁₂) speaks only of the victory which 'Aḍud al-daula, with the help of the Balūches, won over the Kūfich; one must suppose that the rupture with the Balūches occurred later. [It is doubtful that 'Aḍud al-daula assumed the title of shāhānshāh. As to the crushing defeat of the Balūches by 'Aḍud al-daula, it took place in 361/January 972, see Ibn Misakawaih, *The Eclipse*, ii, 299-301. V.M.]

In the description of the town of Qum (f. 29a) it is said that the secretary (*dabir*) Bul-Faḍl, the son of 'Amīd, was a native of that place. The person here meant is the famous Būyid minister Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd,¹ who died in Hamadān on the night of Thursday,² 6 Ṣafar 360 (8 December 970). Quite singular is the mention by our author (33a), in the chapter on Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān, of the large village of Mubārakī which was situated at the gates of Barda'a where "the camp of the Russians (*Rūs*) stood, at the time when they seized Barda'a", and where they were afterwards besieged, an event which, as is known, happened in 332 (A.D. 943-4),³ forty years before the composition of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*.

The mention of the Russian raid is perhaps corroborative of a fact which I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ viz. that the Caspian provinces are described by our anonym with particular detail. Here he gives us a whole series of details | which one would vainly look for elsewhere. **P 21** The same remark applies in part to his description of the south-eastern shore of the Caspian; especially worthy of attention is the fact, apparently not mentioned in other sources, that two languages were spoken in Astarābād (f. 29b). However, it is evident that our author knows the eastern Caspian shore less than the western one, for in the description of the former several notable inaccuracies occur. In two places (f. 11a and f. 29b) the river Hiranḍ is mentioned as rising in the mountains of Ṭūs, traversing the confines of Ustuvā and Jarmukān,⁵ flowing between the two parts of the town of Gurgān,⁶ then directing itself towards the town of Abaskūn, and finally emptying itself into the Khazar (Caspian) Sea. One sees that the upper course of the Atrak has been confounded with the lower course of the Gurgān, to form one river. (It is remarkable that the river Atrak, in spite of the fact that its waters irrigated the town of Dihistān and its environs,⁷ is not mentioned by the tenth-century geographers.) If, therefore, the anonym's data upon the Caspian provinces were borrowed from one source, it is probable that this source was composed not in the eastern, but in the western part of the Caspian region.

With less geographical detail are described the provinces of modern

¹ Cf. his biography by Amedroz (from Ibn-Miskawaih) in *Der Islam*, iii, 323 and sq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 346; in the translation, p. 339, by mistake Wednesday. The correct translation (night of Thursday) in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Khaliphate*, v, 293.

³ Cf. Yakubovsky in *Vizantiiskiy Vremennik*, xxiv, 63-92; the *Hudūd al-*

'ālam quoted, *ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴ *Izv. Kavkaz. Instituta*, vi, 63 and sq.

⁵ *J.rm.kān*, f. 11a and f. 19b, *BGA*, iii, 300 below and 320 *J.rm.ūkān*; on its site, *ibid.*, p. 352, where *J.rm.qān* is placed at three stages from Nasā.

⁶ Cf. *BGA*, ii, 273; iii, 358 and sq.

⁷ V. Barthold, *The History of Irrigation in Turkestan*, p. 32.

Afghānistān, more closely related to the author, but the fact is interesting that the Afghāns (Afghānān, f. 16a) are mentioned as a people; until now 'Utbī¹ was considered the oldest author mentioning this ethnographical term (*al-Afghāniya*). Particularly little information is given on that part of Afghānistān where, at that time (since A.D. 977) ruled Sabuktagin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, later so powerful.² Apparently, the text here has been somewhat corrupted by the copyists. The name of the town of Ghazna occurs several times in its usual form "Ghaznīn", but it is not impossible that to this same town may pertain the words about the rich commercial town Ghazaq, which at first belonged to India but later passed under the sway of Islām and formed the frontier between the possessions of the Muslims and those of the Infidels (f. 22a).

V

From the Preface translated by Toumansky³ Russian readers could form an idea of the author's conception of his task. Not quite clear is the title chosen, *Kitāb ḥudūd al-'ālam min al-mashriq ilā al-maghrib*, which in Toumansky's translation is rendered "The Book of the Frontiers (or Limits) of the World from East to West".⁴ The second variant of the translation ("the limits") is apparently the more correct, though in Toumansky's mind it was perhaps connected with the peculiarity of the work in which "for each province the frontiers are given first of all". The word *ḥudūd* in Arabic geographical literature means not so much "frontiers", in the sense of frontier-line, as "limits", in the sense of the total extent of a territory. In Ibn Khurdādhbih's words,⁵ Ptolemy *abāna al-ḥudūd*, which de Goeje translates "a donné une bonne description".⁶ However, in the description of two provinces Khorāsān and Transoxiana, our author uses the word *ḥudūd* in some special and not very clear sense. Separately from the description of the provinces themselves are described their *ḥudūd*, and of the Sāmānids, the rulers of the whole country, it is said (f. 19a): "In the whole of Khorāsān are their lieutenants, while on the frontiers (*andar ḥadd-hā*) of Khorāsān there are kings, who are called margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*)."⁷ If the author |
P 22 meant by this that in the chapter on Khorāsān would be described the provinces under the immediate rule of the Sāmānids, and that

¹ *Enc. of Islam*, under *Afghānistān* (M. L. Dames). Cf. also in 'Utbī the chapter on the Afghāns, 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 300. [But cf. p. 349, n. 2.]

² Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii, 274, Engl. ed., p. 261.

³ *ZVO*, x, 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125, "frontiers"; p. 128, "limits". [I translate "regions". V.M.]

⁵ *BGA*, vi, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ [Barthold translates *andar ḥadd-hā* "within the limits", but this expression means: "on the frontiers"; on the other

in that on the "limits [read: 'marches', V.M.] of Khorāsān" would be described the vassal principalities, then he did not adhere consistently to this distinction. Enough to say that the possessions of the amīr of Gūzgān, the most important of the vassal rulers, are included in Khorāsān proper (f. 20b), and not in "the limits [read: "marches", V.M.] of Khorāsān".

In spite of the relatively insignificant size of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, as compared with the works of the Arabic geographers of the tenth century, it was meant to contain all data "that became known until then" on the countries and kingdoms of the world, *i.e.* all that could be learnt from books or from the words of learned men.¹ Such a claim, expressed in the Preface, is repeated in the text in the passage where the author passes from the physico-geographical description of the inhabited world to that of separate kingdoms and towns, with the reservation that "all the particulars of the world may be known to none, save God" (f. 13b). In various other passages the same assurance is expressed as to the fullness of the information given. At the end of the chapter on freshwater lakes (f. 4a) it is said: "These are the lakes that are known and on which books give information; besides these, there are numerous small lakes, of which one is in the mountains of Gūzgān in Mānishān, near Bistarāb;² its length is one farsakh, its width half a farsakh. There are similar lakes in the mountains of Tūs and in the mountains of Ṭabaristān; but these lakes are not known and are not ancient; or it happens [read: *va yā vaqt buvadh*, V.M.] that they dry up so that there remains no water in them; therefore we have not mentioned them." The same reservation is further made where swamps (*batīḥa-hā*) are described. The chapter on islands ends with the words (f. 5b): "There is no other reputed and inhabited island in the whole world, besides those that we have mentioned; we have represented (on the Map)³ all these seas, gulfs, and islands, as they are and at their respective places." At the end of the chapter on deserts and sands (f. 13a) it is said: "In the limits of the Muslim world the large and known deserts and sands are those which we have mentioned; in the lands of the Infidels, except (those) of the Turks, they are also such as we have mentioned, and

hand he renders *mulūk-i aṭrāf* by *udel-niye praviteli* ("vassal rulers") whereas I prefer the term *margraves* as better expressing the conception of "princes of the periphery (*aṭrāf*)" of the original. V.M.]

¹ To the not very clear words of the Preface: *andar gird-i ḥakīmān* [I read: *yādkird-i ḥakīmān*, "memories of the

sages", V.M.] correspond on f. 13b the words: *ba-akhbār-hā shanidan*.

² On the district Mānishān see also the description of Gūzgān, f. 20b, the town B.st.rāb is not mentioned there.

³ Toumansky, *ZVO*, x, 128, had already noticed that the text mentions the Map which is absent in our copy.

God knows best of all and from Him is assistance." In other words, the author admits the possibility of not having enumerated all the deserts and sands of the country of the Turks (where they are most numerous); but for the rest his list seems to him absolutely complete.

With the tendency towards completeness is connected a tendency towards numerical exactitude; the author tries to give the precise number of seas, salt and freshwater lakes, islands, countries into which the inhabited part of the world is divided, &c. As far as it is possible to judge by the Arabic geographical works that have come down to us, the author is largely independent in his geographical generalizations and terminology. The conception of the seven seas, as developed by our author (Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea, Aral Sea, f. 2b and sq.) does not apparently exist anywhere else. The author applies the term Green Sea (*daryā-yi akhḍar* or *daryā-yi sabz*, in Arabic *al-baḥr al-akhḍar*) to the Eastern Ocean, and the term Great Sea (*al-baḥr al-aḡam*) to the Indian Ocean, while in Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī¹ both terms are applied to the Indian Ocean (the Great Sea—*al-baḥr al-kabīr*), and the Caspian Sea² is called

P 23 Khuwārizmian.³ | The Black Sea is called "Sea of the Georgians" (*daryā-yi Gurziyān*), a term which does not seem to occur anywhere else. But even in our MS. the Georgians are not⁴ mentioned among the people living around the Black Sea; in another passage, that dealing with the description of Byzantium, the Black Sea bears the name of *daryā-yi Gurz* (f. 37b) and the same form *Gurz* is given in certain Muslim sources as the name of the town of Kerch in Crimea; this has induced Westberg⁵ to suppose that our author gives the name "Sea of Kerch" to the Azov Sea; but in reality the Black Sea is meant here as it is mentioned in the neighbourhood of Thrace. Nor does the variant *daryā-yi Gurziyān* support this supposition, though Westberg at another place endeavours to explain the name of Kerch by that of a people called Garsh⁶

¹ Ed. Mžik, p. 74. ² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, i, under *Baḥr al-Khazar*. As stated there, this early terminology of the Arab geographers may account for the Russian designation of the Caspian: *Khvalinskoye*, or *Khvalinskoye more*.

⁴ [But see § 42, 15. V.M.]

⁵ *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk*, 1899, p. 214.

⁶ "Die Garschen", *ibid.*, p. 309, but the reference to the Russian translation by Patkanov, p. 29, is wrong, and I have

in general failed to find such a passage in the [so-called] Geography of Moses of Khoren. [As a matter of fact Patkanov translated first the abridged version of the Armenian geography, ascribed by him to Anania Shirakats'i. The complete text, edited by A. Soukry, Venice, 1881, p. 25, transl. p. 35, mentions the Garsh, whom Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 171, identifies with the Kushak, or Circussians. Moreover, see p. 401, note 1, and p. 446, note 2. V.M.]

who lived, according to the [so-called, V.M.] "Geography of Moses of Khoren", between the country of the Bulgars and the Black Sea.

Quite as original seems to be the author's conception of the division of the inhabited world into "parts of the world" and separate "countries". Like all Arab geographers, he accepts the division of the world into three parts, Asia, Europe, and Libya. Of course, the first place by extent belonged to Asia, and the term *Asiyat al-kubrā* (f. 13a) entirely corresponds to Ptolemy's expression *ἡ μεγάλη Ἀσία* (beginning of books v and vii, also viii, 3). In the author's opinion Asia occupies two-thirds of the inhabited world, Europe one-quarter, and Libya one-twelfth. The belief that the area of Asia is twice as great as that of the other parts of the world put together occurs in other Arabic authors, notably in Bīrūnī,¹ but in any other author we should vainly look for the opinion that Europe is three times as large as Africa. To the division of the world into parts, borrowed from the Greeks, the author lends as little importance as do the other Muslim geographers, and in the survey of separate provinces he does not approach the question whether they are situated in Asia or in another part of the world. Our author counts fifty-one countries (*nāḥiyat*) in all, of which five are situated south of the Equator, one (the *Sūdān*) is astride it and forty-five lie north of it. The number of the provinces is very near to that given by Khuwārizmī, *viz.* fifty-six, but the names of the provinces in Khuwārizmī² are entirely different, and many of them are borrowed from Ptolemy, which is not the case with our author. The provinces situated to the south of the Equator are enumerated in the usual order from east to west; the first to be named is *Zāba* (but f. 2b and f. 39a, as well as in Arab geographers, *Zābaj*); further on come Zangistān (country of the Zanj or Negroes, actual Zanzibār), Ḥabasha (Abyssinia), the country of Buja (or Baja, a people of Hamitic descent, still existing, and divided into several branches),³ and Nubia. In the description of countries situated to the south of the Equator (f. 39a) the order is somewhat different: Zangistān, Zābaj, Ḥabasha, Buja, and Nubia. The author places the country of Zābaj, as he does also in the case of Zangistān, to the south of the Equator (f. 39a). The geographical term "Zābaj" is not very distinctly used by Arab geographers, who sometimes confuse the names Jāba (Java) and

¹ Cf. quotation in Yāqūt, i, 63. It is remarkable that on the other hand Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 155, entirely ignores Asia and divides the world into four parts: Europe, Libya, Ethiopia, and

Scythia.

² Ed. Mžik, pp. 101-5, Nos. 1548-1603.

³ Cf. articles "Abābde", "Bedja", and "Bishārīn" in *Enc. of Islam*.

Zābaj;¹ but in any case the term Zābaj always refers to the Malay coast or archipelago.² The data of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* on the islands of the Indian Ocean are borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih. Besides the island of Jāba there is also mentioned "the continental Jāba"
P 24 (*ḡāba-yi khushk*, f. 6b), corresponding probably to "the kingdom of Jāba the Indian" of Ibn Khurdādhbih.³ A certain influence of Balkhī is also felt in that our author, similarly to Iṣṭakhri, p. 11, places the country of the Zanj opposite Fārs and Kirmān, evidently on the assumption that the African coast extended much farther to the east than it does in reality.⁴ But in this part of his work the author seems to have utilized sources unknown to us. Thus in Abyssinia are mentioned the following towns: Rāsun, on the seashore, residence of the king; Savār, where the army is stationed; and Rīn, the residence of the commander-in-chief. In other works we find entirely different names.⁵ The folio containing the description of the countries of Buja and Nubia has been considerably damaged.

The order of enumeration of the forty-five lands situated to the north of the Equator is somewhat different in the general enumeration (f. 13a) to the order followed in the description itself (see the table of contents, f. 1b).⁶ In the disposition of the chapters in the text the principle of movement from east to west is observed more scrupulously than in the general introduction (f. 13a), but without complete consistency. Thus India is described before Tibet, though in the text it is said that to the east of India are situated China and Tibet, and to the east of Tibet only China. After Tibet are described the countries of the Turkish peoples; after the Toghuzghuz (the western neighbours of the Tibetans) follow their western neighbours, the people Yaghmā;⁷ after them the author passes to the north and speaks of the Khirkhīz, who, in his opinion, lived in the east towards China and the Eastern Ocean;⁸ then again he passes to the south

¹ BGA, vi, 46, note 2; also *Enc. of Islam*, ii, under "Java". [See my note, p. 473. V.M.]

² According to Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 103 above, the islands Zābaj are nearer to China than to India.

³ BGA, vi, 66, *mamlakat ḡabat al-Hindī* [referring to the maritime Jāba. V.M.]

⁴ Our author places Zanj as well opposite Sind, and so does Iṣṭakhri; at another place Iṣṭakhri, p. 36, places Zanj opposite some parts of Hind. [This seems to be a misunderstanding, as Iṣṭakhri, p. 36, refers to the Indian Ocean and not to the *arḡ al-Zanj*. V.M.]

⁵ [See my note, p. 474. V.M.]

⁶ [I omit here the enumeration, which will be found at its place in my translation. V.M.]

⁷ F. 17a, Yghmiyā, but 13a, 17b, and 18a correctly Yghmā. The chapter on this people mentions Kāshghar, though at the same time it is said that the town is situated on the frontier between the possessions of the Yaghmā, the Tibetans, the Khirkhīz, and the Chinese.

⁸ Iṣṭakhri, p. 9 below, also speaks of the Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) as the frontier of the Khirkhīz.

and describes the Khallukh (Qarluq) whose province on the east adjoined Tibet¹ and the limits of the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz; then the Chigil, who had separated themselves [? v.i. § 16] from the Khallukh, whose country on the east [?] and south adjoined the limits of the Khallukh and whose western neighbours were the Tukhsī.² Again passing to the north the author speaks of the Kīmāk, living to the west of the Khirkhīz and to the north of the Irīsh, and of the Ghūz. In the chapter on the Ghūz it is said that to the east and south of their province is situated the Ghūz desert³ and the towns of Transoxiana; the Kīmāk are not mentioned in this connexion, but in their special chapter their peaceful relations as well as their wars | with **P 25** the Ghūz are mentioned.⁴ After this come the Turkish Pecheneg, living to the west of the Ghūz, and the Khifjākh (Qipchaq), of whom it is said that they adjoin the Pecheneg on the south, and the northern desert on all the other sides. Elsewhere it is said that the Khifjākh separated from the Kīmāk, from which one might deduce that these latter had once been the eastern neighbours of the Khifjākh. After the Khifjākh is mentioned only one "Turkish" (according to the ideas of the Arab geographers!) people, the Magyars (*Majghari*). Nothing is said of the frontier between them and the Khifjākh, although it is mentioned that to their east were mountains, to their south lived a Christian people called Vanandar, and to their west and north lay the country of the Rūs. The text presents some resemblances to that of Ibn Rusta,⁵ and likewise to that of Gardīzī⁶ (e.g., the number of horsemen and the mention of the great extent of the Magyar country; Gardīzī estimates both its length and width as 100 farsakhs, while according to the *Hudūd al-'ālam* it was 150 farsakhs in length and 100 in breadth). All three texts are probably derived from the same source (perhaps the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih) which has been most fully utilized by Gardīzī.

After having spoken of the Magyars and their struggle with their neighbours, the author feels confident that he has finished with all

¹ [See p. 256, note 2. V.M.]

² In the translation of the text of Gardīzī (*Report*, p. 125) and in the *Sketch of the History of the Semirechye*, p. 15, I wrote "Takhsī"; but in the MS. of Mahmūd of Kāshghar, judging by the printed edition (i, 28, 85, 342; ii, 243), everywhere stands Tukhsī. [In the *Hudūd al-'ālam*: Tukhs, probably formed from *Tukhsīyān*, on a false analogy with Ghūziyān < Ghūz. V.M.]

³ The expression *biyābān-i Ghūz* corresponds to the expression *mafāzat*

al-Ghuzziya, in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri (*BGA*, i, 217 and sq.).

⁴ According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 222, the frontier between the countries of the Kīmāk and the Ghuzz was formed by the river Itil (*Ithil*), by which is probably meant the lower course of the Kama (cf. my article "Ghuz" in the *Enc. of Islam*).

⁵ e.g. the mention of 20,000 Magyar horsemen, *BGA*, vii, 142.

⁶ Barthold, *Report*, text, p. 98, transl. p. 121 and sq.

the Turks: "now I shall enumerate all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the Infidels which are situated in the west." However, we shall see that in spite of this intention, the author, after the description of the Muslim provinces, comes back to such peoples as lived even farther to the east than the Magyars.

VI

The description of the Muslim world forms, naturally, the greater part of the description of countries (17½ out of 26 folios), yet even this proportion shows that the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* allots to the non-Muslim world a greater space than do the Arab geographers. In the description of the Muslim countries the general order, from east to west, is again often disturbed by transitions from south to north. From Khorāsān and its frontier provinces ["marches", V.M.], among which figure Sīstān and the provinces along the Hilmand, the author passes to the north, to Transoxiana and its frontier provinces. No special chapter is devoted to the desert Karaskūh [read: *Kargas-kūh*, V.M.], i.e. the "Khorasan desert" of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī.¹ Then follows the description of the southern provinces: Sind, Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān. From Khūzistān again a transition is made to the north, to the Jibāl and Daylamān (plural of Daylam). The latter comprises all the provinces along the southern and south-eastern shore of the Caspian, including the province Kūmish (*Qūmis* of the Arab geographers), with Bistām, Damghān, and Simnān. Rayy, with Khwār and Qazvīn, is included in the Jibāl, and not, as in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī,² in Daylam. Rayy is called "the residence of the king of the Jibāl" (f. 29a). Not until after this digression does a description of 'Irāq, lying to the west of Khūzistān, follow; then again comes the description of northern provinces: Jazīra, Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān. As in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī, the description of the last three provinces is united in a single chapter, in the following order: Armenia, Arrān, Ādharbayjān,³ though one would have expected to see Arrān before Armenia. The other provinces of the Muslim world are: Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Maghrib, and Spain (Andalus).

P 26 Khorāsān, Transoxiana, and their frontier provinces are described with more detail than the other parts of the Muslim world, because the author's materials on them were the most detailed. But he shows no such partiality to the eastern provinces as would be detrimental to the western ones, and there are no eastern provinces or towns among those to which, in some respects, an exceptional place is ascribed in the whole of the Muslim world. Khorāsān is placed near

¹ BGA, i, 227.² *Ibid.*, p. 207.³ *Ibid.*, p. 180 [But *v.i.*, p. 142].

the centre of the inhabited world (f. 19a) but 'Irāq near the centre of the world in general. 'Irāq was the most prosperous¹ province of the Muslim world, Baghdād the most prosperous town, and Wāsiṭ the most pleasant town in 'Irāq (f. 31a). The most pleasant countries in Islam were Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān (f. 32b), a statement which was probably borrowed from the same source as that from which the data on the Caspian provinces in general were derived. The noblest town of the world is Mekka, the birth-place of the Prophet and the House of God. Mekka was built by Adam; its construction was completed by Abraham; from Adam's time God has loved this house (the Ka'ba, f. 33b). The first town built after the Flood was Ṣan'ā in Yemen (f. 34a). The chief town of the province of 'Omān,² Ṣoḥār (the name of this town has been for some reason replaced by the name of the province), is the storehouse for goods from all over the world; there is no other town where merchants are richer; all the merchandise from east, west, south, and north is brought to this town and from here re-exported. In Khūzistān prosperity³ is greater than in any of the neighbouring provinces (f. 28b). Egypt is the richest country of the Muslim world; Fuṣṭāṭ (Cairo) the richest town of the world (f. 35a-b). The Egyptian pyramids were built by Hermes even before the Flood. The length, width, and height of each of the two large pyramids equalled 400 arash (a comparison of this passage with the text of Ibn Khurdādhbih⁴ shows that the Persian *arash* corresponds to the Arabic *dhirā'*). Sometimes the author mentions an edifice as having an exceptional significance for the whole world, whereas in his source (Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī) this remark is made only with regard to the Muslim world. In the passages on the Christian church in Edessa (Ruhā, f. 32a), and on the large bridge over the Euphrates (f. 34b), the words

¹ The Persian term *ābādhān* does not easily lend itself to translation; it points to a state of inhabitedness and prosperity, as contrasting with the state of desolation, though without reference to a large number of inhabitants; cf. f. 34b, on two towns of the Mesopotamian frontier zone: *ābādhān va kam-mardum*. [I translate *ābādhān* by the neutral term "prosperous". See on all these terms Index E. V.M.]

² In the MS. everywhere wrongly 'Ommān instead of 'Omān.

³ In the text *bisyār-ni'mat-tar*. In the *Hudūd al-'ālam* the terms *ni'mat* and *khwāsta* are often juxtaposed but

not as synonyms. That *ni'mat* and *khwāsta* are not one and the same thing, may be seen from the fact that in a country there may be little *ni'mat* and much *khwāsta* (f. 16b) and contrariwise (f. 37a). Apparently the word *ni'mat* refers to the general level of prosperity and wealth, and *khwāsta*, to the separate sources of prosperity or income, as for instance cattle: cf. f. 16b above, on the inhabitants of a Tibetan province: "their *khwāsta* are sheep." [See Index E. V.M.]

⁴ *BGA*, vi, 159₃. Therefrom, too, are borrowed the words about the inscription [but not the wording of it. V.M.].

andar hama jihān correspond to Iṣṭakhri's¹ *fil-Islām* or *fi bilād al-Islām*.

Everywhere careful attention is paid to what goods are exported from a given place and what localities have a particular importance in trade. Such details will undoubtedly complete in many respects what we already know from Arabic geographical literature on the various branches of industry in the Muslim world. These data might form the subject of a special treatise but unfortunately the interesting terms will not always be found in dictionaries.²

Often occurs the expression "place of merchants" (*jāy-i bāzargānān* [present-day pronunciation *bāzurgān*, V.M.] or *jāyagāh-i bāzargānān*);³ thus are called whole provinces, e.g. Transoxiana (f. 22b), and separate towns; only in the chapters on Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Spain merchants are not mentioned, though with regard to Syria it is said that to it are brought all the goods imported from Maghrib, Egypt, Byzantium, and Spain (f. 34b). Single localities
P 27 and towns are mentioned as | gates (*dar*) into, or as store-places (*bārgāh* and *bārkadha*) of, some particular country. The situation of a town or of a locality on a given route is also mentioned, but only in the chapters on the eastern provinces; of the pilgrim routes to Mekka, the only one that merits the author's attention is that of the Khorāsān pilgrims (f. 29a).⁴

Samarqand was a resort of merchants from all over the world (f. 23a), as were also Isfijāb (f. 24b where for the word *jāy* is substituted the word *ma'dan*), and the port of Abaskūn (f. 29b) on the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the Gurgān. The name of "Gates of Turkistān" is given to the whole of Transoxiana (f. 22b), to Khorāsān (f. 19a), and separately to Farghāna (f. 23b) and to the town of Gurgānj (f. 25b) in Khuwārizm. The capital of Khuwārizm, Kāth (spelt: *Kāzh*) was "the gate to the Ghūz Turks (read: *Turkān* instead of *Turkistān*) and the store-place of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania, and the Khazars". About the province of Isfijāb it is said that "whatever is produced in any place of Turkistān is brought here" (f. 24b); the town of Šabrān, or Šaurān, was "the place of the Ghūz merchants" (*ibid.*). The situation of Karmīna, Dabūsiya, and Rabinjan on the way (from Bukhārā) to Samarqand is specially mentioned (ff. 22b-23a). The small town Bāsand⁵ in Chaghāniyān was "the

¹ p. 62 (the bridge) and p. 76 (the church).

² [See Index D.]

³ Or sometimes *bāzargānān bisyār*, meaning that at a given place there are numerous merchants.

⁴ The Khorāsān pilgrims went *via* Baghdād; this may account for the mention of Qādisiya "on the way of the pilgrims" (f. 31b).

⁵ On it see my *Turkestan*, p. 76; English ed. p. 74.

place of paupers, though with abundant riches"; paupers were also the inhabitants of the town of Chaghāniyān (*ibid.*). Other "places of paupers" were the small town of Sakalkand or Iskalkand¹ in the mountains of Hindūkūsh (f. 21b) and, as now, the Zarafshān mountains (f. 23b). The expressions "highway" (*shāhrāh*) and "highway of caravans" are used only with reference to the road from Marwarrūd to Balkh, through Faryāb and Shapūrquān (or Ushpūrquān, f. 21a).² The store-house of Balkh was, however, the principal town of Gūzgān, Anbīr (or Anbār, *ibid.*), situated away from the above-mentioned road. The store-houses of India were Balkh (*ibid.*) and Lamghān, *i.e.* Laghmān (f. 16a); the gates to India were Bust on the Hilmand (f. 22a) and Parvān near the Hindūkūsh (f. 22b). To Andarāb near the Hindūkūsh was brought the silver from the mines of Panjhīr and Jāriyāba and here dirhams were coined from it (f. 21b). On the frontier of Vakhān there was a village that was called "the gate of Tibet" where was a Muslim customs and guard-post (f. 25b). Several towns of Vakhān are enumerated, and as the last place in the limits of Transoxiana is named the large village Samarqandāq ("Little Samarqand"), where live Hindus, Tibetans, Vakhanians (*Vakhī*), and Muslims (*ibid.*); here, too, is described Bolor (Kāfiristān), a locality not mentioned by the Arab geographers.

Sind was not a rich province, but there were many merchants in it and several of its towns carried on sea-trade (f. 26a).

From Khorāsān is mentioned the road to Rayy through Bahman-ābād and Mazīnān and the road to Gurgān through Jājarm; Jājarm was the store-house of Gurgān (f. 19b). Several industrial and commercial towns are mentioned in the Caspian provinces; an interesting description is given of Pirīm (or Firīm), principal town of the mountain province Qārin.³ In the detailed and precise description of the Caspian provinces is to be found a striking absurdity: the words of the Qor'ān (xviii, 78), concerning the ruler who seized every ship by force, are applied to the continental town of Ahar in Ādharbaijān ff. 32b-33a). The legend, as in Iṣṭakhrī,⁴ refers to the dynasty of the Julandids, but Iṣṭakhrī has in mind not the principal branch of the dynasty, which ruled in 'Omān,⁵ | but the "family of 'Umāra", P 28

¹ The pronunciation in Yāqūt, i, 254, and iii, 108; cf. *BGA*, i, 275d.

² Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 1115, uses the expression *shāhrāh* with regard to the Bukhārā-Samarqand road.

³ Cf. my *Historico-geographical sketch of Iran*, SPb. 1901, p. 155. [See the translation of f. 30a-b. V.M.]

⁴ *BGA*, i, 140.

⁵ See Salil ibn Razik, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, transl. by G. P. Badger, l. 1871, quoted by Barthold in the Russian translation of Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 284; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 125. [See my explanation in the Notes. V.M.]

which possessed the district on the coast of Fārs, on the Kirmān frontier. This district is also mentioned by our author (f. 27b) who calls it "a place of fishermen and a haunt of merchants". It is incomprehensible why the words on the Julandids and the Qor'ānic legend should have been transferred from one place to the other, to which they evidently can have no reference. Another evident and incomprehensible mistake occurs at the end of the chapter on 'Irāq (f. 13b), where it is said that the construction of the small towns of Karkh and Dūr (in the text by mistake *Dwn*), near Sāmarrā was begun by Mu'tasim (833-42), and completed by Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33).

Store-places were: in Kirmān, Hurmuz (f. 26b); in Fārs, Sīrāf, and Māhīrūbān (or Māhrūbān, f. 27b);¹ in Khūzistān, Sūs (f. 28b, here and in other passages—Shūsh). Consequently in Kirmān and Fārs such significance was attributed to sea-side towns, and in Khūzistān to a continental one. Yemen (f. 24a) is described in much greater detail than by Iṣṭakhri: enough to say that the town of Zabīd, which according to our author occupied the second place after Ṣan'ā, is not mentioned at all² in Iṣṭakhri.

The westernmost town ["land", V.M.] of the inhabited world was "Sūs-the-Distant" (*Sūs al-aqṣā*, f. 36b). Innumerable quantities of gold were found there; the people by their customs hardly resembled men; foreigners seldom penetrated there. The chief object of export from the Berber country were panthers (or leopards, *palang*); the Berbers hunted them and brought their pelts for sale into Muslim towns.

VII

From Spain the author again passes to the non-Muslim provinces, first of all to Byzantium, information on which is mostly borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih. The following remark is curious (f. 37a): "In Rūm (Byzantium) there are ancient towns; formerly there were many towns, now there are few." A series of misunderstandings is explained partly by the careless rendering of the Arabic text, and partly by the fact that the author, as usual, did not discriminate between information borrowed from various sources. Ibn-Khurdādhbih³ says that Thrace (*Trāqiya*) is situated "beyond Constantinople, on the side of the country of the Burjāns" (Danube Bulgars); in our author the name *B.rqiya*, i.e. *Trāqiya*, is given to the town⁴ of

¹ On this town see *BGA*, i, 29c; Yāqūt, iv, 699.

² According to Maqdisī, Zabīd was "the Baghdād of Yemen" and only by

its size was inferior to Ṣan'ā, which was in a state of decadence, *BGA*, iii, 84 and 86.

³ *BGA*, vi, 109, above.

⁴ ["Land"? V.M.].

the Burjāns. To the north-west of Rūm the author places the Bulgars (Bulgharī), not noticing that they are identical with the Burjāns whom he has just named. As distinct from the Bulgars are named, but not described, "the Slavs who have accepted Christianity", who paid tribute to the emperor of Byzantium.¹ The country of Rūm extended to the Western Ocean, where on the south it bordered upon Spain. The Franks and the peoples living between the Franks and Spain, are described with less detail than by Iṣṭakhri.² Rome is included in the Frank country. As already explained, the information on Britain as a store-house of Rūm and Spain stands isolated. The deformation of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri's report³ on the Greeks and Athens has been noted above, p. 21.

The subsequent chapters, those concerning the Slavs and the Rūs (ff. 37b-38b), the text of which has been edited by Toumansky, give little that is new.⁴ The chapter on the Rūs forms a characteristic example of the indiscriminate amalgamation of data pertaining to different periods; one finds the report probably derived from Ibn Khurdādhbih about a single Russian khāqān, side by side with that about three independent Russian towns, taken probably from Ibn Faḍlān. The fact that our author places the said three towns on the same river Rūs seems to result from an arbitrary combination by him of his sources. By the river Rūs in the present case is probably meant not the Volga in its upper course, above its junction with the Kama, as supposed by Toumansky,⁵ but the Don.⁶ The next people after the Rūs are "the Inner Bulgars", in whom Marquart⁷ sees the Danube Bulgars, and Westberg⁸ the Black Bulgars who, according to the Russian Chronicle and to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, occupied the Don and the Azov Sea. It would be hardly expedient to attempt to analyse these hypotheses, founded as they are on the evidently insufficient and fragmentary information which has come down to us, especially in view of the fact that the author has blended together data belonging to different periods and in spite of the scarcity of his

¹ This passage has been edited by Toumansky, *ZVO*, x, 132; translation and notes, 134. Under the influence of the record on an aqueduct coming, *BGA*, vii, 126₁₈, "from the town called Bolghar" (the aqueduct near the village Belgrad) the Arabs imagined a river flowing from Bulgaria through Thrace and falling into the Bosphorus.

² *BGA*, i, 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴ Solely to an unhappy conjecture of Toumansky is due a detail, not to be found in the text, *viz.* "that in one of

their (Rūs) tribes there are Mirvats", *ZVO*, x, 136, note 3. The word *mirvat* of the text (*va andar gurūhi az īshān muruvvat-ast*) is probably the translation of the Arabic *rujla* (*BGA*, vii, 146₁₄).

⁵ *ZVO*, x, 137, note.

⁶ *BGA*, ii, 27b.

⁷ J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 517.

⁸ *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (JMNPI), N.S., xiii, p. 387 and sq. (in Russian).

information, has tried, with illusory exactitude, to fix the geographical situation of the countries and towns which he enumerates. There are seemingly no contradictions in his system, but this system can hardly have ever corresponded to the actual facts.

The country of the Sarīr (*i.e.* that of the Avars), which on the west was bounded by Byzantium, was in the south conterminous with the Muslim possessions in the Caucasus, *i.e.* with Darband and southern Daghestan,¹ and not with Armenia, as our author takes it. To the north and west of the Sarīr lived the Alāns whose land adjoined Byzantium and not the Muslim possessions; to the north the Alān land extended to the Black (or Azov) Sea and to the possessions of the Khazarian Pechenegs. The latter, who were the northern neighbours of the Alāns, are the first people mentioned to the east, and not to the south, of the Black Sea; their eastern frontier was the "Khazar mountains", *i.e.* the mountains which, in the author's opinion, constituted the western frontier of the Khazar country; in his conception (f. 8a) the mountains stretched west of the Caspian Sea, between the possessions of the Sarīr and the Khazars, as far as the beginning of Alān territory, whence they followed a northern direction to the end of the Khazar country, then passed between the lands of the Khazarian Pechenegs, those of the Inner Bulgars and those of the Rūs (the text here is not quite correct), to the limits of the Slavs, then followed a northern direction passing through the middle of the Slav possessions and skirting the Slav town of Khurdāb² until they reached the end of the Slav country. To the west of the (probably the same) mountains, to the north of the Black Sea and to the north-west of the Khazarian Pechenegs lived the Mirvāt (the Khazarian Pechenegs were for them partly eastern, partly southern neighbours); on the west, too, the Mirvāt adjoined the Black Sea. To the north-west of the Mirvāt and also to the north of the Black Sea, lived the Inner Bulgars whose land on the north reached the "Russian mountains". The westernmost country on the northern shore of the Black Sea was that of the Slavs, conterminous to the south with Byzantium. The eastern neighbours of the Slavs, besides the Inner Bulgars, were the Rūs; on the north and west, the Slav country marched with the 'Uninhabited Deserts of the north'. With the same deserts was conterminous on the north the Rūs country, which to the south extended down to the Danube, on which stood the capital of the Slavs, Khurdāb.³

¹ Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, Barthold, *Daghestān*.

² On this town, cf. the equally un-

founded hypotheses of Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 471, and Westberg, *JMNP*, *l.c.*, p. 12.

³ [Cf. § 6, 45. V.M.]

On the other hand, on its north-east¹ the country of the Sarir marched with that of the Khazars; the latter on their east had "a wall between the mountains and the sea, the sea and a part of the river Itil" (f. 38b). Among the Khazar lands are counted Ṭūlās and Lūghar, but their situation is not indicated; according to Ibn Rusta² thus were P 30 called the peoples living on one of the outskirts of the Khazar country, near the high mountains which stretch to Tiflis. Marquart³ endeavours to prove that Ibn Rusta's Ṭūlās correspond to the Nandars (or Vanandars) of both the Toumansky MS. and Gardizī, and likewise that the Lūghar correspond to the Mirvāt, the name *Lūghar* itself being a distortion of *Aughaz*, or (with the article) *al-Aughāz*, by which are meant the Abkhāz.⁴ Meanwhile he (Marquart) thinks that in the source common to the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and Gardizī the information about these peoples had been confused, and that the Nandar, who according to their description correspond to the Alāns, received the name of Abkhāz. اندر is formed from الاوغز (through an intermediate form البكر) and مروات from (تولاس) (تولاس). All this is, of course, more than questionable, and since the Ṭūlās and Lūghar are mentioned in the Toumansky MS. separately from the Mirvāt and the Nandar, these theories become still less likely.

North of the Khazars, and west of the Volga, lived the Barādhās, and west of the latter the Vanandar. East of the Volga lived the Burṭās,⁶ and north of the Burṭās and the Barādhās lived the Turkish Pechenegs, while north of the Vanandar were the Magyars. Gardizī adds⁵ that the Nandar (Vanandar) were separated from the Magyars by the Danube and that from their (northern?) bank the Magyars could see the Nandar. On the bank of the river stood a mountain and from its slope a water descended; beyond the mountain lived the Mirdāt (Mirvāt); between their province and that of the Nandar there was a distance of ten days' journey. The neighbours of the Burṭās⁶ on the south-east were the Central-Asian[?] Ghūz. Of the Bulgars it is only said that they lived on the Itil, with no explanation about their neighbours.

¹ The author speaks only of the north; to the west of the Khazar country were "mountains".

² BGA, vii, 139.

³ Streifzüge, pp. 31, 176, and 496.

⁴ Westberg, l.c., p. 388, was also inclined to consider the Mirvāt as Abkhāz.

⁵ V. Barthold, Report, p. 98 (text) and p. 122 (transl.). To the Danube

(Dūnā) apparently refer the words of our author about the river, the name of which in our MS. can be read *Rūtā* or *Rūthā*, ZVO, x, 135, note 11. On the different names of the Danube in Arabic literature, cf. BGA, viii, 67, note o.

⁶ [Instead of *Burṭās* (§ 51) read: *Bulghār*, as suggested by Barthold in an additional note. V.i., p. 450.]

Of the Pechenegs and other peoples considered as Turks, inclusive of the Magyars, information is given elsewhere, as we have seen. The northern outskirts of the Inhabited World begin in the east with the land of the Qirghiz (*Khirkhiz*), whose neighbours on the west were the Kīmāk, who in their turn had as neighbours the Qipchaq (Khifjākh, f. 18b). But meanwhile it is mentioned (f. 19a) that the Qipchaq country on all sides, with the exception of the south, where it adjoined the Pechenegs country, marched with the northern desert. Of the Pechenegs it is said that their neighbours to the east were the Ghūz; to the south, the Burṭās¹ and the Barādhās; to the west, the Magyars and the Rūs; to the north the Danube formed their frontier, provided that this river is identical with the river Rūtā, or Rūthā (f. 19a).² From this summary it may be seen that, in addition to the erroneous location of the Pechenegs too far to the north (on the middle course of the Volga where they have never been), all the information on their old and new territories is jumbled together, notwithstanding the fact that their migration is mentioned in the text (f. 38a, chapter 47). The southern neighbours of the Magyars were the Vanandar, their western and northern neighbours, the Rūs; of the eastern side it is only said that a mountain was found there.³

In spite of the uncertainty of these data, it does not seem superfluous, in view of the attention which this part of the Toumansky MS. has already attracted, to give a full translation of the corresponding chapters, from the place where Toumansky stopped (f. 38a), to the end of the section on the northern part of the inhabited world (f. 38b below), save for the information of the frontiers that has been separately treated above.

[We omit the translation of ff. 38a–38b which will be found at the proper place in the text. V. V. Barthold concludes his Preface as follows:]

P 32 The translation of this short fragment shows that the pronunciation of several names could not be established. A great number of geographical names of which the reading remains unknown is the principal reason that has made me renounce the attempt to give a full translation of the MS., and limit myself to the present Preface in which I do not touch upon the outward aspect of the MS., as these details have already been given by Toumansky [see my Preface, V.M.].

¹ [Read: *Bulghār*. V.M.]

² [Very doubtful. V.M.]

³ For a detailed survey and explanation of the data quoted by Barthold on pp. 42–4, see my notes to §§ 46, 53, &c. V.M.]

PART TWO
ḤUDŪD al-‘ĀLAM
“THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD”
TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

List of the chapters of the book

§ 1. Preface (<i>gushāyish-i kitāb</i>)	F. 1b ¹
§ 2. The disposition (<i>niḥādh</i>) of the Earth; the amount of (its) cultivation and lack of cultivation (<i>miqdār-i ābādhānī va virānī</i>) and its countries (<i>nāḥiyat-hā</i>)	
§ 3. The Seas	F. 2a
§ 4. The Islands	F. 2b
§ 5. The Mountains	F. 4a
§ 6. The Rivers	F. 5b
§ 7. The Deserts	F. 12a
§ 8. The countries (<i>nāḥiyat-hā</i>) of the World	F. 13a
§ 9. The country (<i>nāḥiyat</i>) of Chinistān	F. 13b
§ 10. The country of Hindūstān	F. 14a
§ 11. The country of Tibet	F. 16a
§ 12. The country of the Toghuzghuz and Tātār	F. 16b
§ 13. The country of the Yaghmā	F. 17a
§ 14. The country of the Khirkhīz	F. 17b
§ 15. The country of the Khallukh	F. 17b
§ 16. The country of the Chigil	F. 18a
§ 17. The country of the Tukhs	F. 18a
§ 18. The country of the Kīmāk	F. 18b
§ 19. The country of the Ghūz	F. 18b
§ 20. The country of the Pechenegs	F. 18b
§ 21. The country of the Khifjākh	F. 19a
§ 22. The country of the Majgharī	F. 19a
§ 23. The country of Khurāsān	F. 19a
§ 24. The country of the Marches (<i>hudūd</i>) of Khurāsān	F. 21b
§ 25. The country of Transoxiana	F. 22b
§ 26. The country of the Marches of Transoxiana	F. 25a
§ 27. The country of Sind	F. 26a
§ 28. The country of Kirmān	F. 26a
§ 29. The country of Fārs	F. 27a
§ 30. The country of Khūzistān	F. 28a
§ 31. The country of Jibāl	F. 28b
§ 32. The country of Daylamān	F. 29b
§ 33. The country of 'Irāq	F. 31a
§ 34. The country of Jazīra	F. 31b
§ 35. The country of Ādharbādhagān	F. 32a

¹ On the contents of f. 1a see Appendix A.

§ 36. The country of Armīniya and Arrān	F. 32a
§ 37. The country of the Arabs	F. 33b
§ 38. The country of Syria (<i>Shām</i>)	F. 34b
§ 39. The country of Egypt	F. 35a
§ 40. The country of Maghrib	F. 35b
§ 41. The country of Spain (<i>Andalus</i>)	F. 36b
§ 42. The country of Byzantium (<i>Rūm</i>)	F. 36b
§ 43. The country of the Slavs (<i>Ṣaqlāb</i>)	F. 37a
§ 44. The country of the Rūs	F. 37b
§ 45. The country of the Inner Bulghār	F. 38a
§ 46. The country of the Mirvāt	F. 38a
§ 47. The country of the Khazarian Pechenegs	F. 38a
§ 48. The country of the Alān	F. 38a
§ 49. The country of the Sarīr	F. 38a
§ 50. The country of the Khazar	F. 38b
§ 51. The country of the Burtās [<i>read</i> : Bulghār]	F. 38b
§ 52. The country of the Barādhās	F. 38b
§ 53. The country of the V.n.nd.r	F. 38b
§ 54. Southern Inhabited Lands	F. 39a
§ 55. The country of Zangistān	F. 39a
§ 56. The country of Zābaj	F. 39a
§ 57. The country of Abyssinia	F. 39a
§ 58. The country of Buja	F. 39a
§ 59. The country of Nubia	F. 39a
§ 60. The country of the Sūdān	F. 39b
§ 61. Epilogue of the book	F. 39b

[§ 1. Prefatory]

WITH bliss and happiness (*bil-yumn wal-sa'āda*)! Thanks (*ṣipās*) be to God, the Almighty (*tuṣvānā*), Eternal (*jāvidh*), Creator of the World, Opener of difficulties (*gushāyanda-yi kār-hā*), guiding his slaves and manifesting himself (*khwīsh-numā*) through different sciences; and ample praises (*durūdḥ*) upon Muḥammad and prophets all!

Owing to the glory, victory, and auspiciousness (*nik-akhtari*) of the Prince Lord Malik the Just Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, client of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his existence, and owing to the felicity of his days, we have begun this book about the properties of the Earth (*andar ṣifat-i zamin*) in the year 372 from the Prophet's emigration, on him be God's blessings. In it we have brought to light (*paydhā kardim*) the properties of the Earth and its disposition (*nihādh*), and the amount of its cultivation and its lack of cultivation. We have also brought to light all the countries and kingdoms (spelt: *pādshāy-hā*) of the Earth, so far (*ānch*) as they have become known until now, and the state of each different people found in those lands, and the customs of their kings, as they exist in our times, | and everything that comes forth from those lands.

2a

We have brought to light every land (*shahr*) of the world of which we have found information in the books of (our) predecessors (*pīshinagān*) and in the memories (**yādhkird*?)¹ of the sages, with particulars of that land as regards its greatness or smallness, its deficiency or abundance of amenities (*ni'mat*), wealth (*khwāsta*), and populations, and its cultivation or lack of the same; also, the disposition (*nihādh*) of every land with regard to mountains, rivers, seas, and deserts, and all the products coming forth from it.

We have brought to light the disposition (*nihādh*) of the seas all through the world, their broad and narrow (*khurd va buzurg*) places and the lagoons (*murdāb*), which are called gulfs (*khalīj*), with each thing coming forth from that sea.

We have brought to light all the great islands with their cultivated and desolate places (*ābādhān va vīrān-i vay*) and the state of their people and all their products.

We have also brought to light all the principal (*aṣṭi*) mountains of the world and their manifold mines and the animals existing there.

We have also brought to light all the great rivers of the world,² from where they rise till where they fall into the sea or are used for

¹ *V.i.*, p. 145, l. 29.

² Construction: all the rivers that are great in the world.

agriculture (*kisht[-u-]barz*), more especially those rivers which ships can navigate (*gudhashtan*); (and we have mentioned only the great rivers) because (*az ān-k*) of the small rivers the number is not known (*padhidh*).

We have also brought to light all the deserts and sands which are notorious in the world, with their extension and breadth.

§ 2. Discourse on the disposition (*nihādh*) of the Earth with regard (*az*) to its cultivation or lack of cultivation

1. The Earth is round (*gird*) as a sphere (*gū'i*) and the firmament enfolds it turning on two poles (*falak muḥit-ast bar vay gardān bar du qutb*), of which the one is the North Pole and the other the South Pole.

2. If on any sphere (*har gū'i ki bāshadh*) you trace two large circles (*dāyira*) intersecting one another at right angles (*zāwiya-yi qā'ima*), those two circles will cut that sphere into four parts. The Earth is likewise divided into four parts by two circles, of which the one is called Horizon (*dā'irat al-āfāq*) and the other Equator (*khaṭṭ al-istiwā*). As regards the Horizon, it starts from the eastern parts (*nāḥiyat*), passes by the limit of the inhabited lands (*ābādhāni*) of the Earth, which (is) at the South Pole; then it passes by the western parts until it reaches again the East (*bāz mashriq rasadh*). And this circle is the one which separates this visible (*zāhir*) inhabited (*ābādhān*) half of the Earth from the other hidden (*pūshidha*) half which is beneath us. The Equator is a circle which starts from the eastern limit (*ḥadd*) and follows the middle of the Earth by the line farthest distant [equidistant] from both poles until it reaches the West, and it goes on in the same way until it comes back to the East.

3. Within the northern quarter, the inhabited lands (*ābādhāni*) lie in that half (of it) which adjoins the Equator. And there are also some inhabited lands in the southern quarter, in the half (of it) adjoining the Equator. The amount of the inhabited lands of the North is: 63 degrees of breadth by 180 degrees of length (*darāznā*), because (*az ān-k*) the largest (*mihtarīn*) circle traceable round the Earth (*gird-i zamin bar gardadh*) is of 360 degrees. The measure of the inhabited lands lying in the southern parts (*nāḥiyat*) is somewhat over 17 degrees by 180 degrees. The measure of the area (*masāḥa*) of these two (*har du*) forms one-ninth of the whole of the Earth (*nuh bahr-i hama-yi zamīn*). All the cities of the world, the different kingdoms (spelt: *pādshāy-hā*), the seas, the mountains, and the rivers and (in general) all the places possessing animals (*jānavar*) and fishes are within this ninth part (*nuh yak*) of the Earth which we have mentioned.

4. In the eastern region (*nāḥiyat*) the farthest lying city is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of China (*Chinistān*) called Khumdān on the shore of the Green Sea (*daryā-yi sabz*). The Greeks (*Rūmiyān*) call this sea the Eastern Ocean (*uqiyanūs-i mashriqi*) and the Arabs (*tāziyān*) the Green Sea (*baḥr al-akḥḍar*). And so Aristotle says in the book *Āthār-i 'Ulwi* ("Meteorologica") that this sea surrounds the Earth like the Horizon and ships cannot work in this sea | and nobody has **2 b** crossed it (*buridha*) and it is unknown where it ends. And on the whole stretch of the inhabited zone (*har chand kī ābādhānt-st*) the people see that sea but cannot cross it in a ship, except for a very short distance from the inhabited places.

On the other hand, the farthest of the lands (*shahr-hā*) of the western parts (*nāḥiyat*) is called Sūs-the-Distant (and is situated) on the shore of a sea called the Western Ocean. The latter's water resembles that of the Eastern Ocean as regards the colour, taste, and smell. Likewise on the whole stretch of the inhabited zone in the West, both in the northern and southern direction (*nāḥiyat*), the said sea adjoins them, and the inhabitants can cross in ships only the part of it lying close to the inhabited lands.

Consequently the people judging by analogy (*qiyās*) said that the two seas were one (ocean) which surrounds the Earth on the East and West and passes by the two poles. And on account of this ocean (*daryā*) no one knows anything about what there is in that other (invisible) half (*nīma*).

5. As regards the Equator, it passes through the said half (in its largest extension (?))¹ (*in nīma-yi bishtarīn*) across the Great Sea. North of the Equator the inhabited lands stretch for 63 degrees; farther on the animals cannot live in view of the intensity of the cold that prevails there up to the North Pole.

As regards the region lying south of the Equator some parts of it are (occupied by) the sea, and, moreover, great heat prevails there (*va digar sakht garmā-st*) and the people of those regions are more removed from the character of humanity (*tab'-i mardī*). They are Zangīs, Abyssinians, and the like. And farther on, down to the South Pole, no one can live on account of the excess of heat. Assistance (*taufiq*) is from God!

§ 3. Discourse on the disposition of the Seas and Gulfs²

1. The first is the GREEN SEA, which we have named the EASTERN OCEAN. Its extension (*ḥadd*), so far as it is known, is from the extreme

¹ V.s., p. 50. ll. 28-9?

² *Khalīj* means both "gulf" and "strait".

limit (*ākhir*) of cultivation (*'imārat*) in the south down to the Equator, the island Wāqwāq, the lands of Wāqwāq, the country (*nāḥiyat*) of Chīnistān, and the confines of the lands (*karāna-yi shahr-hā*) of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This sea has no known gulfs (straits?).

2. The other sea is the WESTERN OCEAN. Its extension, so far (*ān-k*) as it is known, is from the extreme limit of the countries of the Sūdān, the Maghrib, and Sūs-the-Distant, up to the Rūmī Strait (*khalīj*), up to the extreme limit of the countries of Rūm and Ṣaqlāb and up to the Tūlī (*i.e.* Thule) Island. This sea has a strait through which it joins the Rūmī Sea.

3. Another large sea is the one called the GREAT SEA (*Baḥr al-A'ṣam*). Its eastern limit adjoins the sea (called) the Eastern Ocean, and about one-third (*miqdār-i si-yakī*) of the Equator stretches across this sea. Its northern limit starts from China (*Chīn*), skirts the countries of Hindūstān and Sind, and the boundaries (*hudūd*) of Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān and Ṣaymara [sic]. The southern limit of this sea begins at the Jabal al-Ṭā'in, skirts the country (*nāḥiyat*) of Zābaj and reaches that of Zangistān and Abyssinia. The western limit of this sea is a gulf which surrounds all the Arab country (*gird-i hama-yi nāḥiyat-i 'Arab andar gardadh*).

This sea has five gulfs: (a) One of them begins (*bar dāradh*) from the limits of Abyssinia and stretches westward; off (*barābar*) the Sūdān it is called the BARBARĪ GULF. (b) Another gulf (which) adjoins it, takes a northern direction ([*ba*] *nāḥiyat-i shamāl furūdh āyadh*) up to the confines (*hudūd*) of Egypt, growing narrow till (*tā ānjā-kī*) its breadth becomes one mile (*mīl*); it is called the ARABIAN GULF (*khalīj-i 'Arabī*), or the GULF OF AYLA (spelt: *Īla*),¹ or QULZUM. (c) The third gulf starts (*bar gīradh*) from the frontiers of Fārs and stretches in a north-western direction until the distance between it and the Gulf of Ayla amounts to 16 stages (*manzil*) on swift camels (*bar jammāza*); it is called the GULF OF 'IRĀQ. All the Arab lands lie between these two gulfs, *i.e.* the Gulf of Ayla and that of 'Irāq. (d) The fourth gulf is that of PĀRS which starts from the limit (*ḥadd*) of Pārs, where it has a small breadth, and extends to the frontiers of Sind. (e) The fifth |

3 a gulf starts from the country of Hindūstān and becomes a gulf while taking a northern direction; it is called INDIAN GULF (*khalīj-i hindū'i*).

Each portion of the Great Sea is called after the towns and countries (*nāḥiyat*) which adjoin it, *e.g.* (*chūnān-k*) the sea of Pārs, the sea of Baṣra, the sea of 'Omān (spelt: 'Ommān), the sea of Zangistān, the Indian Sea, and the like. And this sea is the mine of all precious things (*gauhar*)² coming forth from the sea. Its length is 8,000 miles, and its breadth

¹ Cf. § 7, 10.

² Cf. p. 86, l. 25.

varies in each place. In this sea, from the limit of Qulzum down to the limit of Chīnistān, ebb and flow take place twice during the period of day and night. The flow (*madd*) is (when) the water swells and rises higher (*bartar*), and the ebb (*jazr*) is (when) the water decreases (*bikāhadh*) and falls lower. In no other sea do the ebb and flow exist, except by the increase and decrease of water in the rivers.

4. Another (sea) is the RŪM SEA (*daryā-yi Rūmiyān*) in the western parts. The form of that sea is conical (*ṣinaubar*). Its western limit adjoins the Western Ocean; on its northern coast lie the countries of Spain (*Andalus*), the Franks (*Ifranja*), and the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*); on its eastern coast lie the towns of Armenia and some parts of Rūm; on its southern limit are the towns of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Tangier. This sea has two straits, of which the one serves to connect it with the Ocean, and the other, similar to a river, traverses the middle of Rūm, skirts (*kanāra*) Constantinople and reaches the sea of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*). And there is no sea round which lie lands more prosperous (*ābādhāntar*). The length of this sea is 4,000 miles and its breadth is various. The greatest breadth of the strait (*khalīj*) of Constantinople is 4 miles, and the narrowest (*bārik-tarīn*) part of the western strait (*khalīj*) is 10 farsakhs and from the one shore the other is visible.

5. Another sea is the SEA OF THE KHAZARS. Its eastern¹ side (*nāhiyat*) is a desert adjoining the Ghūz and Khwārazm. Its northern side (adjoins) the Ghūz and some of the Khazars. Its western side adjoins the towns of the Khazars and of Ādharbādhagān. Its southern side adjoins the towns of Gilān, Daylamān, Ṭabaristān, and Gurgān. This sea has no straits (*khalīj*). Its length is 400 farsangs with a breadth of 400 farsangs. It produces nothing but fish.

6. Another sea is that of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*) and it is called BONṬOS (Black Sea). Its eastern limit is formed by the confines of the Alāns (al-Lān); its northern limit is formed by the places (occupied by) the Pechenegs (*Bajanāk*), the Khazars,¹ the Mirvāts, the Inner Bulghārs, and the Ṣaqlābs; its western limit is the country (*nāhiyat*) of the Burjāns; on its southern limit lies the country of Rūm. Its length is 1,300 miles with a breadth of 350 miles.

7. Another sea is that of KHWĀRAZM which is situated at a distance of 40 farsangs in the north-western direction from (the town of) Khwārazm. All round it are the places of the Ghūz. The circuit (*gird-bar-gird*) of the sea is 300 farsangs.

These are the seven seas. And outside (*birūn az*) these there are numerous lakes (*daryāyak*), sweet (fresh) and bitter (salt?).

¹ The word written twice.

The lakes which are salt (*shūr*) are eleven: the first is 8. MAEOTIS (*Māwṣ*, "the Azov¹ sea") at the extreme limit of the Ṣaqlābs towards the North. Its length is 100 farsangs with a breadth of 30 farsangs. From the Sea of the Georgians a strait (*khaltj*) joins it. And from this same sea a strait joins the Western Ocean.² Round it (*i.e.*, Maeotis) lie desolate places (*vitrāni*). 9. The second is the lake KABŪDHĀN in 3 b Armenia. Its length | is 50 farsangs with a breadth of 30 farsangs. In the middle of this lake is the village Kabūdhān and this lake is called after it. The lands round it are inhabited. In the lake on account of the saltiness (*shūri*) of its water there are no animals except worms. 10. The third is the DEAD SEA (*daryā-yi murda*) in Syria in which there is absolutely (*albatta*) no animal (life), on account of the bitterness of its water. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth two days' journey. 11. The fourth is the lake NAWYṬA (**Fāriṭa*?) in Rūm. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth two days' journey. Round it lie inhabited lands (*ābādhāni*) and it has plenty of fish. 12. The fifth is the lake MYMĀṬY (*Smāṭy*?), also in Rūm. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth one day's journey. Round it are inhabited lands. It has plenty of fish and it is said that it has also water-horses. 13. The sixth is the lake YŪN in Pārs near Kāzrūn, 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. Round it lie inhabited lands and it has many useful products (*manāfi*'). 14. The seventh is the lake BĀSFAHRĪ (**Bāsafūya*) in Pārs near Shīrāz, 8 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. Round it lie inhabited lands (but) it has little utility (*kam-manfa'at*). 15. The eighth is the lake J.NKĀN in Pārs, 12 farsangs long and 10 farsangs broad. It has some useful products and round it are inhabited lands. 16. The ninth is the lake *BIJAGĀN [now: *Bakhtagān*] in Pārs, 20 farsangs long, 15 farsangs broad. In it salt is formed (*namak bandadh*) and round it are the places inhabited by wild beasts; from it rises (*bigushāyadh*) a spring towards the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Dārāgird and it continues (*hamī-ravadh*) until it reaches the sea. 17. The tenth is *TUZ-KŪL (spelt: *Tauz-kūk*) in (the land) of the Khallukh. It is 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. In it salt is formed (and) from it comes salt for seven Khallukhian tribes (*qabilat*). 18. The eleventh is *ISSI-KŪL (spelt: *Ayskūk*) between the Chigil and the Toghuzghuz. It is 30 farsangs long and 20 farsangs broad. The town Barskhān is on its shore.

The number of the lakes with fresh water is not known. Some (*bahri*) are called lakes (*daryā*) and some swamps (*baṭiḥa*). Among those called lakes seven are well-known. 19. The lake in Egypt called BUḤAYRA TINNĪS is joined to the sea of Rūm and the river Nile flows

¹ Confused with the Baltic? *V.i.*, p. 181.

² Cf. § 4, 25.

into it. This lake in summer is fresh, but in winter when (the water) of the Nile is low (*rūdh-i Nil andaki buvadh*) it grows salt. In the middle of this lake are two towns, the one Tinnīs (spelt: *Tinai*) and the other Dimyāṭ. All the costly textiles (*jāma*) exported from Egypt come from these two towns. This lake is 15 farsangs long and 11 farsangs broad. 20. The lake of TIBERIAS (*Ṭabariya*) is in Syria. It is 12 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. 21. The lake of *NICAIA (spelt: *T.niya*, < **Niqiya*) in Rūm. Round it are inhabited lands. It is 8 farsangs long and 5 farsangs broad. 22. The lake RIYAS [sic] in Rūm. Round it are inhabited lands. It is 5 farsangs long and 5 farsangs broad. 23. The lake ARZAN (**Arzhan*) in Pārs, near Shīrāz. The fish of Shīrāz are from this lake. It is 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. 24. The lake ZARAH in Sistān. Round it are inhabited lands and villages, except on the side which adjoins the desert (*ba biyābān bāz dāradh*). It is 30 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. It happens sometimes (*gāh buvadh*) that the water of this lake Zarah (grows) so much (*chandān*) that the rivers rising from it overflow into the province of Kirmān (*ba Kirmān bigudharadh*) and form an enormous lake. | 25. The DARYĀZHA lying within the limits (*andar hadd*) of Surūshana 4a (spelt: *Subrūshna*) is formed by four rivers rising from Buttamān (*kī az Buttamān gushāyadh*). It is situated amidst mountains. From it comes (*bigushāyadh*) the river watering Samarqand, Bukhārā, and Sughd. The lake is 4 farsangs by 4 farsangs.

So much (*in*) about those lakes (*daryāyak-hā*) which are known and which are mentioned in the information (*akhbār*) contained in the books [or: in the *akhbār* and books?].¹

And outside these (*bīrūn az in*), small lakes are numerous, such as the lakes,² 26. one of which lies in the mountains of Gūzgān in Mānshān close to Bastarāb and is 1 farsang long and half a farsang broad, and 27. such as there are in the mountains of Ṭūs and Ṭabaristān. But they are neither (well)-known nor ancient, and sometimes they dry up so that no water remains in them. Therefore (*az bahr-i ān*) we have not mentioned them.

As regards the waters called swamps they are numerous but the well-known ones (*ānch ma'rūf ast*) are nine: 28–30. three among them (lie in) the desolate lands of the south (*si andar vay virāni-yi junūb-ast*) beyond Nubia (*Nūba*) close to Jabal al-Qamar, from which² rise ten rivers. From each five of them one marsh is formed (*batṭha bandadh*); then (*āngah*) from each of the (two) marshes rise three rivers, which (all) join in one place (*ba yak jā gird āyadh*) and from all the six of them one swamp (*yakī baṭṭha*) is formed. Then from

¹ *mar ū-rā andar kitāb-hā [*va] akhbār yādh kardā-ast?*

² Cf. § 6, 6a.

this swamp rises the river Nile which passes between Nubia and the lands of Egypt until it empties itself (*uftadh*) into the lake Tinnīs.

31.-32. The two other swamps are those of Baṣra, round which there are many inhabited lands, villages, and boroughs. 33. The (sixth) one is the marsh of KŪFA round which there are many inhabited lands, with many amenities (*bā ni'mat-i bisyār*). 34. The seventh is the swamp of Bukhārā which is called ĀVĀZA-YI PAYKAND and is situated in the desert. 35. The eighth is at the upper end (*a'ālī*) of Chīnistān, in the region (*hudūd*) of the town Khumdān. 36. The ninth is in the North of Chīnistān.

All of these lakes and swamps have fresh water with much fish in it. Fishermen are active on them, whereas it (often) happens that the swamps other than these (*juz in*) dry up; therefore we have not mentioned them.

§ 4. Discourse on the Islands

Any land situated in the midst of a sea above the surface of the water, or any mountain standing in the midst of a sea,¹ is called island.

A. In the Eastern Ocean there is a (well)-known island called 1. SILVER-ISLAND (*jazīrat al-fidda*) on which there are many teak-trees (*sāj*) and ebony-trees (*ābanūs*), as well as silver mines. It possesses seven big rivers which come out of seven different places in the same island (*ham az in jazīra*) and empty themselves into that sea. On the island there is a great and well-known city, which is considered as belonging to Chīnistān (*az shumār-i Chīnistān*) and called the City of the Silver-island. It is prosperous (*ābādhān*) and has a numerous population (*bisyār-mardum*).

B. In the Great Sea there are thirteen known islands and 2. two inhabited mountains, of which the one stretches in a southern direction (*az nāhiyat-i junūbī āyadh*) and protrudes into this sea; the other stretches (*biravadh*) in a northern direction and enters into this sea opposite the first one (*barābar-i vay*). These two mountains are mentioned in Ptolemy's books (*in du kūh rā . . . madhkūr-ast* [sic]). A part of each of these (two) mountains is on the land, and a part in the sea. 3. The first of the islands of this Great Sea is called GOLD-ISLAND (*dhahabiya*); its periphery is of 300 farsangs and it possesses gold-mines and many cultivated lands (*ābādhānī*), and its inhabitants are called Wāqwāqian Zangī (*Zangiyān-i Wāqwāqī*). All are naked and (all are) man-eaters (*mardum-khwār*). Chinese merchants go there in great numbers, carrying iron and food, (which) they sell

¹ Peninsulas are also considered islands, v.i. B 2.

to the inhabitants for gold, using signs and without saying a word to each other. | 4. Another island in this sea is called ṬABARNĀ 4b (*Taprobanē). Its periphery is 1,000 farsangs. Round it are fifty-nine large islands both cultivated and desolate. On it are found numerous towns and villages as well as many rivers and mountains. It possesses mines of corundum (*yāqūt*) of all colours. This island lies off the frontier (*sarḥadd*) separating Chīnistān from Hindūstān, and in it there is a large city called MUVAS; it is situated on the extremity (*karān*) which lies towards Hindūstān (*ba Hindūstān bāz dāradh*). Whatever this island produces is carried to that city and therefrom to the cities of the world. 5. The third island RĀMĪ (*al-Rāmi*) lies in the region (*hudūd*) of Sarandīb, southward of it. There live black people, wild and naked. They are divers and this is the place of pearls (*murvārīd*). The island produces ambergris (*'ambar*), Brazil wood (*dār-i parniyān*), and the animal (called) rhinoceros (*karg-i jānavar*).¹ They sell amber for (*barābar*) iron. The root of the trees of Brazil wood (*bikh-i dār-i parniyān*) which comes from this island is an antidote to all poisons (*tiryāk-ast az hama zahr-hā*). 6. The fourth island is Ṣ.RĪḤ (*Zābaj?), west[?] of Sarandīb. In it grow camphor trees, the people there are wild and snakes numerous. 7. The fifth is called JĀBA and SALĀHIṬ (Sumatra). From it comes much ambergris, cubeb (*kabāba*), sandal-wood, spikenard (*sunbul*), and cloves (*qaranful*). 8. The sixth lies west of the said Jāba and is called BĀLŪS; between them there is a distance of 2 farsangs. The people there are black and man-eaters. From it come good camphor, coco-nuts (*jauz-i hindī*), bananas (*mauz*), and sugar-cane (*nay-shakar*). 9. The seventh, south of Bālūs, is called KALA, and it is the kingdom of the Indian Jāba.² Between Bālūs and Kala the distance is a two days' journey. In it (Kala) grow numerous bamboos (*khayzurān*), and it possesses tin (*arzīz*) mines. 10. The eighth island, called BANKĀLŪS (**Lankabālūs*), is situated west of Kala. Between them there is a distance of six days. Its people are naked; they mingle (*andar āmizand*) with the merchants. Their commodity is iron. Their food is bananas, fish, and coco-nuts. This island is at a distance of 20 days from the town of *Malay. 11. The ninth island, situated near Sindān, is called HARANJ and produces much camphor. 12. The tenth island is LĀFT which possesses a flourishing (*khurram*) town, (also) called Lāft. On it there are fields

¹ To distinguish it from the bird *karg*.

² پادشای جابه هندوست could be alternatively translated: "The king of Jāba is

an Indian" but our text is an exact rendering of I. Kh., 66: و می مملكة جابه الهندي.

(*kisht-u-barz*) and many amenities (*ni'mat*), and pleasant waters, and from all the world (people) go there for trade. This island is situated off Pārs. 13. The eleventh is NĀRA, lying on the Equator line, in the middle (*bar miyāna*) of the inhabited world. Its longitude (*ṭūl*) from East to West is 90 degrees. The astronomical tables and observations (*zīj va raṣad*), as well as the positions of planets (*kawākib-i sayyāra*) and fixed stars (*thābitāt*), were calculated in the ancient tables (*zīj*) with regard to this island (*badhīn jazīra rāst kardand*). This island is called "equinoctial" (*istiwā al-layl wa 'l-nahār*). 14. The twelfth island, called WĀL (**Uwāl*), lies off Pārs and possesses many pleasant villages. It is a port of call (*jāy-i manzīl*) for ships. 15. The thirteenth, called KHĀRAK, lies south of Baṣra at a distance of 50 farsangs. It possesses a large and prosperous town called Khārak. Near it excellent (*murtafi'*) and costly pearls (*murvārīd*) are found. 16. The other two islands are small and lie close to each other. They are called SOCOTRA (*ū rā Saqītrā* [sic] *khwānand*) and are situated near the country 'Omān. It is a place of little amenity (*kam ni'mat*) but has many inhabitants.

In that sea there are (other) numerous islands but they are desolate, unknown, and small. Therefore we have not mentioned them.

17. And in that sea¹ off the Syrian desert (*bādiya*) lie the rocks 5 a (*kūh*) called FĀRĀN and JUBAYLĀT. The sea | there is always billowy and agitated (*bā mauj va āshufta*).

C. In the Western Ocean there are twenty-five known islands of which the names are found in Ptolemy's book. Of them (*az vāy*) six lying off the Land of the Sūdān are called 18. AL-JAZĀ'IR AL-KHĀLIYA and possess gold-mines. Once a year people from the region (*nāhiyat*) of the Sūdān and the towns of Sūs-the-Distant go to fetch gold from the mines but nobody can settle down there (*kas muqīm natawānad shudan*) on account of the intensity of heat. 19. The seventh island is GHADĪRA (spelt: 'Adīra) which lies at the point where the sea of Rūm joins this Ocean; from it rises (*bigushāyadh*) a large spring of water. The mouth of the strait opens into the Rūm Sea (*dahna-yi khalīj daryā-yi Rūm gardadh*). The eighth and the ninth are two islands situated close to one another: the one is called 20. RHODES (spelt: *Rūdhas*) and the other 21. ARWĀDH; they lie off the lands of Rūm. (The position of) the stars was observed by the Greeks (*raṣad-hā-yi Yūnāniyān*) from (*andar*) these two islands. The tenth and the eleventh are two islands situated half a farsang from one another, off the last limits (*ākhir-i ḥadd*) of Rūm in the northern direction. They are called 22. ISLAND OF MEN and 23. ISLAND OF WOMEN. On the

¹ i.e. in one of the gulfs belonging to it, v.s. § 3, 3 (b).

former the inhabitants are all men, and on the latter women. Each year for four nights they come together for the purpose of procreation (*az bahr-i tavālud rā*), and when the boys reach the age of three years they send them to the Island of Men. On the Island of Men there are thirty-six big rivers which rise there and fall into the sea, while on the Island of Women there are three such rivers. Beyond these islands in the northern direction of the same sea (*nāḥiyat-i shamāl-i in daryā*) there are twelve islands called 24. BRIṬĀNIYA, of which some are cultivated and some desolate. On them are found numerous mountains, rivers, villages, and different mines. The twenty-fourth is the island called 25. ṬUWAS (or *Ṭūs*) and situated north of the islands of Briṭāniya. It is 100 farsangs long and from it comes a large water (*āb-i buzurg*) which overflows the dry land (*bar khushk rīzadh*) and flows straight to the sea of Maeotis (spelt: *Marṭs*) situated north of the Ṣaqlāb, as we have mentioned.¹ The twenty-fifth is the island 26. THŪLĪ (Thule). For some of the northern cities the longitude was fixed (*girifta-and*) from those islands [sic]. This is the island where the circle parallel (*muwāzī* spelt: *mawāzī*) to the Equator and passing through this island touches (*gudharadh*) the (extreme) limit of the inhabited lands (*ābādhāni*) of the world, in the northern direction.

The known islands of the Western Ocean are those which we have enumerated.

D. In the sea of Rūm there are six inhabited islands and two mountains. Of the latter the one is called 27. JABAL-ṬĀRIQ (Gibraltar). One of its extremities (*sar*) is in the land of Spain (*Andalus*) and the other, in the strait joining the sea of Rūm to the Ocean. In it there is a silver mine, and from it come the drugs (*dārū*) usual in that land, e.g., gentian (*jintiyānā*) and the like. The other mountain is 28. JABAL AL-QILĀL near the Roman land (*shahr-i Rūmiya* ?);² west of it (*andar maghrib az vay*) there is a mountain³ of which it is said that no one has been able to climb on to its summit on account of its height, and from it come game, timber, and fuel.

As regards the six islands, the one is called 29. CYPRUS (spelt: *Qubras*), of which the periphery is 350 miles (*mīl*). It has mines of silver, copper, and plasma (*dahani*). It lies off Qaysāriya, 'Akka and Tyre (*Ṣūr*). The second island, lying north of Cyprus, is 30. QURNUS (spelt: *Qrys*), of which the periphery is 350 miles. The third is called 31. YĀBIS (spelt: *Bālus*); its periphery is 300 miles. The fourth is 32. SICILY (spelt: *Ṣaqliya*), near the Roman country (*Rūmiya*); a high mountain encircles it. | In the days of old, Roman treasure used 5 b

¹ Cf. § 3, 8.

² Less probable: "town of Rome", v.i. 3a.

³ The Alps?

to be (kept) in that island on account of its strength (*ustuvāri*). Its length is 7 post stages (*manzil*) and its breadth 5 stages. The fifth island is called 33. SARDINIA (spelt: *Surdāniya*). It lies south of the Roman country (*Rūmiya*); its periphery is 300 miles. The sixth is 34. CRETE (spelt: *Iqrīṭas*), situated off Aṭrābulus, (and) north of it. Its periphery is 300 miles.

These six islands are cultivated (*ābādhān*) and have many amenities (*ni'mat*). They have many towns and districts (*rustā*), a numerous population, many merchants, troops, and much wealth (*khwāsta*). These islands of the Rūm Sea are more cultivated than any islands of the world.

E. In the Armenian Sea lies one island with a village called 35. KABŪDHĀN. It is a rich locality (*jāy*) with many inhabitants.

F. In the Caspian Sea (*daryā-yi Khazarān*) there are two islands. The one lies off the Khazarian Darband and is called 36. JAZĪRAT AL-BĀB. It produces *rūyan* (madder, *rūnās*) exported to all the world and used by the dyers. The other island is 37. SIYĀH-KŪH; a horde (*gurūh*) of Ghūz Turks who have settled there loot (*duzdī*) on land and sea. There is another island on the sea, but one of its corners is joined to the land off Dihistān; it is called 38. DIHISTĀNĀN-SUR, and on it are found a few people (*andakī mardum*): hunters of falcons and pelicans (*ṣayyādān-i bāz va ḥawāsil*), and fishermen.

In the whole world there is no other extensive, reputed, and inhabited island, except those which we have mentioned here. We have represented on the Map (*ṣūrat kardīm*) the seas, the gulfs, and the islands as they are, and at their proper places. The might is in God!

§ 5. Discourse on the Mountains and Mines which exist in them

The nature (*nihādh*) of the mountains is twofold. Some are real (*aṣli*) mountains, stretching from one region (*nāḥiyat*) into another, growing now thin and now thick (*siṭabr*), going, now straight and now curved, till the place where they finish (*bi-buradh*); these are called ridges of mountains (*'amūd-i kūh*). The other (kind) are the ramifications (*shākh*) of the mountains which branch off (*bar giradh*) from the ridge of the mountain and also go on till the place where they end; they are called branches (*shākh*), just as a tree has numerous branches. And it may happen that those branches also have branches. Such is the likeness (*mithāl*) of the mountains. The mountains of which the ridge passes through (*andar miyān*) countries and districts

(*rustā*) have (usually) many branches, while those that stretch in the deserts and along the border of a sea, or of a river, have few branches. The ridges of the mountains are mostly joined to one another.

1. The first mountain in the eastern direction is the one which we have called AL-ṬĀ'IN FIL-BAḤR (“Thrusting into the sea”). Half of it is on land and the other half in the sea.

2. The other mountain is SARANDĪB, of which the length is 100 farsangs and it is so high that in some places no one can climb (up it). From (the top of the) Sarandīb to (its) foot (*dāman*) is a distance of two days. The mountain possesses mines of corundum (*yāqūt*) of different colours. And in its river-beds (*rūdh-kadha*) diamonds are found. In the whole world there is no other place of diamonds. Its soil is of emery (*sunbādha*). In (Sarandīb) there are costly pearls (which are extracted from) the sea that is nearer to it. It produces plenty of spikenard (*sunbul*), cloves, cardamum (*qāqula*), nutmeg (*jauz-i bavā*) and all kinds of spices (*afvāh*). It has numerous coco-nut trees, Brazil wood (*dār-i parniyān*), and bamboos. There are found in it musk-deer, civet-cats (*ḥayvān-i zabād*) | and rhinoceroses 6 a (*karg*). On it the trace of a human foot is found impressed upon a stone (*nishān-i pāy-i mardum ba-sang furū shuda*). It is said to be the trace of Adam's foot, on him be peace! The people (*mardumān*) of Sarandīb are naked. This mountain lies in the first clime.

3. From the corner (*gūsha*) of this mountain starts (*bar dāradh*) (another) mountain adjoining it (which passes) between (*miyān*) the end (*ākhir*) of Hindūstān and the beginning of Chīnistān. It is called MĀNISĀ. It follows (*furūdh āyad*) a northern direction until it reaches the place where Hindūstān ends and Tibet begins. It follows again a northern direction between Tibet and China (*Chīn*) up to the farthest limit of Rāng-rong (?) belonging to Tibet. Then (*ān-gah*) it turns ('*atf*) westwards and goes between China and the country (*nāhiyat*) Nazvān belonging to Tibet in a north-western direction up to the farthest limit of Tibet; then between (*miyān*) Tūs.mt and the confines (*va miyān-i hudūd*) of China¹ to the farthest limit (*ākhir*) of the desert situated at the extreme end (*ākhir*) of Chīnistān; (then stretches) between (*miyān*) the towns of Transoxiana and the towns of Turkistān up to the confines (*hudūd*) of Ṭarāz and Shiljī, and there the ridge of the mountain disappears (*ānjā in 'amūd biburradh*).

4. And at the end of Hindūstān and the beginning of Tibet a branch (of the Mānisā range) shoots off (*bar giradh*) eastwards into Chīnistān (*ba Chīnistān andar*) for a distance of 50 farsangs. And likewise from² the place which is the end of Tibet numerous branches

¹ Perhaps *Khotan*? See Notes.

² Small erasure, but the text is complete.

shoot off east and westwards and spread out (*va andar parāganadh*). And at the confines of Transoxiana numerous branches shoot off, and from each of them too numerous branches spread out in every direction (*hama nāḥiyat*) of Transoxiana. And in those branches mines of silver and gold are found, as well as much lead (*surb*) and iron and many drugs (*dārū*).

5. In the provinces (*nawāḥi*) of Chīnistān there are eighteen mountains, small and big, separate (*burīdha*) from each other. And in each locality there are some mountains scattered (*parāganda*) in every direction. In fourteen of these mountains gold-mines are found.

6. Then another mountain is at the farthest limit of the Toghuzghuz Turks where they adjoin China (*Chīn*). Its length is 4 farsangs and it is called ṬAFQĀN.

7. And also in the neighbourhood of Ṭafqān, in the Toghuzghuz country (*nāḥiyat*), a mountain shoots off (*bar gīradh*) in a western direction between (*andar miyān*) the Toghuzghuz, the Yaghmā, and various encampments (*khargāh*: "felt-huts") until it joins the mountain Mānisā. In the neighbourhood of the river Khūlandghūn this mountain is called IGHRĀJ-ART, and each part of this mountain (*har yakī az in kūh*) has many names, because (*zīrāk*) every part of these mountains is called by the name of the region (*nāḥiyat*), or by that of the town (*ya ān-i ān shahr*) which is nearest to it.

8. Another mountain shoots off (*bar gīradh*) from the beginning of the Toghuzghuz frontier (*ḥadd*) in the neighbourhood of the lake Issi-kūl (spelt: *Iskūk*). It continues till the end of the Tukhs (*Tukhsīyān*) and the beginning of the Khallukh frontier, then it bends (*'atf*), and a branch separates¹ from it (*bāz gardadh*) into the land (*nāḥiyat*) of a Khirkhīz tribe. This mountain is called TŪLAS and in it are found many sable-martens (*samūr*), grey squirrels (*sanjāb*), and musk-deer (*āhū-yi mushk*), while in that branch (*'atf*) which stretches off (*bāz kashadh*?) towards the Khirkhīz country musk-deer (*ḥayvān-i mushk*), *khutū*-[horns], grey squirrels, and sable-martens are found.

9. Another mountain stretches from the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya (spelt: *Kanbāta*) belonging to Hindūstān. It follows an eastern direction till Ṣamūr², then takes (*furūdh āyadh*) a northern direction, passing between Dahum's country (*mamlakat-i D.h.m*) and that of the raja of the Hindus (*rāy az Hinduvān*) up to the limits (*hudūd*) of Hītāl (sic). Then this mountain splits into two branches (*ba du shākh gardadh*).

¹ Turns back? Cf. under 17. [See p. 286, n. 1].

² Indistinctly written: صُور, صُور?

9 A. One branch going northwards enters (*furūdh āyadh*) the confines (*hudūd*) of Tīthāl (?) and Nītāl (*Nēpāl?), and passes between (*miyāna*) the farthest limit of India and Tibet, going north of the confines (*hudūd*) of Bolōr, Samarqandāq, Shaknān [sic], and Vakhān (spelt: *Khān*), and south of the desert; then, on the confines (*hudūd*) of Zhāsht (*Rāsht?), it takes (*furūdh āyadh*) a north-western direction and passes | through the confines of Buttamān belonging 6 b to Transoxiana, until it reaches (*bar āyadh*) the confines of Surūshna (spelt: *Sarūshana*). This mountain has numberless (*bisyār va bi-’adad*) ramifications in the districts (*az hudūd*) Shaknān, Vakhān, and Zhāsht.

9 Aa. From the interior (*miyān*) of Vakhān and Zhāsht start many mountains (which) spread out (*parāganadh*) inside the limits (*andar hudūd*) of Khuttalān, and mines of gold and silver are found there. Of the branches of Khuttalān, one branch separates (*bar dāradh*) and becomes one with another (coming) from the district (*hudūd*) of Buttamān. From them separate numerous branches directing themselves (*uftadh*) into the district of Chaghāniyān, where they scatter. And where the said original ridge of the mountain (*’amūd-i aṣlī*) comes near Buttamān, (the chain) splits into two, but when (these two branches) come to the confines (*hudūd*) of Surūshana (spelt: *Shurūshna*) they unite again. From the confines (*hudūd*) of Buttamān a branch shoots off (*bar giradh*) which passes between the Buttamān-of-Daryāzha and Chaghāniyān (*andar miyān-i Buttamān-i Daryāzha va miyān-i Ch.*) and skirts the confines (*bar hudūd*) of Samarqand and Sughd down to the confines of Būkhārā. And likewise, each of these branches has a few or many offshoots.

9 B. As regards the other branch, from the frontier (*hadd*) of Hibtāl [sic] it traverses (*az miyān*) Hindūstān, follows the confines (*hudūd*) of Qinnauj (Kanauj) and passes between the country of the continental (?) Jāba (*mamlakat-i jāba-yi khushk*)¹ and the kingdom of Lhrz² where it is called the mountain of Q.s.k (?), and so it runs north (*andar shamāl*) of the confines of Qashmīr, Vayhind (spelt: *Vbhnd*), Dunpūr, and Lamghān, and south of Bolōr, Shaknān, Vakhān, and Badhakhshān, passing south (*bar junūb*) of the districts (*rustā-hā*) of Khuttalān. Then it enters (*uftadh*) the limits (*hudūd*) of Tukhāristān, stretches between (*miyān*) Tāraqān, Sakalkand, Khulm (and) Simingān, and south of Balkh, and enters the confines of Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gūzgān.

9 Ba. Then it turns westwards (and) in a north-western direction penetrates into the country of Ghūr (passing) south of Aspuzār (*Isfizār*),

¹ *Khushk*, “dry land”, cf. § 4, 25.

² Small erasure, but the text is complete.

Herat (*Harē*), Būshang, and Nishāpūr. Then between Nishāpūr and Sabzavār (spelt: *Sqrvār* < **Safzavār*), it takes the direction of the road (following the latter) on its northern side (*ba rāh furūdh āyadh az sūy-i shamāl*) and again turning westwards passes north of Simnān and Rayy and enters (*uftadh*) the region (*nāhiyat*) of Daylamān, (stretching on) up to the end of the limits (*hudūd*) of Gilān.

9 bb. And when this mountain after having turned aside from the province of Balkh (*az hudūd-i Balkh 'atf kunad*) (reaches) the frontier (*andar hadd*) of Madr belonging to Ṭukhāristān, so many small and large branches spread out of it (*bar dāradh*) in those districts (*navāhi*) that only God knows their number. And from each of its branches many (other) spurs shoot off which spread (*parāganadh*) in the region (*andar hudūd*) of Ṭukhāristān, Andarāb, Panjhīr, Jāriyāna (spelt: *Khāriyāna*),¹ Bāmiyān, Bust, Rukhadh, Zamīndāvar, and Ghaznīn, and (further) stretch (*bikashadh*) down to the limits (*hudūd*) of Sind. In those branches mines of gold and silver (are found). And when the (principal) ridge of this mountain reaches the districts of Ghūr, a branch shoots off from it and forms a circle (*gird andar āyadh*) like a finger-ring; then the branches unite (again) into one chain, and inside the ring a tribe . . . [2–3 words missing]. And from this ring of mountains a large branch shoots off, which together with those other branches takes an eastern [?] direction and spreads out in the limits (*hudūd*) of Bust and Ghaznīn. Likewise in the locality of Aspuzār this mountain possesses small offshoots which spread out (*andar parāganadh*) in the districts (*rustā*) of Aspuzār (*Isbzār*).

{Likewise in the region (*nāhiyat*) of Kūhistān and Kūmish, and the limits (*hudūd*) of Daylamān this mountain has many ramifications.}²

9 bc. On reaching the locality of Sān and Chahāryak belonging 7a to Gūzgān, this ridge of mountains splits into two: | the one branch is that which we have described (*padhidh*);³ the other one goes north of it taking a western direction between Kundarm and Anbīr. It passes between Gurzivān and Jahūdhān, between Bashīn and Diza, between *Marrūdh and Baghshūr and south of Sarakhs. Then it takes a northern direction and goes to the limits (*hudūd*) of Ṭūs, Bāvard, and Nasā until it reaches the limits (*hudūd*) of Gurgān. Then comes a valley, three days long but narrow, which is called DĪNĀR-ZĀRĪ. And the mountain, which (stretches?) on the other side of the valley, takes a direction through the limits of Sibarāyin (**Siparāyin* > *Isfarāyin*) until it reaches the limits of Gūrgān (*az hudūd-i S. furūdh āyadh tā ba hudūd-i G. rasadh*). Then it turns south-westwards going on (*hamī ravadh*) south of Āmol and the towns

¹ Jārbāya?

² This sentence ought to come under 9 ba.

³ See above, 9 ba.

of Ṭabaristān down to the limits (*ḥudūd*) of the town Rayy. Then it joins the other chain (*'amūd*) which we have described (*ṣifat*). The two chains united go up to the end of the province of Gīlān, as we have explained. From the limits of Hindūstān where this mountain begins till the limits of Gīlān where it ends this mountain is called "Belt of the Earth" (*kamar-i zamin*), or in Arabic "Minṭaqat al-Ard".

10. Other mountains are in the province of Kirmān. They are separate (*buridha*) from each other, (but jointly) are called the mountains of Kirmān. One of them called the KŪFIJ MOUNTAIN is in the midst of the desert. It stretches from the sea to the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Jīruft and consists of seven mountains joined to one another. Each of them has a chief (*har kūhi rā . . . mihtari dāradh*) and the representatives of the government (*'āmil-i sulṭān*) do not go (*nashavadh*) to those mountains, and those chiefs (*ān mihtarān*) every year collect and send in the amount of tribute-money (*muqāṭa'a gird kunand*). These seven mountains do not obey each other, and the people of these mountains are called Kūfijiyān. They have a special language. It is a place of great amenity (*ni'mat*) and great strength (*ustuvār*) and cannot be conquered by armies and war. Between Jīruft and this mountain there are hills (*shākhak-hā-yi kūh*) and the locality is called BŪ GHĀNIM'S KŪHISTĀN. Another mountain is BĀRIJĀN. It runs along (*darazā*) from the frontier of Jīruft to the frontier of Bam, possesses mines of lead (*surb*), copper, and lodestone (*sang-i maghnāṭis*), and has two villages: Kaftar and Dihak. Another mountain of Jīruft has a length of two days' journey and possesses numerous mines. Another mountain called KŪH-I SĪM ("Silver Mountain") consists of two small mountains joined together. It lies between Khatr (*Khabr?) and Jīruft and possesses silver-mines.

11. Another mountain in the province Pārs begins (*bar giradh*) between Pasā and Dārāgird and stretches eastwards till the frontier (*sarḥadd*) of Kirmān. Then it takes a northern direction till (it reaches) the frontier of Tās (*Unās?*) and Raudhān (**Rōdhān*). Then it turns westwards and runs on to the frontier between Pārs and Khūzistān. Then it takes a northern direction, passes (*furūdh āyadh*) between Bū-Dulaf's Kara (*i.e.*, Karaj) and Sipāhān, and enters the lands of the Jibāl (*ba shahr-hā-yi J. furūdh āyadh*) until it reaches the confines (*ḥudūd*) of Hamadān. Then it passes south of Hamadān, following a north-western direction until it reaches the confines of Marāgha, belonging to Ādharbādhagān, and then stops (*biburradh*). This mountain in the districts (*kuwar*) of the Jibāl | sends out so 7 b many offshoots that there remains no town but possesses near it a spur of this mountain.

Likewise in the province of Pārs this mountain has many ramifications and (other) mountains lie there, both joined (to one another) and separate (*burīdha*), so that in the neighbourhood of each city of Pārs there is a mountain. This mountain has also ramifications near Sipāhān, which spread out (*parāganadh*) in Khūzistān. Near Sipāhān this mountain is called KŪH-JĪLŪ.

12. Another mountain lies in the northern parts (*nāḥiyat*), between the frontier of the Kīmāk and the beginning of the Khirkhīz. It starts from the frontier of Kīmāk and stretches eastwards to the frontier of the Khirkhīz. Then it follows a northern direction till where the inhabited part (*ābādhānī*) of the world finishes in the north. In the northern region this mountain is called by the Kīmāk, K.NDĀV.R-BĀGHĪ (**Kundāvar*, *Kandā'ur-taghi*).

13. Another small [?] mountain situated in the province (*nāḥiyat*) of Ādharbādhagān near Ardabīl, is called SABALĀN (spelt: *Sabilān*?).

14. Another mountain lies in the districts of Armenia. It starts from Takrīt in 'Irāq, where it is called KŪH-I*BĀRIMMĀ, and so it goes between the frontiers (*bar miyān-i ḥadd*) of Armenia and Ādharbādhagān until it reaches the limits of Barda'.

15. In the same region (*nāḥiyat*) are two other mountains separate from each other. The higher one is called ḤĀRITH (Ararat). It is impossible to climb up to its top on account of the difficulty of the road; it is constantly covered with snow, and cold (reigns) there. Numerous towns of Armenia (procure for themselves) game and fuel from that mountain. The other mountain, called ḤUWAYRITH, is similar to Ḥārith but smaller than it.

16. In the province of Jazīra there are two separate mountains. The one, called JŪDĪ, is the mountain on which Noah's ark (*kashti*) came aground (*biistādh*). The other, called the MOUNTAIN OF MĀRDĪN, is situated near Nişībīn (spelt: *Naşibin*).

17. In the Arab country there are many small mountains; thirteen of them are called TIHĀMA. One mountain is near Mekka and is called GHAZWĀN. Another called SHIBĀM (spelt: *Shiyām*) is near Ṣan'ā; on it sown and cultivated lands are found. This place is strong, and in the days of old the residence of the king (added: *of the kings*) of Yemen was on this mountain. Another mountain (there), having a periphery (*chahār sū andar gird*) of 20 farsangs, lies at the end of the mountains of Tihāma. Its summit is flat (*hāmūn*) and has villages (*ābādhānī*), agriculture (*kisht*), and running waters. In the days of old, Muḥammad ibn Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī conquered it. Another hill (*kūhak*) called RAḌWA stands near Madīna; the Mekkan whetstones (*sang-i fasān*) come from there. The other two hills (*kūhak*)

are near Fayd on the right hand of the road at a distance of two days; they are called the TWO MOUNTAINS OF ṬAYY (*Jabalay Ṭayy*).

18. In the province of Syria a mountain starts from the Syro-Egyptian frontier from the place which is called the TIH OF THE SONS OF ISRAEL. Near, and joined to it, stands a high mountain called ṬŪR SĪNĀ. And so this mountain runs on straight through (*andar*) Syria in a north-eastern direction to the limits (*hudūd*) of Zughar (spelt: *Za'r*), and farther (*hamchinin*) to the limits of Damascus, Ba'albakk, Hims, passing north of these towns and north of Baghrās and crossing the river Jayhūn between Armenia and Rūm. Then it takes a straight northern direction (and continues) between Armenia and Rūm to the beginning of the frontier of the Sarīr belonging to (*az*) Rūm. Then it turns eastwards passing between the Sarīr (spelt: *Surīr*) | and Armenia and (between) Arrān and Qabq till (it reaches) 8a the neighbourhood of the Khazar sea. Then it changes its direction and turns back (*bar gardadh*) westwards, passing between the Sarīr and the Khazars and reaches the beginning of the frontier of the Alāns (*al-Lān*). Then it goes straight northwards as far as the end of the Khazars. Then it traverses the country of the Khazarian Pechenegs (*miyān-i nāhiyat-i Bachanāk-i Khazarī biburradh*) and separates the Inner Bulghars from the Rūs (*miyān-i Bulghār-i dākhil* [**va*] *Urūs* [sic] *biburradh*) as far as the limits of the Ṣaqlāb. Then it takes a northern direction, traverses (*andar miyān*) the Ṣaqlāb (country) and skirts that town of the Ṣaqlāb which is called Khurdāb, after which it reaches the end of the Ṣaqlāb and there stops (*biburradh*).

From the Ṭūr Sīnā to Zughar (spelt: *Za'ur*) they call this mountain MOUNTAIN OF THE KHĀRIJITES (*shurāt*, spelt: *sh.rāh*) and on it are many villages (*ābādhānī*) and near it all the people are Khārijites (*khārijīyān*). From *Zughar to the limits of Damascus they call it BALQĀ. From Damascus to Hims, LUBNĀN; from Hims to the limits of Baghrās, [the Mountain of the] BAHRĀ (spelt: *Dahrā*) and TANŪKH; from the limits (*hudūd*) of Baghrās to the beginning of the Sarīr frontier, LUKKĀM; from there, until having curved in the above-mentioned way (*tā ān 'atf-hā bikunadh*) it reaches the beginning of the Alāns, it is called QABQ; after this, until finally (*tā ākhir ki*) it disappears (*munqaṭi'*), each place is called after the town and the district which adjoins it, as is the case with the other mountains.

18 A. When it reaches the end of Syria and the beginning of Armenia a large branch separates from it and enters the region (*nāhiyat*) of Rūm. It (also) has ramifications, and numerous gold-mines exist in it.

18 B. And from the beginning of the frontier of the Sarīr a branch starts which finally joins the Sea of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*).

18 c. And when it reaches the middle of the Sarīr a huge ('*azīm*) branch shoots off from it and thus it runs on eastwards (*az sūy-i mashriq*) between those two mountains until it reaches a fortress. The latter is a town on the summit of this mountain, of which the wall (*bāra*) is every day guarded in turn (*ba-naubat*) by (a detachment of) 1,000 men.¹ Mines of gold and lead are found there.

18 d. And when this mountain reaches the limits of the Alāns a very great (*sakht 'azīm*) branch separates (from it) which goes in a western direction as far as the Alān Gate and there, on the summit of this mountain, stands a town, which is the most flourishing of the Alān towns. There this branch ends.

19. Another small mountain stretches between the end of the Rūs frontier (*ḥadd*) and the beginning of the Kīmāk frontier; it runs on for a distance of five days.

20. In the country (*andar ḥadd*) of Rūm there is a mountain in the province called Rustā-yi Awās (Ephesus?) and therein is a large and frightful cavern (*shikaft . . . bā ḥaul*) which is said to have been the place of the "Companions of the Cavern" (*i.e.*, the Seven Sleepers).

21. Another mountain in Rūm, situated near the town (or land?) of Afrakhūn, stretches in length for a distance of six days.

22. Another mountain stands near the Georgian mountain (*Kūh-i Gurz*) and in it are mines of silver and copper.

23. In the province of Egypt there are two mountains: the one is situated on the eastern side of the river Nile (*bar sūy-i mashriq az rūdh-i Nīl*). From the frontier of Uswān and the beginning of the frontier of Nubia (*Nūba*) it runs straight north and enters Upper Egypt (*Ṣa'id al-a'lā*). It skirts the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Būṣīr (spelt: *Tawṣīr*) and Fustāt, which is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Egypt, until it reaches Ḥauf [al-Sharqī: "eastern bank"] (spelt: *Khauf*) and the place where the Jifār (spelt: *Jifāra*) sands are situated, and there it ends. In that mountain mines of silver and gold are found and it is (called) MUQAṬṬAM (spelt: *Mu'aṣṣam*).

24. The other mountain is on the western side of the river Nile. It also starts (*bar gīradh*) just (*rāst*) from the beginning of the Nubian frontier and takes a northern direction until in the region (*ḥudūd*) of Fayyūm it reaches Ibrīq (**Abwait?*).² Then a small branch shoots off 8 b (*bāz kashadh*) westwards and disappears. | In this mountain there are mines of garnets (*bijādha*), emeralds (*zumurrud*), and chrysolites (*zabarjad*). And on this mountain wild asses (*khar-i wahshī*) are found striped (*mulamma'*) with black and yellow, but if you take

¹ This detail ought to come under 18 d., cf. § 48, 3.

² See note, p. 204-5.

them out of this climate (*hawā*) they die.¹ This mountain is called MOUNTAIN OF THE OASES (*kūh-i al-wāḥāt*).

25. And in Rūm there is a small mountain beyond the gulf near Seleucia.

26. Another mountain is within the limits (*andar ḥudūd*) of Spain; it starts from (*az ḥadd*) Malaga (spelt: *Māliqa*) and in an eastern direction runs down to (*tā bi ḥadd*) Shantariya; then it turns northwards and enters (*furūdh āyadh*) the province of Lerida (*Lārīda*); then it bends westwards to the province of Toledo (*Ṭulayṭila*), and (the city of) Toledo is situated at the foot of this mountain; and there it ends.

27. Another mountain stands in the country of Spain on the frontier of Coria (*bi ḥadd-i Qūriya*) and Truxillo (*Tirjāla*). And from it come many drugs (*dārū*).

28. Another mountain stands in (*andar ḥudūd*) Western Rūm and is called BULGHARĪ. It is an inhabited mountain with many amenities (*ni'mat*).

All these mountains which we have enumerated are those situated in the northern quarter of the inhabited lands of the world. As regards Southern Inhabited Lands—so far as people can penetrate—they possess nine mountains.

29. The one, called JABAL AL-QAMAR, possesses mines of silver and gold, and the river Nile comes out of it. Its length is 500 far-sangs.

30. The other eight mountains vary in longitude, latitude, and extension (*ṭūl va 'arḍ va masāfat*); their places and dimensions are such as we have shown (*paydhā*) on the Map (*ṣūrat*). And assistance is from God!

§ 6. Discourse on the Rivers

Rivers are of two classes (*darb*). The first are natural and the others artificial (*ṣinā'i*). The latter are those of which the beds (*rūdḥkadha*) have been dug out and the water brought (therein) for the benefit (*ābādhānī*) of a town or for the agriculture (*kisht-u-barz*) of a district. Most of the artificial canals are small and ships cannot navigate them. There are towns with ten canals, or more or less, the water of which is used for drinking, for the fields (*kisht-u-barz*), and for the meadows (*giyā-khwār*); the number of these canals cannot be fixed (*na-maḥdūd*) because at every moment it is subject to an increase or decrease.

¹ Cf. *infra*, § 39, 10.

The natural rivers are those great waters which (are formed) by the melting of snow, or by the springs coming from the mountains or from the surface of the earth; (and) they make their way, while their beds become now broad (*farākh*) and now narrow, and continually flow (*hamī ravadh*) until they reach a sea, or a marsh. Some of these natural rivers are not very large and are used (*ba kār shavadh*) for the benefit (*ābādhāni*) of a town, or a district, such as the rivers of Balkh and of Marv, and it may happen that from a natural river numerous canals are derived (*bar dāradh*) and utilized while the original stream (*ān 'amūd-i rūdh*) goes down to a sea, or marsh, as is the case of the Euphrates.

1. The first river in the eastern parts is the KHUDMĀN RIVER coming from the Sarandīb mountain. After having flowed for a distance of twelve days it forms a swamp (*āngah baṭīḥa bandadh*),¹ of which the length and width alike are 5 farsangs. Then from that marsh too comes out such a large (*chandān*) river as to flow for a distance of seven days down to Khumdān. Some of it is used for cultivation, and the rest flows out into the Eastern Ocean.

2. Another river called KĪSAU [sic] rises from the east of the mountain Mānisā and reaches the place situated in the centre of
 9a Tibet (*badh-ān jāy kī ba-miyāna-yi hudūd-i Tubat*). And it flows on, following that mountain (*badh-in kūh*), among mountains and cultivated lands, until it comes opposite the Tibeto-Indian frontier (*tā barābar-i hadd-i miyān-i Tubbat va Hindūstān rasadh*). Then it cuts through many mountains and traverses them down to the limits of Kujān and Bughshūr [sic]; then it passes between the Chinese provinces (*nāḥiyat*) of Īr.sh and Khūr.sh and flows out into the Eastern Ocean. This river, after it has entered the limits of Bughshūr (B.ghsūz?), is called *GHIYĀN (spelt: 'Inān).

3. Another river, called *WAJĀKH (فجاج **βajākh*?), rises on the eastern side of the said mountain Mānisā at the extreme limit (*ākhir-i hadd*) of the desert. It skirts (*karān*) the towns (districts?) of Thajākh [sic], Bariḥa, and Kūskān, flows on through the province of Khotan, and while passing through the region of *Sha-chou (*chūn az nāḥiyat-i Sājū andar gudharadh*) forms a swamp. Thence it flows down to the limits of Kuchā, then passes through (*andar miyān*) the province (*nāḥiyat*) of Kūr.sh (?) and the province of F.rāj.klī and empties itself into the Eastern Ocean. On the western bank of this river are the houses (nests?) of the birds 'akka (magpies?), and in springtime (*ba vaqt-i bahārān*) all the banks of the river are (strewn) with the little ones of these 'akka. The breadth of this river is

¹ "A swamp is formed" (?).

half a farsang and this breadth can never be crossed¹ (*va hargiz pahnā-yi in āb naburrand?*). When the river reaches the limits of Kuchchā [sic] it is called the RIVER OF KUCHCHĀ and as such is known in the books. And from the same neighbourhood (*ham az ān nazdiki*), (but) nearer to Transoxiana, come out three rivers, of which the one is called S.MĀY.ND-GHŪN, the second KH.RĀY.ND (Khwāy.nd?)-GHŪN, and the third KHŪL.ND (Khūk.nd?)-GHŪN. Between Gh.zā and K.lbānk all the three rivers flow into the river of Thajākḥ [sic].

4. From the Kīsau river a big river separates which comes near this [?] fortress of Tubbat-khāqān and to *Ūsāng (*ba nazdik-i in qal'a-yi Tubbat-khāqān va ba-Karsāng* [sic] *āyadh*) and there it is used for the fields and meadows (*kisht-u-giyā-khwār*).

5. Another river is called ĪLĀ. It comes from the mountain Irghāj-ārt [sic], takes a northern direction, and falls into the lake Issi-kül (spelt: *Absikūk*) [?].

6. Another river is JAYHŪN which rises from the region of Vakhān and follows the frontier (*bar hadd*) between the limits of Bolōr and those of Shakhnān, (which is) of Vakhān,² down to the limits of Khuttalān, Tukhāristān, Balkh, Chaghāniyān, Khorāsān, and Transoxiana, (then) down to the limits of Khwārazm, (finally) to fall into the sea of Khwārazm.

7. Another river is called KHARNĀB; it rises to the west of the mountain Qasak and flows into the Jayhūn between Badhakhshān and Pārghar. This Kharnāb is larger (*mihtar*) than the Jayhūn, but everybody gives the name of Jayhūn (to the latter) because (this) Jayhūn follows a longer course (*az rahi dūrtar ravadh*).

8. Another river flows behind (*az ān sūy*) Buttamān for a distance of 60 farsangs; it flows from the mountains which stretch from north to south (*az nāḥiyat-i shamāl ba junūb dāradh*), till it reaches Munk and Hulbuk; and having reached Pārghar it flows into the Jayhūn.

9. Another river called VAKHSHĀB rises from the Vakhsh mountains and near Vakhsh flows into the Jayhūn.

10. Another river rises from the limits of the KUMĪJĪS (*Kumijiyān*), flows through their mountains, passes through (*bar miyān*) Nū-diz, and flows into the Jayhūn near Qavādiyān.

11. Another river is CHAGHĀN-RŪDH, which rises from Chaghāniyān and falls into the Jayhūn near Tarmid [sic].

These four rivers (8.-11.) flow from north to south.

12. Two other rivers, of which the larger is called RŪDH-I DARGHĀM

¹ So in view of § 2, 4. Less probably: "cannot be dammed in".

² Or: *Shakhnān* [va] *Vakhān*, "Shakhnān and Vakhān". Cf. § 10.

(spelt: *D.ṣ'ām*), come from the limits of Ṭukhāristān, unite into one river, and having passed between Valvālij and Khulm, | fall into the Jayhūn.

13. Another river rises from the mountains on the confines of Lamghān and Danpūr [sic] and passes south [north?] of *Nīnhār (*bar ḥadd-i زیهار bigudharad az sūy-i junūb*). It is called the RIVER OF LAMGHĀN. It flows past the region (*bar hudūd*) of Mūltān (spelt: *Mūliyān*) and the towns *Rūr (spelt *Divin*), Sadūsān, Bulrī, Maṣṣūra, and Manjabrī, and near Kūlī empties itself into the Great Sea.

14. Another river called SIND-RŪDH rises on the west of the mountain Qasak, which is also called the Mountain of Ice (*Kūh-i yakh*). The river flows southwards (*az sūy-i junūb*), enters the confines (*hudūd*) of Multān, and joins the river of Lamqān [sic] from the eastern side.

15. Another river (called) HĪVĀN, comes from the mountain Hīvān, passes between Jalavvat, Balavvat, and Bīrūza (spelt *بروز*), enters the province of Multān, and falls into the river of Lamghān from the western [read: *eastern*] side.

After the junction of these three rivers the river is called MIHRĀN.

It is said that from the summit of the Mountain of Ice, which is Qasak, a water springs up like a fountain (*bar damadh chūn fawwāra*) and also [that it?] separates into two in such wise (*hamchinān*) that one half flows northwards, and it is the river Kharnāb, and the other flows southwards, and it is the river Sind-rūdh, which afterwards becomes the Mihrān.

16. Another river is the LESSER MIHRĀN which rises in the Indian mountain (*Kūh-i Hinduvān*) and, separating the frontiers (*miyān-i ḥadd*) of (the dominions of) Dahum and (those of) the Rāy, passes between (*miyān*) Hamānān and B.lhārī and between (*miyān*) Nu'nūn and Nu'nīn; it skirts (*bar hudūd*) Qandahār, reaches the limits of Kūlī, and flows into the Great Sea.

17. Another river is ŪZGAND which rises from behind the mountain of the Khallukh and skirts Ūzgand, the town of Bāb, Akhsīkat, Khūjand, and Banākat, down to the limits of Chāch (spelt: *Chāj*). Then it skirts S.tkand, Pārāb, and numerous boroughs down to the limit (*tā bi-ḥadd*) of Jand and Javāra (Khavāra?), and flows into (*bā* sic) the sea of Khwārazm.

18. Another river is KHURSĀB (spelt: *Khirsāb*) which rises from the extreme limit (*ākhir-i ḥadd*) of Buttamān on the northern side of the mountain, and near the town of Khursāb joins the river Ūzgand.

19. Another river is ŌSH, which rises in the same mountain, passes between (*bar miyān*) Ōsh and Ūrasht (Ūrast) and joins the Ūzgand.

20. Another river is QUBĀ which rises in the same mountain and joins the Ūzgand near Qubā.

21. Another river is KHATLĀM [sic] which rises in the mountain Mānisā and at the point which is the frontier between the Khallukh and the Yaghmā skirts (*bar*) the town of Khatlām. Then it flows to the neighbourhood of Bāb and joins the Ūzgand river.

22. Another river is PARAK which rises from behind the Khallukh mountain and takes a southern direction, flowing through the limits of Chāch. Between Banākat and the wall of Qalās it joins the Ūzkand.

When all these rivers have united, their joint course is called the CHĀCH RIVER and the Arabs (*Tāziyān*) call it Sayhūn.

23. Another river is that of BUKHĀRĀ. Four rivers rise in the mountain of Middle Buttamān. They flow for a distance of 6 farsangs; then all four form a swamp (*baṭṭha*) called Daryāzha; out of the latter flows a river which skirts the confines (*bar ḥudūd*) of Surūshana, Samarqand, and Sughd, and cuts through (*andar miyān*) Bukhārā; some of it is utilized for cultivation (*kisht-u-barz*) in Bukhārā, while some falls into the *Avāza* of Paykand. |

24. Another river is that of BALKH which rises in the region (*ḥudūd*) 10 a of Bāmiyān, skirts (*bar ḥudūd . . . bigudharadh*) the confines of Madr and Ribāṭ-i Kirvān [sic], and reaches Balkh. All of its waters are used up for cultivation in Balkh.

25. Another river is HĪDHMAND which rises at the frontier (*ḥadd*) of Gūzgānān. In the neighbourhood of Ghūr it flows past (*bar*) Durghush [sic], Til, and Bust and makes a sweep round the region of Sīstān (*az gird-i Sīstān andar āyadh*). Some of it is utilized for agriculture, and some flows into the lake Zarah.

26. Another river is that of MARV which rises at the limit of Ghar-chistān, on the frontier separating Gūzgānān from Ghūr (*az ḥadd-i miyān-i Gūzgānān va Ghūr*). It flows past (*bar*) Bashīn, cuts through the middle of the valley (*miyān-i dara biburradh*), and flowing past Marūdh, Diz-i Hīnaf [sic], Lōgar, B.r.kd.r (*Barakdiz?) and Gīrang, reaches Marv where it is used up in the fields.

27. Another river is that of HERAT (*Harī < Harē*) which rises at the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Ghūr and is used in the fields of Herat. Herat possesses also other considerable (*buzurg*) rivers formed by torrents (*sayl*), but at times there remains no water in them. Therefore we have not mentioned them.

28. In the province (*nāḥiyat*) of KIRMĀN there are no considerable rivers and no lakes, except the Great Sea and a small river capable of turning ten mills, coming from the limits of Jīruft and flowing fast;

most of it is used in the hot lands of Kirmān; the rest (of the rivers) flow into the Great Sea near Hormuz.

29. Another river is SAKĀN in Pārs which rises in the mountains and the district (*rustā*) of Rūyagān; changing its direction it flows round the town Kavar (*az girdi Kavar andar gardadh*) and between Najīram and Sīrāf joins the Great Sea.

30. Another river is KHŪYADHĀN rising from the district (*nāhiyat*) of Khūyadhān in Pārs. It passes east of Tavaj and joins the Great Sea between Ganāfa and Najīram.

31. Another river is SHĀDHAGĀN which rises in the region (*nāhiyat*) of Bāzranj in Pārs and flowing past the western corner of Tavaj joins the Great Sea.

32. Another river is SĪRĪN (Shīrīn?) which comes from the mountain Dhanbādh (Dīnār?) in the district of Bāzranj. It passes between Vāyagān and Lārandān; on the confines (*bar hudūd*) of Arragān it passes through the town [*ba-shahr* read: **ba Rishahr* "through Rīshahr"] and joins the Great Sea between Sīnīz and Ganāfa.

These four rivers flow in a north to south direction.

33. Another river is KURR which rises from the limits of Azd (**Urd*?) in the district (*rustā*) of Karvān belonging to (*az*) Pārs. It flows in an easterly direction until it has passed south of Iṣṭakhr (*hamī tā ba-Iṣṭakhr bigudharadh*) and joined the lake *Bijagān [now: *Bakhtagān*].

34. Another river is FARVĀB which flows from the district Farvāb, also in Pārs, in an easterly direction; having reached Iṣṭakhr, it changes its direction and east of Iṣṭakhr flows into the river Kurr, which is the healthiest (*durusttarīn*) and best water in Pārs.

35. Another river is ṬĀB, which rises in the Kūh-Jilū, situated on the confines (*ba hudūd*) of Sipāhān, follows the frontier between Khūzistān and Fārs (*ba ḥadd-i miyūn-i Khūzistān va Pārs*) and falls into the Great Sea. The town Māhīrūbān stands in the sea between (two branches of) this river (*andar miyān-i īn ābast bayn-i daryā*).¹

36. The river SARDAN rises also in the Kūh-Jilū and falls into the river Ṭāb (*ba rūdh-i Ṭāb andar uftadh*). The town Sardan (spelt: *Surdan*) is between these two rivers.

37. Another river is that of SHŪSHTAR in the province of Khūzistān. Its beginning is from the confines of the province of Jibāl (*shahr-i*
10 b *Jibāl*). It flows² | through Shūshtar, Sūq al-Arba'ā, Ahwāz, Jubbay, and Bāsiyān until it reaches Dahana-yi Shīr ("The Lion's Mouth") and Hīṣn Mahdī. Then it falls into the Great Sea.

¹ On the position of this town, cf. § 29, 15.

² On the margin: *al-juz' al-thānī*, "second section" (?).

38. Another river in Khūzistān is MASRUQĀN. It separates (*bar dāradh*) from the Shūshtar river and flows down to Ahwāz watering all the fields; the rest falls again into the river of Shūshtar (*bāz rūdh-i Sh. uftadh*) near Ahwāz. The town 'Askar-i Mukram (spelt: 'Askar va Makrum) is situated between these two rivers.

39. Another river also separates from the river of Shūshtar off (*az ḥadd*) Bāsiyān and irrigates the fields¹ of Bāsiyān, Khān Murdūna [sic], and Dauraq up to the limits of Rām Ūrmizd.

40. Another river is that of SHŪSH which rises in the neighbourhood of Karkha (*az ḥadd-i Karkha bar-dāradh*) from one of the spurs of the Jibāl mountains and it flows to irrigate the countryside (*sawād*) of Shūshtar [?] and Shūsh. It passes between Shūsh and B.dhūshāvur [?], but before reaching the limit of Baṣunnay all of it is used up in the fields (*tā . . . rasadh hama andar kisht-hā ba-kār shudha bāshadh*).

41. Another river is the RAS (?), flowing up in the North (*andar ḥadd-i shamāl*), in the country of the Ghūz. It is a large river of which (the waters) are black and bad-smelling (*siyāh va ganda*); it rises from the mountain which is on the frontier between the Kīmāk and the Khirkhīz, traverses (*andar miyān*) the Ghūz country and falls into the Khazar sea.

42. Another river is the ARTUSH (Irtish?) which rises in the same mountain. It is a large water, black yet drinkable and fresh (*shīrin*). It flows between the Ghūz and the Kīmāk until it reaches the village Jūbīn (*Chūbīn) in the Kīmāk country; then it empties itself into the river Ātil.

43. Another river is the ĀTIL [sic] which rises in the same mountain north of the Artush; it is a mighty and wide river flowing through the Kīmāk country (*andar miyāna-yi Kīmākiyān*) down to the village Jūbīn (*Chūbīn); then it flows westwards along the frontier between the Ghūz and the Kīmāk until it has passed Bulghār (*tā bar Bulghār bigudharadh*); then it turns southwards, flowing between the Turkish Pechenegs and the Burtās,² traverses the town of Ātil belonging to the Khazar (*az ḥadd-i Khazarān*), and flows into the Khazar sea.

44. Another river is that of the RŪS which rises from the interior of the Ṣaqlāb country and flows on in an eastern direction until it arrives at the Rūs limits. Then it skirts the confines (*bar ḥudūd*) of Urtāb, Ṣ.lāb, and Kūyāfa, which are the towns of the Rūs, and the confines of Khifjākh. Then it changes its direction and flows southwards to the limits of the Pechenegs (*ba ḥudūd Bachanāk*) and empties itself into the river Ātil.

¹ Read: *kisht*, instead of *kashtihā*.

² V. i., p. 463.

45. Another river is the RŪTĀ (?) which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier (*sarhadd*) between the Pechenegs, the Majgharī, and the Rūs. Then it enters the Rūs limits (*andar miyāna-yi ḥadd-i Rūs*) and flows to the Ṣaqlāb. Then it reaches the town Khurdāb belonging to the Ṣaqlāb and is used in their fields and meadows.

46. Another river is the TIGRIS which rises in the mountains of Diyārbakr (*Āmid*; spelt: *Imidh*), flows past (*bar*) Balad, Mauṣil, Takrīt, and Sāmarra, cuts into two both Baghdād and Wāsiṭ (*miyāna-yi B. biburradh*), and finally reaches Madhār, Bula (*Ubullā), and the limits of Baṣra; then it empties itself into the Great Sea. Near Faṭḥ a river separates from the Tigris, which is called canal of Ma'qil and flows to Baṣra. Another river too separates from the Tigris off Bula (*ba bar-i Bula*) and is called Bula-canal (*nahr Bula*). It flows straight westwards until in the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Baṣra it joins the Ma'qil canal. Then it passes through (*az*) Baṣra, where it is called Dubays-canal. Finally it once more (*bāz*) joins the Tigris near 'Abbādān. Between Wāsiṭ and Madhār a canal separates from the
 11 a Tigris, and forms two swamps | called Baṣra Swamps.

47. In the Armenian mountains rise two rivers called the two ZĀBS (*Zābayn*, spelt: *Zābir*), the Lesser and Greater Zāb. Both flow in a south-western direction and empty themselves into the Tigris between the towns Ḥadītha and Sinn.

48. Of the other two rivers, the one called sās (*Sābus*?) rises in the Armenian mountains and is utilized in the fields; when it reaches the town 'Ukbara (spelt: *'Akbura*) nothing remains of it. The other river, rising in the same mountain and called NAHRAWĀN, is utilized in the fields, and when it reaches Nahrawān none of it remains.

49. Another river is the EUPHRATES, which rises in the mountain 'Ulayq ('Alīq?) and flows through the Rūm country, cutting the mountain Lukkām (*az miyān . . . biburradh*). It arrives at the limits (*ḥudūd*) of *Malaṭya (spelt: *Malaṭiya*) and thus (*hamchinin*), turning southwards, skirts Shumayshāt, Sanja, and Bālas (*Bālus?). Then it takes a north-easterly [read: *south-westerly*!] direction until it has skirted Raqqa, Qarqisiya, Raḥba, 'Āna, Hīt, and Anbār. Then again it changes its direction and flows towards the south-[east] (*miyān-i junūb* [**va mashriq*]), till it reaches the Kūfa swamp. After Anbār a canal called Nahr-'Isā separates from it, goes down to Baghdād (*tā B.*), and empties itself into the Tigris, and the people navigate (*ba-kashti ravandh*) this canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Lower down (*az zir-i Nahr-'Isā*), another canal larger than the Nahr-'Isā separates from the Euphrates (*ham az in rūdh*); it is called Nahr-Ṣarṣar and is utilized in the fields of the town Ṣarṣar. Still

lower down, a canal larger than the Nahr-Šaršar, which is called Nahr al-Malik, separates (from it), and is utilized in the fields of the town of the Nahr al-Malik. Still lower down a canal starts in the region (*hudūd*) of Karbalā. It is called Nahr-Sūrā and flows until it too [*i.e.*, like the *Euphrates*] empties itself into the Wāsiṭ swamp. The town Jāmi'ayn is between these two rivers, *i.e.*, the chief stream ('*amūd*) of the Euphrates and the Sūrā canal.

50. Another river in the province (*hudūd*) of Khorāsān is called HIRAND. It rises from the mountain of Ṭūs and skirts the region of Ustuvā (spelt: *Āsatavū*) and Jarmagān. It cuts into two (the town of) Gurgān (*miyāna-yi G. biburradh*), flows to the town of Abaskūn, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

51. Another river in the province Ṭabaristān is called TĪZHIN-RŪDH. It rises in the Qārin mountain in the neighbourhood of Pirrīm, skirts Sārī, and (empties itself into the Khazar) sea.

52. Another river, called BĀVUL, rises in the Qārin mountain, skirts Māmaṭīr, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

53. Another river, called HARHAZ, rises in the mountains of Rayy and Lārijān on the frontier (*az hadd*) of Ṭabaristān and flows down to the neighbourhood of Āmol, (where) most of its water is utilized in the fields while the rest empties itself into the Khazar sea.

54. Another river, called SAPĪD-RŪDH, rises in the mountain Ḥuwayrith in Armenia, flows westwards [read: *eastwards*], traverses (*miyān*) Gīlān, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

55. Another river, called ARAS (spelt: *Arus*), rises on the eastern side of the Armenian mountains, from a place adjoining the Rūm. Taking an eastern direction it flows on until, having skirted Vartān and followed the frontier between Ādharbādhagān, Armenia, and Arrān, it joins the Khazar sea.

56. Another river called KURR rises in the province Arrān in the mountain lying between Arrān and the Sarīr. Taking an easterly¹ direction it flows down to the limits of Shakī and Qabala (spelt: *Qibla*) and skirts Bardīj (**Bardēj*). | Then it unites with the river 11b Aras (spelt: *Āris*) and their waters flow between Mūqān and Bākū to join the Khazar sea.

57. Another river in the 'Arab country'² is BAYḤĀN (spelt: *Mijān*) It rises from the farthest end (*ākhir-i hudūd*) of the Tihāma mountains, *i.e.*, from the easternmost part of it (*ānk ba mashriq nazdiktār-ast*), skirts the town of the Wādī Bayḥān (spelt: *Mijān*), Shabwa (spelt: *Saywa*), and the towns of Ḥaḍramūt, (then) traverses the Aḥqāf sands, and flows into the Great Sea.

¹ So instead of: *westerly*.

² So instead of: *Arrān*.

In the Syrian lands (*bilād-i Shām*) there are no large rivers.

58. Another river, called Nahr al-Karūm (**Kurūm*?), rises in the province ('*amal*) of Buqallār (Buccellariote theme) in Central Rūm (*az miyāna-yi Rūm*), and flows into the Sea of the Georgians.

59. Another river rises in the theme of Paphlagonia (*Iflākhūniya*) in Rūm, skirts the town of Ṭanābrī (**Kāngri*?), and falls into the Sea of the Georgians.

60. Another river rises from the Opsikian theme (*Ubsiq*) of Rūm, skirts the town of B.ndāq.lus (?) and Dīdūn (*B.d.ndūn*, *N.dydūn*?), to flow into the *Nīqiya (spelt: *Tanqiya*) lake in Rūm.

61. Another river also rises here (*īdhar*) and follows the frontier (*bar miyān-i ḥadd*) between the theme of Anatolicon (**Natliq* spelt: *Batliq*) and the Buccellariote theme (*Buqallār*). Then it turns southwards, flowing between Khāk (خاك) and *Nīqiya, and empties itself into the *Nīqiya lake.

62. Another river is the NILE in Egypt. South [read: *north*?] of the Jabal al-Qamar rise ten great rivers.¹ From each five (of them) a swamp is formed (*baṭiḥa bandadh*); then from each of the swamps come out three rivers. From all these six rivers a swamp is formed (*yakī baṭiḥa bandadh*) outside the limits of Nubia towards the south (*bīrūn as ḥudūd-i Nūba andar junūb*). Then the river Nile comes out of these marshes and enters Nubia (*ba miyān-i N.*), flowing northwards until it has traversed (*biburradh*) all of the province of Nubia. Then it turns westwards down to the town of Sukar (spelt: *Sakra*), then it turns back (*bāz gardadh*) eastwards until it has skirted (*bar ṭaraf*) the Mountain of the Oases (*Kūh-i al-Wāhāt*) and flowed past (*bar*) Uswān (Assuan). Then it flows straight northwards and crosses all the province of Egypt. It skirts Akhmīm, Fayyūm, and Fustāt, and empties itself into the lake Tinnīs.

63. And from the sands which lie between the districts (*nāwāhī*) of Egypt and the Qulzum Sea rises a great river which flows westwards and crosses Nubia in its breadth (*miyān-i Nūba biburradh ba pahnā*). At the place where the town of Kābīl is situated, which belongs to the Nubians and is their capital, it falls into the Nile. This river is called the RIVER OF THE RAML AL-MA'DAN.²

64. From the Nile a large canal separates near Fustāt and is constantly utilized (*ba kār hamī shavadh*) in the fields until it reaches Alexandria; the remainder of the water flows again (*bāz*)³ into the lake Tinnīs.

65. In the lands (*andar shahrhā*) of Ifrīqiya, in Tanja, and down

¹ Cf. § 3, 28.

² Cf. § 59, 63.

³ Perhaps: *ba . . . bāz* "towards", cf. p. 50, l. 20.

to the region (*nāḥiyat*) of Sūs-the-Distant there are no great and important (*kull*) rivers, except such as (*magar chunānk*) serve for drinking (*khurd*) and (the irrigation of) the fields.

Likewise we have not found any information in the books and reports (*andar kitāb-hā va akhbār-hā*) about any rivers in Sūdān.

66. Another river rises in the west of the country Rūm, from the mountain Bulgharī, and follows (*hami ravadh*) an easterly direction until it reaches the place (*jāy*) of the Ṣaqlābians living in the Rūm country. After having traversed the country of the Burchān (*ba nāḥiyat-i Burchān* [sic] *bigudharadh*) it skirts the theme (*bar 'amal*) of Thrace (spelt: *Burāqiya*), and in this (reach?) traverses the town Qusṭanṭīniya (*andar in [miyān?] miyān-i Q. bigudharadh*), while the remainder (of the water) flows out into the strait. This river is called Bulgharī.

67. The river TAGUS (تاجوس **Tāju*) rising in the mountains of Spain near Toledo, flows round the town of Toledo (*az gird-i shahr-i Tulayṭula andar āyadh*), following a westerly direction, then turns eastwards, (then) again westwards. And it flows on till the limits of *Merida (spelt: *Hārda*) and Santarem (*Shantarīn*). At the latter place it empties itself into the Western Ocean.

And in all this world there are no rivers on which ships can go 12a except those which we have mentioned. As regards the southern parts (*nāḥiyat*) we have found absolutely (*al-batta*) no mention of any big river there, except of the 68. BUJA [sic] RIVER of which it is said that it rises in a mountain situated in the south, traverses (*miyān*) the Buja, and falls into the sea near Abyssinia (*Ḥabasha*). God is omniscient and there is no might but in God!

§ 7. Discourse on the Deserts and Sands

Every land (*zamīn*) where there are sands (*riḡ*), or salt marshes (*shūra*), but no mountains, no running water, and no fields is called desert. Deserts are of various description : some extensive, and some small. And so are the numerous sands in those deserts: some extensive and some small. In the present chapter we shall mention, if God will it, each extensive desert, or sand, in the inhabited part (*ābādhānī*) of the world.

1. In the southern part of the country Chīnistān, between the mountain Ṭā'in fil-baḥr and Khumdān there is a desert,¹ of which a part protrudes into the sea like an island. East of this desert¹ is the *Eastern² Ocean, and south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the

¹ Plain?

² So instead of *Western* which stands in the original.

mountain al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr; and north of it, the Khumdān river. In the soil of this desert there is much gold.

2. Another desert is situated north of China (*Chīn حین?). East of it lies the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the provinces (*nawāḥi*) of China (حین); west of it, the river of Kuchchā; and north of it, the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz.

3. In the country of Chīnistān there are sands, three days' journey (*manzil*) wide, situated between two Chinese (از حین) towns Khathum and Vasārnik. They stretch in length from the limit of the swamp of the Kuchā [sic] river up to the limit of that (*in*) desert which we have mentioned in the north of *China (خیز?).¹

4. Another desert is (that) east of which lie the limits of Tibet; south of it, the country of Hind (*bilād-i Hind*);² west of it, the limits of Transoxiana; and north of it, the Khallukh country. It is a hard (*ṣa'b*) desert, without water and grass.

5. Another desert [plain?] is in the country of Hind, on the shore of the Great Sea, stretching in length from the limit (*ḥadd*) of Sarandīb up to the beginning of Dahum's kingdom (*mamlakat*); yet this desert is intersected (*burīdha*) and disposed in patches (*pāra pāra*).

In the provinces of Sind and Hind small deserts are numerous.

6. Another small and limited desert is the one east of which are situated the towns of Sind; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the Kūfij mountains; and north of it, some parts of Sind and Kirmān.

7. Another desert (is the one) east of which lie the northern parts of the province of Sind down to the region (*ḥudūd*, basin?) of the river Mihrān, and of which the southern (part) skirts (*bar ḥudūd . . . biravadh*) Sind, Kirmān, and Pārs; west of it are the limits of Rayy, Qum, and Qāshān, and its north skirts (*bar . . . bigudharadh*) Khorāsān with its Marches (*ḥudūd*) and Sīstān. It is called the desert of KARGAS-KŪH, because west of it stands a small mountain called Kargas-kūh, after which the desert is called. In this desert hills are scattered everywhere. (The parts) of this desert are called after the provinces which happen to lie near them. In this desert lie the sands
12 b which surround Sīstān (*az gird bar āyadh*) | and are called the Sīstān sands.

8. Another desert is the one of which the east skirts the confines of Marv (*bar ḥudūd Marv bigudharadh*) down to the Jayḥūn. Its south marches with the regions of Bāvard, Nasā, Farāv, Dihistān, and with the Khazar sea up to the region of Ātil. West of it is the river Ātil; north of it, the river Jayḥūn, the Sea of Khwārazm, and

¹ On the doubtful readings in 2. and 3. see notes to § 3, 5d.

² Here in the sense of the upper part of the Indus basin.

the Ghūz country, up to the Bulghar frontier. It is called the DESERT OF KHWĀRAZM AND THE GHŪZ. In this desert there are sands which begin from the limits of Balkh, and stretch south of the Jayhūn and down to the sea of Khwārazm. Their breadth varies from 1 to 7 stages (*manzils*).

9. Another sand lies between the Kīmāk and the limits of Jand and Javāra. Its length is immense and its breadth is exiguous.

10. Another desert is the steppe (*bādiya*) of which the eastern side stretches from the limits of Hajar to those of Baḥrayn and Baṣra; (then) it marches with the region of Qādisiya and Kūfa (spelt: *Kūh*), up to the limits of the river Euphrates; south of it lies the whole of the Arab sea (*daryā-yi ‘Arab hama*), the limits of the Ayla [read: *Barbari] Gulf, the Great Sea, the districts (*nawāḥi*) of Ḥaḍramūt and Yemen; its west marches with the regions of Jidda, Jār, Madyan, and *Ayla; its north, with the regions of Mu‘ān (spelt: *Maghān*), Salamiya, Tadmur and Khunāṣira down to the river Euphrates. It is called the BEDOUIN STEPPE (*bādiya*). Whatever part of this desert is adjacent to a town, or to an Arab tribe (*ḥayy*), it is called after those places. In this desert there are sands beginning from the sea-shore in the region of Baḥrayn and varying in breadth from 2 to 4 stages (*manzil*), while its length is 20 stages. It is called the HABĪR SAND, and its sand is red and used by the goldsmiths. All the pilgrims travelling by the ‘Irāq route must cross this sand-plain (*riḡ*).

11. Other sands lie on the sea-shore south of this [*i.e.* 10.] desert and surround (*az gird bar āyadh*) the towns of Ḥaḍramūt. They are called the AḤQĀF-SANDS.

12. Other sands are those east of which are the Gulfs of Barbar and *Ayla; south of them, the desert of Buja; west of them, the countries of Nubia and Egypt; north of them, the Qulzum Gulf. These sands are called SANDS OF THE MINES (*ma’dan*) because in them there is much gold, and much gold is (actually) found there.

13. Another desert is that east of which lies the country of Abyssinia (*Ḥabasha*); south of it, the country of Buja; west of it, Nubia; north of it, the sands just described.

14. Other sands lie in the country of Egypt. Their eastern side stretches from ‘Asqalān to the Dead Sea (*Buḥayrat al-mayita*); both south and west of them (*junūb va maghrib-i vay har du*) lies the province of Fustāt; their northern side stretches from the Tinnīs lake to ‘Asqalān. They are called the SANDS OF JIFĀR.

15. In the country of Maghrib (*nāḥiyat-i M.*), from Egypt, the Mountain of al-Wāḥāt, Barqa and Ṭarābulus down to the province of Sūs-the-Distant, (the land) is mostly desert (*bishtar-i hama biyābān-ast*).

16. In the country of Maghrib there are extensive sands in the province Sijilmāsa, called RAML AL-MA'DAN. Much gold is found there.

17. The region lying south of the Equator is mostly desert (*bishtar-i hama biyābān-ast*). Their inhabited places (*ābādhāni*) are situated amidst (*andar*) the deserts, except a few which are up in the mountains.

13 a 18. Likewise there are mostly deserts in the northern region of those inhabited lands of the world which belong to the northern quarter and stretch from the frontier of China down to the country | of the Khazars. The dwellings (*jāy*) of the Turks are mostly situated in (*andar*) deserts, except a few which lie among the mountains, running waters, trees, and fields.

The extensive and known deserts and sands existing in the Islamic lands are those which we have enumerated, and in the lands of Unbelief (*nāḥiyat-i kāfirī*), except those of the Turks (*juz az Turk*), they are also as mentioned by us. God is omniscient and assistance is from God!

§ 8. Discourse on the Countries (of the World)

1. One country (*nāḥiyat*) differs (*judhā*) from another in four respects (*rūy*). First, by the difference of water, air, soil, and temperature (*garmā-va-sarmā*). Secondly, by the difference of religion, law (*sharī'at*), and beliefs (*kīsh*). Thirdly, by the difference of words (*lughāt*) and languages. Fourthly, by the difference of kingdoms (*padhshā'i-hā*). The frontiers of a country are separated from those of another country by three things: first, by mountains,¹ great or small, stretching between them; secondly, by rivers, great or small, flowing between them; thirdly, by deserts, great or small, stretching between them (*miyān-i du nāḥiyat andar*).

2. The Greeks (*Rūmiya*) have said that all the cultivated lands (*ābādhāni*) of the world form three parts. The one is that which, on the east, has the Eastern Ocean and the (farthest) limits of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz; on the south, the Great Sea up to the Qulzum; on the west, the countries of Syria and Rūm, up to the Straits of Constantinople; [and on the north], the Ṣaqlāb country and the farthest limits (*ākhir-i ḥudūd*) of the cultivated lands of the world. This part (of the world) is called GREAT ASIA (*Āsiyā al-kubrā*). This part (of the world) constitutes two-thirds (*du si-yak*) of the cultivated lands (lying) in the northern parts.

3. The second part has on its east the beginning of the country of Egypt, from the Equator to the sea of Rūm; on its south, a desert

¹ Singular in the text.

lying between the lands (*bilād*) of Maghrib and those of the Sūdān; on its west, the Western Ocean; on its north, the Rūm Sea. This part of the world is called LIBYA (*Lābiya*), and constitutes one-twelfth of all the cultivated lands of the world lying in the north.

4. The third part has on its east the Straits of Constantinople; on its south, the sea of Rūm; on its west, the Western Ocean; and on its north, the limit of the cultivated lands of the north. This part is called EUROPE (*Urāfi*, spelt: *Azwfi*), and forms one-quarter of all the cultivated lands of the world.

5. As regards the cultivated lands lying to the south, the Greeks (*Rūm*) call them the “Inhabited Lands of the South”.¹

6. The Inhabited Lands of the world (“oecumene”) consist of fifty-one countries, of which five lie south of the Equator, *viz.*, Zāba [sic], Zangistān, Ḥabasha, Buja, and Nūba. One western country, the Sūdān, partly belongs to the north and partly to the south, as the Equator traverses it. Forty-five countries lie in the northern side (*sūy*) of the Inhabited Quarter (*chahār yak-i ābādhān*), *viz.*, China, Tibet, Hindūstān, Sind, Khorāsān with its Marches (*ḥudūd*), Transoxiana with its Marches, Kirmān, Pārs, the desert of Kargas-kūh (spelt: *Karas-kūh*), Daylamān, Khūzistān, the province of Jibāl, ‘Irāq, the lands of the Arabs (*diyār-i ‘Arab*), Jazīra, Ādharbādhagān, Syria, Egypt, Maghrib, Spain, Rūm, the Sarīr, the Alān, the Khazar, the Ṣaqlāb, the Khazarian Pechenegs, the M.rvāt, the Inner Bulghār, the Rūs, the Majgharī, the N.nd.r (*V.n.nd.r), the Turkish Pechenegs, the B.rādas [sic], the Burtās, the Khifjāq, the Ghūz, the Kimāk, the Chigil, the Tukhs, the Khallukh, the Yaghmā, the Toghuzghuz, and the Khirkhīz. Each of these countries | is divided into provinces **13 b** (*a’māl*), and in each of the latter there are numerous towns. In another section (*faṣl*) we shall explain (*padhīdh kunīm*) the size (*miqdār*) of each country and town, its nature and climate, the wonders and marvels coming from each town; all the kingdoms (*pādhshāhi-hā*) and towns of each country; their customs and manners and the religion of their inhabitants, so far as (*badhān miqdār ki*) we could find (these details) in the books of (our) predecessors (*pishinagān*) or hear reports about them (*ba-akhbār-hā shanīdim*), for (*zirāk-kī*) nobody can know all the particulars (*aḥwāl*) about the world, except God, the Exalted. There is no power but in God!

§ 9. Discourse on the properties of the country of Chīnistān

East of the country of Chīnistān is the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the confines of Wāq-Wāq, the Sarandīb mountain, and the Great Sea;

¹ Persian *ābādhānī* corresponds here to Greek *οἰκουμένη* and Arabic *al-ma’mūra*.

west of it, Hindūstān and Tibet; north of it, Tibet and the countries of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This is a country with many amenities (*ni'mat*) and running waters. In it are found numerous gold-mines, mountains, deserts, lakes, and sands. Its king is called Faghfūr-i Chīn and is said to be a descendant of Farīdhūn. It is reported that the king (*malik*) of China has 360 districts (*nāḥiyat*) and each day of the year the taxes of a district are brought to the Treasury. The inhabitants of this country (*nāḥiyat*) are good craftsmen and make wonderful things. Embarking (*andar nishasta*) on the river *Ghiyān (spelt: 'Inān) they visit Tibet for trade. Most of them are Manichaeans (*dīn-i Mānī*), but their king is a Buddhist¹ (*shamanī*?). From this country comes much gold, silk (*ḥarīr va parand*), Chinese *khāvkhūr* (?), brocades (*dībā*), china (*ghaḍāra*), cinnamon (*dār-ṣinī*), *khutū*-horns from which knife-handles (*dastahā-yi kār* [read: *kārd*] *kunand*) are fabricated, and all sorts of wonderful objects (*kār-hā-yi badī'*). There are elephants and rhinoceroses (*karg*) in China.

1. WĀQ-WĀQ, a province of China. In its soil gold-mines are found. (Even) their dogs have gold collars. Their chiefs wear extremely precious necklaces of rhinoceros horn (*surū-i karg*). The people are black and naked. (Wāq-Wāq) belongs to the hot zone and has no amenity (*ni'mat*). Its capital is M.qys, which is a small town (where) merchants of various classes (*gūnāgūn*) stay.

2. Besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large provinces (*nāḥiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern Ocean: (a) ĪR.SH; (b) KHŪR.SH; (c) F.RĀJ.KLĪ; (d) THĀY; (e) KH.SĀNĪ; (f) T.NKŪY; (g) BŪNŪGHNĪ; (h) QŪRĪ; (i) ANF.S.

All nine have various subdivisions (*nāḥiyat*) which all differ (*mukhālif*) in religion (spelt: *badhīn!*), appearance, and habits, and in them (*vay*) there are numerous towns, but the government (*sultān*) of all these provinces is on behalf (*az dast* "from the hand") of the Faghfūr-i Chīn.

3. KHUMDĀN (Ch'ang-an-fu) is the capital of Chīnistān. It is a great town and serves as residence to Faghfūr. It possesses numerous trees, habitations (*ābādḥānī*), and amenities (*ni'mat*), and is situated on the sea-coast.² Khumdān produces pearls. The inhabitants are round-faced and broad-nosed. They dress in brocade (*dībā*) and silk and make their sleeves wide and skirts long.

4. BUGSHŪR [sic], a large town belonging to China. In it reside numerous merchants from different cities and it is a very pleasant place (*va jā'ī bisyār-ni'mat-ast*).

¹ "Shamanist" would be impossible here.

² Cf. § 2, 4. but a swamp is mentioned near Khumdān under § 3, 34.

5. KUCHĀN, a small town in which reside Tibetan and Chinese merchants.

6. KHĀLB.K, a large town, prosperous (*ābādhān*) with numerous amenities (*bā ni'mat-i bisyār*) and governed from China.

7. KHĀMCHŪ (Kan-chou), half of which (*nima-yi ū*) is owned by the Chinese and the other half (*nima'i az ū*) by the Tibetans. A perpetual war goes on between them. They are idolaters (Buddhists? *but-parast*), and their government is on behalf | of the Khāqān of Tibet. 14a

8. SAUKJŪ (Su-chou) is the frontier of Tibet. Its government is from China. In its mountains musk-deer and yaks (*ghizhghāw*) are found.

9. SAKHCHŪ is like Saukjū,¹ but larger (*mih*). Its government's seat is Saukjū.

10. KUCHĀ [sic] is situated on the frontier and belongs to China, but constantly (*har vaqti*) the Toghuzghuz raid (*tāzand*) the inhabitants and loot them. The town possesses many amenities.

11. KŪGHM.R possesses many idol-temples. It is a pleasant place situated close to the mountains. In it there is a certain dead body (*yakī murda*) venerated by the inhabitants.

12. BURJ-I SANGĪN (“Stone-tower”), a large village in China, prosperous and very pleasant.

13. KHĀJŪ (Kua-chou), a large town and a residence of merchants. Its government is from China. The inhabitants profess the faith of Mānī.

14. SANGLĀKH (“Stony place”), a large village in the district (*'amal*) of Sājū. The inhabitants are idolaters (Buddhists?).

15. SĀJŪ (Sha-chou) belongs to China and is situated (half-way) between the mountains and the desert. It is a prosperous place (*ābādhānī-st*) and possesses many amenities and running waters. (The inhabitants) are harmless and profess the faith of Mānī.

16. K.SĀN, a town far from the road. It has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*) and its governor (*kārdār*) comes from Tibet.

17. KĀDHĀKH lies in China, but the governor (*kārdār*) is on behalf of Tibet.

18. KHOTAN is situated between two rivers. In its limits (*hudūd*) live wild people who are man-eaters (*mardumān-and vaḥshī mardum-khwāra*). The commodities (*khwāsta*) of the inhabitants are mostly raw silk (*qaz*). The king of Khotan lives in great state (*hay'at*) and calls himself “Lord of the Turks and Tibetans” (*'azīm al-Turk wal-Tubbat*). He lives on the boundary of China and Tibet. This king of Khotan has eunuchs (*khiṣiyān*) in charge of all his districts. This

¹ So vocalized.

land (*shahr*) turns out 70,000 warriors. The jade stone (*sang-i yashm*) comes from the rivers of Khotan.

19. KH.ZA, village of Khotan, round which there are some sands.

20. HUTM (Khutm, Jutm?) is desolate; only a flourishing idol-temple is found there (*andar vay yak but-khāna ābādhān bas*).

21. SĀVNĪK, a village, round (*az gird*) which there are sands.

22. BŪRKHĪMŪ and NAVĪJKATH(?), two towns of China on the sea-coast (*bar karān-i daryā*),¹ prosperous, large, very pleasant, and having a warlike population (*jang kunanda*).

23. SARANDĪB lies in the south of China, on the boundary between Hindūstān and Chīnistān, on the sea-coast (*bar karān-i daryā*). It possesses numerous districts and running waters. In its rivers diamonds (*almās*) are found. From Sarandīb come different kinds of corundum (*yāqūt*). Its king is independent (*ba sar-i khwīsh*).

24. 'AZR (Gh.zr?), a small town near Sarandīb which serves as residence to the king of Sarandīb.

§ 10. Discourse on the country of Hindistān [sic] and its Towns

East of it are the countries of China and Tibet; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the river Mihrān; north of it, the country of Shakhnān belonging to Vakhān² and some parts of Tibet. This country possesses many amenities, a numerous population, and many kings (*pādshāy*). Numerous towns lie in it. It has mountains, deserts, seas, and sands. Many perfumes (*ṭīb-hā*) come from it, musk, aloes-wood (*'ūd*), ambergris, camphor, various precious things (*gauhar*), pearls (*murvārid*), corundum (*yāqūt*), diamonds, corals, and pearls (*durr*) as well as multifarious drugs (*dārū*), and wonderful textiles (*jāma*) of different kinds. In its plains and deserts various animals are found, such as elephants, rhinoceroses (*karg*), peacocks, *k.rk.rī*-[birds?], parrots (*ṭūṭak*), Indian cuckoos (*shāarak*), and the like. This
14 b is the largest country | in the northern oecumene. All through Hindūstān wine (*nabīdh*) is held to be unlawful and adultery (*zinā*) to be licit. All the inhabitants are idolaters.

1. QĀMARŪN (Kāmarūpa, Assam), a kingdom in the eastern part of Hindūstān. Rhinoceroses and gold-mines are numerous there. From it come emery (*sunbādha*) and good fresh aloes (*'ūd-i tar*).

2. ṢANF (Champa?), large land (*shahr*) of the Qāmarūn kingdom. The Ṣanfī-aloes come from there.

¹ Perhaps *daryā* means here only "the river".

² Probably "*Sh. and V.". See note to § 2.

3. MANDAL, small land (*shahr*) of the Qāmarūn kingdom. From it come the Mandalī-aloes.

Both these lands (*shahr*) are on the coast.

4. FANŞŪR, a large town and a merchants' resort. From it comes much camphor. It is a maritime emporium (*bārgah-i daryā*). The king of Fanşūr is called S.ṭūhā. He has a separate kingdom (*mamlakatī judhā*). In the kingdom of Fanşūr there are ten kings, all on behalf of (*az dast*) S.ṭūhā.

5. H.DD.NJĪRA (?), a town with a market 1 farsang long. Its king is Saṭūhā.¹ It is a flourishing and pleasant town.

6. QIMĀR (Khmer), a large country (*shahr*) and its kings are the most just among the kings of Hindūstān. And in all Hindūstān adultery is licit, except in Qimār, where it is forbidden. The presents (*ṣilat*) given by the kings of Qimār consist of elephant-tusks (*dandān-i pīl*) and the Qimārī-aloes.

7. N.MYĀS, HARKAND, ŪRSHĪN, S.M.ND.R, ANDRĀS—these five large towns (lands?) are situated on the sea-coast, and the royal power (*pādshāhī*) in them belongs to Dahum. Dahum does not consider any one (*hičh-kas*) superior to himself and is said to have an army of 300,000 men. In no place of Hindūstān are fresh aloes (*'ūd-i tar*) found but in the (possessions) of the king of Qāmarūn and of Dahum (*magar pādshāyi* [sic] *Q. va D.*).² These countries produce in large quantities good cotton which (grows) on trees yielding their produce (*bar dihadh*) during many years. The product (*māl*) of this country is the white conch (*sapīd muhra*) which is blown like a trumpet (*būq*) and is called **shank* (spelt: *sanbak*). In this country there are numerous elephants (*pīl*).

8. ṬUSŪL, a large country adjacent to China, from which it is separated by a mountain. The inhabitants are dark (*asmar*). Their garments are of cotton.

9. MŪSA, a country adjacent to China and Ṭūsūl. The people have strong fortresses and constructions. Much musk comes from there.

10. MĀNAK, a country adjacent to China and Mūsa.

These three (last-named) countries are at war with the Chinese (*Chīniyān*) but the latter come out stronger (*bihtar āyand*).

11. NŪBĪN (?) forms the frontier of Dahum's country (*mamlakat*). The provisions and corn (*ghalla*) of Sarandīb come from this town.

12. ŪR.SHFĪN, a town with a district (*nāḥiyat*) protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called there the Sea of Gulfs (*bahr al-aghbāb*). The royal power belongs to a woman who is called “rāyina”³ (*pādshāhī az ān-i zanī buvadh rāyina khwānand*).

¹ So vocalized.

² Evidently **pādshā'i-yi Q. va D.*

³ **rāmiya*?

Extremely large ('*aẓīm buẓurg*) elephants are found there, such as in no other place of India. From it come large quantities of pepper (*bilbil* < **pilpil*) and rotang (*nayza*).

13. MALAY, four towns (lands?) along the coast, all of which are called Malay. It is the kingdom (*pādshāhī*) of Ballah-rāy. From it comes much rotang (*dār-i nayza*) and pepper.

14. ṢAMŪR (صُور)¹, SINDĀN, SŪBĀRA (spelt: *Sūyāra*), KANBĀYA, four towns on the coast, in which live Muslims and Hindus (*Hinduṡvān*). In that locality (*andar-ū*?) is a Friday-mosque (*mazgit-i ādhīna*) and an idol-temple. The people of these towns have long hair (*mūy-i furū-hishta*) and at all seasons wear only an izār (yak-izār *bāshand ba har vaqtī*). | The climate (of these parts) is hot. The government (*pādshāhī*) there belongs to Ballah-rāy. Near these (towns) there is a mountain on which grows much bamboo (*khaizurān*), rotang (*nayza*, spelt: *nira*), pepper, and coco-nut. In Kanbāya shoes (*na'lain*: "sandals"?) are produced which are exported to all the countries of the world.

15. QĀMH.L (**Qāmuhul*), a pleasant town which is a part of Ballah-rāy's kingdom.

16. BĀBĪ, a pleasant town of which the king is a Muslim. 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who mutinied (*khurūj*) and seized Maṣṣūra, was from this town.

17. QANDAHĀR, a large town in which there are numerous idols of gold and silver. It is a place of hermits and Brahmans (*zāhidān va brahmanān*). It is a pleasant town to which appertains a special province (*nāhiyat-i khāṣṣa*).

18. Ḥ.SĪNĀKRA (Ḥ.*sīnāgra*?), a pleasant locality with numerous districts.

19. B.JŪNA, a populous village on the edge of the desert.

20. KŪNS.R, a small town with idol temples.

21. NŪNŪN, a town which is said to possess more than 300,000 idols, and there are numerous brothels (*rūsipī-khāna*) in it.

22. B.KSĀN, a populous village of which the inhabitants shave (*bisuturand*) their hair and beards. In it there are numerous idols of gold and copper (*rūyīn*).

23. H.MĀNĀN, a place of Indian hermits. (The inhabitants) are Brahmans who say that they are of the prophet Abraham's tribe, God's blessings be on him.

24. B.LHĀRĪ (*Ballahārī*?), a large and populous town and a residence of merchants from India, Khorāsān, and 'Irāq. It produces much musk.

¹ Cf. § 5, 9.

25. R.BĪND (?), a populous town where stuff for Indian turbans (*jāma-yi shāra*) is produced.

And in all these (places) the king is Ballah-rāy. Behind this king's (country) lies (that of) the king of Qinnauj.

26. F.MA (*N.ma*?), a small town where great quantities of precious things (*gauhar*) are brought (*uftadh*).

27. KHĀLHĪN (**ḡālhin*?), a small but populous town producing great quantities of velvets and stuff for turbans (*jāma-yi makhmal va shāra*), as well as of drugs.

28. B.RHĀRA, a large and pleasant town.

29. QINNAUJ¹, a large town and the seat of the raja (*rāy*) of Qinnauj who is a great king; most of the Indian kings obey him and this raja does not consider any one his superior. He is said to have 150,000 horse and 800 elephants (destined) to take the field on the day of battle (*ki ba-rūz-i ḡarb bar-nishinand*).²

30. BULRĪ, QALRĪ, NARĪ (?), RŪR (spelt: *Zūr*), four towns belonging to Sind but lying on this (eastern!) side of the Mihrān river. This is a very pleasant locality. There stands a preacher's pulpit (*minbar*) and the Hindūstān merchandise (*jihāz*) is brought (*uftadh*) to these little towns. Rūr possesses two strong walls (*bar-ū du bāra muḥkam*). This place is full of dampness and humidity (*tar-u-namnāk*).

31. B.SM.D (?), a small but very pleasant town in Hind (Panjāb?).

32. MULTĀN, large town in Hind. In it there is a very large idol, and from all Hindūstān people come on pilgrimage (*ba-ḡajj*) to visit this idol whose name is Mūltān [sic]. It is a strong place with a citadel (*qundiz*). Its governor (*sulṭān*) is a Quraishite from the descendants of Sām. He lives at a camp (*lashkargāh*) half a farsang (from Multān) and reads the khuṭba in the name of the “Western One” (*bar maghribī*).³

33. JANDRŪZ (**Chandrōr*), a small town near Mūltān [sic].

34. JĀB.RS.RĪ (?), a populous and very pleasant village. In it great quantities of tamarind (*khurmā-yi hindī*) and cassia fistularis (*khiyār-i shanbar*) are found.

35. BAHRĀYIJ was a large town but at present is desolate, and little (*andak jā'i*) of it is left.

36. LAHŌR, a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sulṭān*) is on behalf of the chief (*mīr*) of Multān. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of *jalghūza*-trees,⁴

¹ Such is the Arabic vocalization, once clearly indicated in our text too.

² After this paragraph ought to come 38.

³ The Fāṭimid caliph is meant here

⁴ According to Raverty: *Pinus Gerardiana*.

almond-trees, and coco-nuts are found. All the inhabitants are
15 b idolaters | and there are no Muslims there.

37. RĀMIYĀN (*Rāmayān?*), a town on a huge mound (*tall*). In it there are some Muslims called Sālḥārī. The rest are all idolaters. Many Hindū slaves (*barda*) and numerous Indian commodities (*jihāz-i Hindūstān*) are brought there (*uṭṭadh*). The local government is on behalf of the amīr of Multān. At the town gate stands an idol-temple with a copper idol inlaid with gold (*ba-zar kanda*). They hold it in great reverence, and daily thirty women go round about this idol (*sī zan-and ki gird-i but āyand*) with drums, tambourines (*daf*), and dances (*pāy kūftan*).

38. JĀLHANDAR,¹ a town situated on the summit of a mountain in the cold zone (*sardsīr*) and producing great quantities of velvets and stuffs (*jāma*), plain and figured (*sādha va munaqqash*). Between Rāmiyān and Jālhandar there is a distance of five days, and all this road is planted with trees (producing) myrobalan (*halīla*), terminalia bellerica (*balīla*), embilica officinalis (*āmula*), and (other) drugs (*dārū*), exported to all the world. This town belongs to the dominions (*hudūd*) of the raja (*rāy*) of Qinnauj.

39. S.LĀBŪR (*S.lāpūr?*), a large town with markets, merchants, and commodities (*khwāsta*). The government (*pādshāhī*) belongs to the raja of Qinnauj. The coins with which their trade is carried on are of various kinds, *e.g.*, *bārāda*, *nākhwār*, *shabānī*, *kabuhra*, *kīmavān*, and *kūra*, each of them having a different weight. S.lābūr has numerous idol-temples. Their sages (*dānishmand*) are Brahmans. Sugar, candy-sugar (*panīdh*), honey, coco-nuts, cows, sheep, and camels abound there.

40. BRĪHŪN (?), a town like a fortified camp (*ribāṭ*). Four days in the year a lively (*tīz*) market is held there. The place lies near Qinnauj, within the dominions of the latter's raja (*va hudūd-i rāy-ast*). It possesses 300 idol-temples and a water, of which it is said that whoever washes himself in it is free from any ill-luck (*āfat*). And whenever one of their chiefs (*mihtar*) dies, all the inferiors (*kihtar*) living under his shadow kill themselves. The king of their town sits on a throne and wherever he travels (*har jā ki ravadh*) many men (*basī mard*) carry the throne on their shoulders to where (the king) wants. From this town to Tibet is a five days' journey over difficult passes.

41. HAYTĀL, a country near Qinnauj, from which it is shut off by a huge mountain. The country is small but the people are warlike and good fighters (*mubārīz*). The government at Haytāl (*pādshāhī*)

¹ This paragraph ought to follow on 29.

belongs to (one of the) margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) who is on hostile terms with the raja of Qinnauj.

42. ṬYTHĀL (?), a country adjacent to Haytāl. Between them stands a mountain of difficult access (*ṣaʿb*) over which the inhabitants transport (*bigudār and < *bigudharān and*) loads tied to their backs. It is a place with few amenities (*kam-niʿmat*).

43. BAYTĀL (Nepal?), a country adjacent to Ṭaythāl. It is a place (visited by) the merchants from all over the world and much musk comes from there.

44. ṬĀFĪ (**Tāqī*), a country with populous towns and ample amenities (*niʿmat-i farākh*). Its people are dark and white.

45. *SALŪQIYĪN (spelt: *S.lūfiyīn*), a large country with many commodities. The people call their king *najāya*. They (?) take wives from the tribe of Ballah-rā (*ishān zan az qabila-yi B. kunand*). Much red sandal-wood comes from this country.

46. AL-JURZ (spelt: *Lhrz*),¹ a country called after the name of its king. And this country is a place with justice and equity. It is reported that 100,000 men take the field (*bar-nishinad*) together with (the king). And of all the three kings (mentioned)² this one is the most valiant. From this | country come much aloes and sandal- 16 a wood.

47. GARDĪZ, a frontier town between Ghaznīn and Hindūstān, situated on the summit of a mound (*tall*) and possessing a strong fortress (*hiṣār*) with three walls. The inhabitants are Khārijites.

48. SAUL, a pleasant village on a mountain. In it live Afghāns. And as you go thence to Ḥusaynān the road passes between two mountains, and on the road one must cross seventy-two torrents (*āb*). The road is full of dangers and terrors.

49. ḤUSAYNĀN, a town in the hot zone lying by a steppe (*bar ṣahrā*).

50. *NĪNHĀR,³ a place of which the king makes show of Islam (*musalmānī numāyadh*), and has many wives, (namely) over thirty Muslim, Afghān, and Hindū (wives). The rest (*va digar mardum*) of the people are idolaters. In (Nīnhār) there are three large idols.

51. HĪVĀN, a town on a mountain. From this town flows downhill a water which is used in the fields.

52. JALŪT and BALŪT,⁴ two towns (respectively) situated to the right and left of the road, on the tops of two mountains separated by a stream. In them (*vay*) there are idol-temples and they produce sugar-cane, cows, and sheep.

53. BĪRŪZA is a town within the limits (*andar ḥudūd*) of Mūltān

¹ Cf. § 5, 9 B.

³ Spelt: *Banīhār*, cf. § 6, 13.

² Those of Ṭāqī, Salūqī, and Jurz?

⁴ Under § 6, 15: Jalavvat and Balavvat.

in Hindūstān. All the merchandise of Hindūstān (*hama jihāz-hā-i H.*) comes (*uftadh*) there and in it are idol-temples.

54. LAMGHĀN, a town situated on the middle course [? cf. p. 58, l. 4] of the river, on (its) bank (*bar miyāna bar karān-i rūdh*). It is the emporium (*bārgāh*) of Hindūstān and a residence of merchants and it possesses idol-temples.

55. DYNWR (supra: *Dunpār*), a town situated opposite (*barābar*) Lamghān on the bank of a river. It is the residence of merchants from all Khorāsān. It has idol-temples. In both these towns reside Muslim merchants, and both are prosperous and pleasant.

56. VAYHIND, a large town. Its king Jaypāl is under the orders (of the raja) of Qinnauj. In it live a few Muslims, and the Hindūstān merchandise, such as musk, precious things (*gauhar*), and precious stuffs, mostly come to this country (*jihāz-hā-yi H. bishtar badhin nāhiyat uftadh az mushk va gauhar va jāma-hā-yi bā-qīmat*).

57. QASHMĪR, a large and pleasant land (*shahr*) with numerous merchants. Its king depends on the raja of Qinnauj (*pādhshāh-i vay rāy-i Qinnauj-rā-st*). It possesses many idol-temples to which the Hindus come on pilgrimage.

§ 11. Discourse on the Country of Tibet and its Towns.

East of it are some parts of Chīnistān; south of it, Hindūstān; west of it, some of the Marches (*hudūd*) of Transoxiana and some of the Khallukh country (*hudūd*); north of it, some parts of the Khallukh and Toghuzghuz. This country is cultivated and populous, but has few commodities (*ābādhan va bisyār-mardum va kam-khwāsta*). All the people are idolaters. Some of the country belongs to the hot zone and some to the cold one (*sardast*). Everything Indian is imported (*uftadh*) into Tibet and from Tibet re-exported to Muslim countries. There are gold-mines in Tibet, and from it come much musk, black foxes, grey squirrels (*sanjāb*), sable-martens (*samūr*), ermine (*qāqum*), and *khutū*-[horns]. It is a place of few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*). Its king is called Tubbat-khāqān and he has great numbers of troops and arms. One of the marvels of Tibet is that whoever visits it, without any reason, becomes (of) smiling (countenance) and merry heart until he leaves that country.

16b I. RĀNG-RONG, a province (*nāhiyat*) of Tibet adjacent to Hindūstān and Chīnistān. In Tibet there is no province poorer (*darvishtar*) than this. The people live in tents and their wealth (*khwāsta*) is sheep. The Tubbat-khāqān levies from them poll-taxes (*sar-gasit*) instead of land-taxes (*kharāj*). This country is a month's journey long and as much across. It is reported that on (*bar*) its mountains there are gold-

mines, and in them (*andar vay*) nuggets (*pāra'i*) of gold are found in the form (*mānand*) of several sheep's heads joined together (*ba yak pāra*). Whoever, having collected this gold, brings it home, death strikes that house until the gold is replaced in its (former) place.

2. THE BOLORIAN (*B.lūri*) TIBET, a province of Tibet adjoining the confines (*hudūd*) of Bolor.¹ The people are chiefly merchants and live in tents (*khayma*) and felt-huts (*khargāh*). The country is 15 days' journey long and 15 days' journey wide.

3. N.ZVĀN (?), a wealthy (*tuvangar*) country of Tibet with many commodities. In this country (*shahr*) there is a tribe (*qabila*) called Mayūl [sic] from which the kings of Tibet come. In (this province) two small villages are found of which the one is called N.zvān and the other Muyūl [sic]. It is a place of few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*) but has numerous commodities (*khwāsta*), such as gold, furs (*mūy*), sheep, and (many other) commodities and implements (*khwāsta va ālāt*).

4. B.RKHMĀN, a town with numerous merchants.

5. LHĀSĀ, a small town (*shahrak*) with numerous idol temples (Buddhist temples?) and one Muslim mosque (*mazgit*). In it live a few Muslims.

6. ZAVA, a small village within the limits (*hudūd*) of T'wsmt.²

7. *AJĀYUL (? اچايل), a place with pastures, meadows (*marghazār*), and felt-huts of some Tibetans. When the Tubbat-khāqān dies and from the said tribe (*i.e.*, the M.yūl tribe?) no one remains, the people elect a chief (*mihtar*) from among these *Ajāyul.

8. GREAT AND LITTLE J.RM.N.GĀN (*Charmangān*?), two towns on the edge of the desert. It is a place of few amenities and few commodities (*andak khwāsta*). The people (*mardum*) are hunters³ (*ṣayyādī kunand*).

9. TWSMT (Tūsmat?), a land (*shahr*) formerly held by the Chinese and now by the Tibetans. In it there are troops (*lashkar*) belonging to the Tubbat-khāqān (*aṣ ān-i T.-kh.*).

10. BĀLS, 11. K.RYĀN (?), 12. V.J.KHYĀN (?), 13. B.RĪKHA, 14. J.N.KH-KATH, 15. KŪNKRĀ, 16. RĀYKŪTIYA, 17. B.RNIYA, 18. N.DRŪF, 19. D.STŪYA, 20. M.TH, small towns (lands?) which formerly belonged to China, but now are held by the Tibetans. In them the Toghuzghuz (*mardumān-i Toghuzghuzi*) are numerous. They are places possessing commodities (*khwāsta*), amenities (*ni'mat*), and cultivation (*ābādhāni*). Between 15. Kūnkrā and 16. Rāykūtiya huge fortress is situated to the right (of the road) on a high mountain, and the treasure (*khazīna-hā*) of the Tubbat-khāqān is placed there.

¹ Cf. § 26, 19.

² *V. infra* 9.

³ Or: fishermen, cf. § 28, 9.

21. GH.ZĀ, the very beginning (*nukhustīn ḥadd*) of Tibet from the Toghuzghuz side, near the river Kuchā.

22. BĪNĀ and *K.L.BĀNK (?), two small towns belonging to Tibet with numerous troops, warriors, and arms (*ba lashkar va mardumanī* [sic] *jangī va bā silāḥ*).

23. K.RSĀNG (*Ūsāng) belongs to Tibet. In it large idol-temples are found. The (locality?) is called Great Farkhār.

§ 12. Discourse on the Toghuzghuz Country and its Towns

East of it is the country of China; south of it, some parts of Tibet and the Khallukh; west of it, some parts of the Khirkhīz; north of it, also the Khirkhīz (who?) extend along all the Toghuzghuz country (*andar hama ḥudūd-i ū biravadh*). This country is the largest of the Turkish countries and originally (*dar aṣl*) the Toghuzghuz were the most numerous tribe (*qaum*). The kings of the whole of Turkistān in the days of old were from the Toghuzghuz. They are warlike people (*mardumānī jangī*) possessing great numbers of arms. In summer and winter (*dimistān!*) they wander from place to place along the grazing grounds (*giyā-khwar*) in the climates which (happen
17a to be) the best (*khushtar buvadh*). From their country | comes much musk, as well as black, red, and striped foxes, furs (*mū*) of the grey squirrel, sable-marten, ermine (*qāqum*), weasel (*fanak?*), *sabīja* (?), *khutū*-horns, and yaks (*ghizhghāv*). The country has few amenities, and their commodities are the things (*ālāt*) which we have enumerated, as well as sheep, cows, and horses. The country possesses innumerable streams. The wealthiest (of the Toghuzghuz?) are the Turks (*Turkān*). The Tātār too are a race (*jīnsī*) of the Toghuzghuz.

1. JĪNĀNJKATH (**Chīnānj kath*, "Chinese town"), capital (*qaṣaba*) of the Toghuzghuz. It is a middle-sized (*miyāna*) town. It is the seat of the government and adjoins the limits (*ḥudūd*) of China. In summer great heat reigns in it but the winter there is very pleasant.

2. Near it is the mountain Ṭ.fqān, behind (*az pas*) which are five villages: KŪZĀR.K, J.M.LKATH, *PANJĪKATH, BĀRLUGH, JĀMGHAR. The king of the Toghuzghuz in summer lives in this village of Panjikath. North of the Toghuzghuz is a steppe (*ṣahrā*) stretching between them and the Khirkhīz up to (*tā*) the country of the Kīmāk.

3. K.MSĪGHIYĀ, a village between two mountains.

4. S.TKATH, a small district with three villages.

5. ARK (?), a small town near the river Khūland (Khūkand?)-ghūn, possessing plenty of fruit, except grapes. To it belong seven villages, and Ark and its districts are said to turn out 20,000 men.

6. K.RĀRKHŪN (*K.vārkhūn*?), a village amid sands, possessing few amenities (*andak ni'mat*) but many people.

7. The villages of BEK-TEGIN consist of five villages belonging to the Soghdians. In them live Christians (*tarsāyān*), Zoroastrians (*gabrakān*), and heathens (? *šābiyān*).¹ The locality is in the cold zone and is surrounded by mountains.

8. KŪM.S (*Kūmis* ?)-ART, a village on a mountain (*bar sar-i kūhi*). Its people are hunters.

9. KH.MŪD (*Khumūl*, *Qumūl* ?), a locality with meadows (*margha-zār*) and grazing grounds (*giyā-khwār*), with tents and felt-huts of the Toghuzghuz. The people own sheep (*khudāvandān-i gūspand*).

10. J.MLĪKATH, a large village of which the chief is called Yabghū (spelt: *Baighū*). They [now ?] settle (*nishānand*) there the subjects of Yabghū (*Baighū'iyān*), (as) the Kīmāk (*Kīmākiyān*), Khallukh, and Yaghmā used constantly to plunder (*ghārat kardandi*) this village.

11. T.NZĀGH-ART, an earthen mountain (*kūhi-st az khāk*)² and a stage (*manzil*) for the merchants.

12. MĀB.NJ J.RĀBĀS (?), a stage at which a big river (*āb*) and plenty of grass (*giyā*) are found.

13. B.LKH.MKĀN (?), a stage where formerly lived the Toghuzghuz and which is now desolate.

14. S.D.NK (?), a stage at which it snows and rains constantly.

15. سلك —ART, a stage.

16. ĪRGŪZGŪKATH (?), a stage with pasture lands (*charā-gāh*) and springs.

17. *IGHRĀJ-ART, a stage which is never free from snow. Wild beasts (*dhadhagān*) and harts (*gavaznān*) are found there in profusion (*bār-and*), and from this mountain harts' antlers (*surū'i gavazn*) are brought in great numbers.

§ 13. Discourse on the Country of the *Yaghmā³ and its Towns

East of it is the Toghuzghuz country (*nāḥiyat*); south[?] of it, the river Khūland-ghūn which flows into the Kuchā river; west of it are the Khallukh borders (*ḥudūd*). In this country there is but little (*nist magar andak*) agriculture, (yet) it produces many furs and in it much game is found.

Their wealth is in horses and sheep. The people are hardy (*sakht*), strong, and warlike (*jang-kun*), and have plenty of arms. Their king

¹ Here *Šābiyān* are probably the Buddhists, differently from § 34, 17.

² **Topragh-art* which in Turkish exactly means “earthen pass”.

³ Spelt: *Yaghamiyā*.

is from the family of the Toghuzghuz kings. These Yaghmā (*Yagh-mā'iyān*) have numerous tribes; some say that among them 1,700 known tribes are counted. Both the low and the nobles among them venerate (*namāz barand*) their kings. The B.LAQ (*B.lāqiyān*) are also a clan (*qaum*) of the Yaghmā mixed with the Toghuzghuz, and in their region¹ there are a few villages (*dih-hā-st andakī*).

17b 1. KĀSHGHAR | belongs to Chīnistān but is situated on the frontier between the Yaghmā, Tibet, the Khirkhīz, and China. The chiefs of Kāshghar in the days of old were from the Khallukh, or from the Yaghmā.

The mountain Ighrāj-art traverses (*andar miyān*) the Yaghmā country (*nāḥiyat-i Yaghmiyā* [sic]).

2. *ARTŪJ (spelt: *B.rtūj*) was a populous village of the Yaghmā, but snakes grew (so) numerous (*ghalaba girift*) (that) the people abandoned the village.

3. KHĪRM.KĪ (*Khīraklī*?), a large village. (The people) are *Artūjians (spelt: *Bartūjī*). In the village are three kinds of Turks: Yaghmā, Khallukh, and Toghuzghuz.

§ 14. Discourse on the Khirkhīz Country

East of it is the country of China and the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the Toghuzghuz borders and some parts of the Khallukh; west of it, (parts) of the Kīmāk country; [north of it, parts] of the Uninhabited Lands of the North (*vīrānī-yi shamāl*). In the [outlying] part of their country (*andar nāḥiyat az vay*) there is no population (*hič ābādhānī nīst*), and that (region) is the Uninhabited Lands of the North where people cannot live on account of the intensity of cold. From this country are brought in great quantities musk, furs, *khadang*-wood, *khalanj*-wood, and knife-handles made of *khutū* (*dastayī-kār-i khutū*, read: *kārd-i khutū*). Their king is called Khirkhīz-khāqān. These people have the nature of wild beasts (*ṭab'-i dadhakān*) and have rough faces (*durusht-šūrat*) and scanty hair. They are lawless (*bīdādhkār*) and merciless, (but) good fighters (*mubārīz*) and warlike. They are at war and on hostile terms with all the people living round them. Their wealth (*khwāsta*) consists of Khirkhīz merchandise (*jihāz-hā-yi Khirkhīz*), sheep, cows, and horses. They wander (*mī-gardand*) along rivers, grass, (good) climates, and meadows (*marghazār*). They venerate (*buzurg dārand*) the Fire and burn the dead. They are owners (*khudāvandān*) of tents and felt-huts, and are hunters and game-killers (*nakhchīr-zan*).

¹ *Andar-ū*, perhaps, in the Yaghmā country in general.

1. FŪRĪ (*Qūri* ?), name of a tribe which also belongs to the Khirkhīz but lives east of them and does not mix with the other groups of the Khirkhīz. They are man-eaters (*mardum-khwār*) and merciless. The other Khirkhīz do not know their language (*zafān-i ishān digar Kh. nadānand*) and they are like savages (*va chūn wahshīyand*).

2. This side of the Fūrī (*az zīr-i vāy*) there is a town K.M.JKATH where the Khirkhīz-khāqān lives.

3. K.SAYM, name of a clan (*qaum*) of the Khirkhīz who with their felt-huts have established themselves on the slopes of the mountains (*babarākūh*). They hunt for furs (*mū*), musk, *khutū*-[horns], and the like. They are a different tribe from the Khirkhīz. Their language (*sukhan*) is nearer to that of the Khallukh and they dress like the Kīmāk.

Except at the residence (*nishast*) of the khāqān, no class of the Khirkhīz has any villages or towns at all (*al-batta*).

§ 15. Discourse on the Khallukh Country and its Towns

East of it are some parts of Tibet and the borders of the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz; south of it, some parts of the Yaghmā and the country (*nāhiyat*) of Transoxiana; west of it, the borders of the Ghūz; north of it, the borders of the Tukhs, Chigil, and Toghuzghuz. This is a prosperous (*ābādihān*) country, the most pleasant of the Turkish lands. It possesses running waters and a moderate climate. From it come different furs (*mūy-hā*). The Khallukh are near to (civilized) people (*mardumāni-and ba-mardum nazdik*), pleasant tempered (*khush-khū*) and sociable (*amizanda*). In the days of old, the kings of the Khallukh were called Jabghūy, and also Yabghū. The country possesses towns and villages. Some of the Khallukh are hunters, some agriculturists (*kishāvarz* [sic] *kunand*), and some herdsmen. Their wealth is in sheep, horses, and various furs. They are a warlike people, prone to forays (*tākhtan baranda*).

1. KŪLĀN, a small district adjacent to the Muslim world (*ba musalmāni payvasta*). In it agriculture (*kisht-u-barz*) is practised.

2. MIRKĪ, a village inhabited by the Khallukh and also visited by merchants. Between these two villages [scil., Kūlān and Mirkī] there are three Khallukh tribes | called: Bīstān, Khaym, and B.rīsh. 18 a

3. NŪN-KAT (**Navī-kat* ?) was a town near the mountain Ūrūn-‘Ārj (*Ghārch* ?), but now it is desolate and is a thieves’ haunt. It is a stage (on the road) and a few felt-huts of the Khallukh are found there.

4. GH.NKSĪR, a large village with numerous Khallukh tribes. It is a prosperous place.

5. TŪZŪN-BULAGH, a village with fields (*kisht-u-barz*), running waters, and amenities. It lies on the frontier between the Khallukh and the Yaghmā.

6. By Tūzūn-'Ār.j (*Ghārch*?) is the lake TUZ-KŪL (spelt: *Tūzkūk*), wherefrom seven tribes of the Khallukh procure for themselves salt.

7. KŪKYĀL (**Kök-yal*?), ATLĀLIGH (*Otlāligh*?), LŪL.GH (*Ūl.gh*?) are three prosperous and pleasant villages, situated on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*); their princes (*dihqān*) were Yabghū's brothers.

8. ŪZKATH and M.LJKATH (? ملجكت), two villages situated on the slope of a mountain (*barākūh*), prosperous and pleasant, which belong to Jabghū's kingdom (*va pādshāy* [**pādshā'i-yi*] *Jabghūy*).

9. KIRMĪNKATH, in which live a few Khallukh, called L.BĀN. It is a large village where merchants from everywhere reside.

10. TŪN.L (**Tong*?) and TĀLKH.ZA, two villages amidst the mountains, on the frontier between the Chigil and Khallukh, near the lake Issi-kül (spelt: *Iskūl*). The inhabitants are warlike, courageous, and valiant.

11. BARSKHĀN, a town on the bank of the lake (*daryā*),¹ prosperous and pleasant. Its prince (*dihqān*) is a Khallukh, but the (inhabitants) are devoted to the Toghuzghuz (*havā-yi T. khwāhand*).

12. JĀMGH.R, a small borough in the Khallukh country, on the edge of the desert. In the days of old it belonged to the Khallukh, but now its government (*pādshāhi*) is on behalf of the king of the Toghuzghuz. In it live some 200 tribes of men (*divist qabila mardum*), and to it belongs a separate district.

13. *B.NJŪL (سجول **Banjūk*?) lies in the country of the Khallukh, but formerly its king was (ruler) on behalf of the Toghuzghuz, and now it is occupied by the Khirkhīz.

14. AQ.RĀQ.R (?), a town (with) a numerous population, situated between a mountain and a river.

15. ŪJ lies on a mountain (*bar sar-i kūh*). There are some 200 men (*mard*) in it.

These two (last-named places) are held by the Khallukh.

§ 16. Discourse on the Chigil Country

It is a country which [?] originally belongs to the Khallukh, but it² is [still ?] a country (with) a numerous population (*nāhiyatī-st bisyār-mardum*). East and south of it are the limits of the Tukhs; north of

¹ Evidently referring to the Issi-kül just mentioned under 10.

² *Nāhiyat-ast va aṣl-i ū* [?] *az Khallukh-ast va lākin* &c. [See Annex B.]

it, the Khirkhīz country. And whatever comes (*uftad*) from the Khallukh and Khirkhīz countries is also produced (*khīzad*) in (that of the) Chigil. The latter possess great riches. They own tents and felt-huts (but) possess few (*andak*) pleasant towns and villages. Their wealth is in cows, sheep, and horses. Some of them worship the Sun and the stars. They are good-natured people, sociable and kind, and their king is one of themselves.

1. SĪKŪL, a large town on the frontier between the Khallukh and the Chigil, close to the Muslim world (*nazdik ba musalmānī*). It is a prosperous and pleasant place where merchants reside.

§ 17. Discourse on the Tukhs Country and its Towns

East of it are the Chigil limits; south of it, the Khallukh and their mountainous haunts (*kūhistān-hā*); west of it, a group of Khirkhīz; north of it, the Chigil. This country is much more pleasant (*nāḥiyatī-st bisyār-nī'mattar*) than (that of the) Chigil. From it come musk and various furs (*mūy*). Their wealth is in horses, sheep, furs, tents, and felt-huts. In winter (*dimistān!*) and summer they wander along pasture-lands, grazing-grounds, and meadows (*charāgāh-va-giyā-khwār-va-mar-ghazār*).

1. LĀZINA (?) and F.RĀKHIYA (?), two clans (*qaum*) of Tukhs, each of which | possesses a small country, and there are two villages **18 b** called after these two tribes.

2. SŪYĀB, a large village from which 20,000 men come forth.

3. BĪGLĪLIGH (“home of the Beg’s men”), a large village, called in Soghdian S.m.knā. Its prince (*dihkān* [sic]) is called Y.nālb.r.r.kīn (*Yināl-beg-tegin). 3,000 men take the field with him (*bā ū . . . bar nishīnand*).

4. ŪRKATH, situated between two villages of the Tukhs. Few people live in it but (the place) is pleasant and the inhabitants rich (*tuvangar*).

§ 18. Discourse on the Kīmāk Country and its Towns

East of this country lives a race (*jīnsī*) of Khirkhīz; south of it are the rivers Artush [sic] and Ātil; west of it, some of the Khifchākh and some of the Northern Uninhabited Lands (*vīrānī-yī shamāl*); its north lies in those northern parts where men cannot live. In this country there is only one town but many tribes (*qabīla*). Its people live in felt-huts and both in summer and winter wander along the grazing-grounds (*giyā-khwār*), waters, and meadows (*marghazār*). Their commodities are sable-martens (*samūr*) and sheep. Their food in

summer is milk, and in winter preserved meat (*gūsht-i qadīd*). Whenever there is peace between them and the Ghūz, they go in winter towards (*ba-bar*) the Ghūz. The king of the Kīmāk is called khāqān. He has eleven lieutenants (*'āmīl*) within the Kīmāk country, and the fiefs (*a'māl*) are given by heritage to the children of the lieutenants.

1. ANDAR AZ KHIFCHĀQ ("Cis-Khifchāqia"?),¹ a country (*nāḥiyat*) of the Kīmāk of which the inhabitants resemble the Ghūz in some (of their) customs.

2. Q.RQ.RKHĀN, another district of the Kīmāk, of which the inhabitants have the customs of the Khirkhīz.

3. Y.GHSŪN YĀSŪ, another district of the Kīmāk, between the rivers Ātil and Irtysh [sic], which has more pleasant people and more settled conditions (*mardumānī bishtar bā-ni'mat va kāri sākhtatar dāradh*).

4. NAMAKIYA, a town in Kīmāk which is the Khāqān's residence during summer. Between this town and Ṭarāz (spelt: *Ṭ.rār*) there is a distance of eighty days for a horseman travelling at speed (*ba-shitāb*).

5. DIH-ICHŪB, a village on the bank of a river. In summer numerous people (gather) in it.

§ 19. Discourse on the Ghūz Country

East of this country is the Ghūz desert and the towns of Transoxiana; south of it, some parts of the same desert as well as the Khazar sea; west and north of it, the river Ātil. The Ghūz have arrogant faces (*shūkh-rūy*) and are quarrelsome (*sitiza-kār*), malicious (*badh-rag*), and malevolent (*ḥasūd*). Both in summer and winter they wander along the pasture-lands and grazing-grounds (*charāgāh-va-giyā-khwār*). Their wealth is in horses, cows, sheep, arms, and game in small quantities. Among them merchants are very numerous. And whatever the Ghūz, or the merchants, possess of good or wonderful is the object of veneration by the Ghūz (*va ham az Ghūz va ham az ishān har chizi-rā ki nikū buvad va 'ajab buvad namāz barand*). (The Ghūz) greatly esteem the physicians (*tabībān*) and, whenever they see them, venerate them (*namāz barand*), and these doctors (*pījishkān*) have command over their lives (*khūn*) and property (*khwāsta*). The Ghūz have no towns, but the people owning felt-huts are very numerous. They possess arms and implements (*silāḥ va ālāt*) and are courageous and daring (*shūkh*) in war. They continually make inroads (*ghazw*) into the lands of Islam (*nawāḥi-yi*

¹ In Arabic the equivalent would be *mā dūn Kh*. [Perhaps "Inner Khifchākh"?].

Islām), whatever place be on the way (*ba har jā'i uftadh*), and (then) strike (*bar-kūband*), plunder, and retreat as quickly as possible. Each of their tribes has a (separate) chief on account of their discords (*nā-sāzandagī*) with each other.

§ 20. Discourse on the Turkish Pechenegs¹

East of this country are the limits (*hudūd*) of the Ghūz; | south of it, **19 a** those of the Burtās and Barādhās; west of it, those of the Majgharī and the Rūs; north of it, (the river) Rūthā. This country in all respects resembles (that of) the Kīmāk and is at war with all its neighbours. The (Pechenegs) have no towns; their chief (*mihtar*) is one of themselves.

§ 21. Discourse on the Khifchākh Country

The southern frontier of the Khifchākh marches with the Pechenegs (*Khifjākh rā ḥadd-i junūbash ba-Bajanāk dāradh*), and all the rest marches with the Northern Uninhabited Lands where there is no living being. The Khifchākh are a clan (*qaum*) which, having separated from the Kīmāk, has settled down in these parts, but the Khifchākh are more wicked (*badh-khūtar*) than the Kīmāk. Their king (*malik*) is (appointed) on behalf of the Kīmāk.

§ 22. Discourse on the Majgharī Country

East of it is a mountain; south of it,² a tribe of Christians (*tarsāyān*) called V.n.nd.r; west and north of (the Majgharī) are the districts (*nawāhī*) of the Rūs. This country has some 20,000 men who take the field with their king (*bā malikashān bar-nishinand*). The king of this country is called *Jula (جلا read: خلت). This country is 150 farsangs in length by 100 farsangs in breadth. In winter they stay on the bank of a river which separates them from the Rūs. Their food is fish and they live on it (*badhān zindagānī gudharānadh*). They are very rich people but base³ (*mardumānī bisyār-khwāsta-and va-sufā?*). This country possesses many trees and running waters. The (people) are good-looking and awe-inspiring (*bā-haybat*). The Majgharī are at war with all the infidels living around them and are (usually) victorious (*bihtar āyand*).

And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world. Now we shall mention all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the infidels (*Kāfirān*), lying in the western parts.

¹ *Bajanāk*. ² i.e., south of their country. ³ *sufā* is rather unexpected.

§ 23. Discourse on the Country of Khorāsān and its Towns

It is a country east of which is Hindistān [sic]; south of it, some of its (own) Marches (*hudūd*) and some parts of the desert of Kargaskūh; west of it, the districts of Gurgān and the limits of the Ghūz; north of it, the river Jayhūn. This is a vast country with much wealth and abundant amenities (*bā . . . ni'mati farākh*). It is situated near the centre of the Inhabited Lands of the world. In it gold-mines and silver-mines are found as well as precious things (*gauhar*) such as are (extracted) from mountains. This country produces horses and its people are warlike. It is the gate of Turkistān. It produces numerous textiles (*jāma*), gold, silver, turquoises, and drugs (*dārū*). It is a country with a salubrious (*durust*) climate and with men strongly built and healthy. The king¹ of Khorāsān (*padshāy-i Kh.*) in the days of old was distinct from the king of Transoxiana but now they are one. The *mīr* of Khorāsān resides at Bukhārā (*B. nishinadh*); he is from the Sāmān family (*āl-i Sāmān*) and from Bahrām Chūbīn's descendants. These (princes) are called Maliks of the East and have lieutenants (*'ummāl*) in all Khorāsān, while on the frontiers (*hadd-hā*) of Khorāsān there are kings (*pādhshāhān*) called "margraves" (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*).

1. NISHĀPŪR is the largest and richest town in Khorāsān (*buzurg-tarin shahrī-st . . . va bisyār-khwāstatar*). It occupies an area of 1 farsang across and has many inhabitants. It is a resort of merchants and the seat of the army commanders (*sipāh-sālārān*). It has a citadel (*quhandiz*), a suburb (*rabad*), and a city (*shahristān*). Most of its water is from the springs and has been conducted (*bi-āvarda-and*) under the earth. It produces various textiles (*jāma*), silk, and cotton.
- 19 b To it belongs a special province with thirteen | districts (*rustā*) and four territories (*khān*: "house").

2. SABZAVĀR, a small borough (*shahrakī-st khurd*) on the road to Rayy and the chief place of a district (*qaṣaba-yi rustā'iya*!).

3. KHUSRAU-GIRD, small borough near Sabzavār.

4. BAHMAN-ĀBĀDH and MAZĪNĀN, two small boroughs on the road to Rayy with numerous fields.

5. ĀZĀDHVĀR, a pleasant borough in the desert on the road to Gurgān.

6. JĀJARM, a frontier borough on the road to Gurgān. It is the emporium of Gurgān, as well as that of Kūmis and Nishāpūr (*bār-kadha-y Gurgān-ast va in-i* [sic] *K. va N.*).

7. SIPARĀYIN (spelt: *Sabarāyin*), a prosperous and pleasant town.

¹ Or: "kingdom", **pādhshā'i*.

8. JARMAGĀN, SIBĪNAKĀN, KHŪJĀN, RĀVĪNĪ, prosperous boroughs with many fields, situated amidst hills and plains.

All these are within the limits of Nishāpūr.

9. NASĀ, a very pleasant town situated at the foot of the mountains, between the mountain and the desert. Its climate is bad (but) it has running waters.

10. BĀVARD is situated (midway) between the mountains and the desert. It is a place with much cultivation and has a salubrious climate and a warlike population.

11. ṬŪS, a district in which are situated the boroughs, such as ṬAVARĀN, NAUQĀN, BUZDIGHŪR (spelt: *Brūghūn*), RĀYAGĀN, B.NVĀDHA, (which lie) amidst hills. In its mountains mines are found of turquoise, copper, lead, antimony (*surma*), and the like. (The district) produces stone kettles (*dīk-i sangīn*), whet-stones (*sang-i fasān*), trouser-cords (*shalvār-band*), and stockings. In Nauqān is found the blessed tomb (*marqad*) of ‘Alī-ibn-Mūsā al-Riḍā and people go there on pilgrimage. There too is found the grave (*gūr*) of Hārūn al-Rashīd. (Nauqān) produces stone kettles.

12. MAYHANA, a borough in the district (*ḥudūd*) of Bāvard, situated in the desert.

13. TURSHĪZ, KUNDUR, B.NĀBID, KURĪ, boroughs belonging (*az ḥudūd*) to Kūhistān and Nishāpūr,¹ with numerous fields.

14. QĀ’IN, chief town (*qaṣaba*) of Kūhistān, is surrounded by a moat (*khandaq*) and possesses a citadel (*quhandiz*) and a cathedral mosque (*mazgit-i jāmi*). The government palace (*sarāy-i sulṭān*) is in the citadel. This place belongs to the cold zone.

15. ṬABASAYN, a town lying in the hot zone, and in it palm-trees grow. The water is from underground canals (*kāriz*). The town lies on the desert.

16. KURĪ lies on the desert and produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*).

17. ṬABAS-I MASĪNĀN lies between the mountains and the desert and is a pleasant place.

18. KHŪR (spelt: *Khuvar*, *Khur?) and KHUSB,² two towns on the edge of the desert. Their water is from underground canals. The wealth of the inhabitants is chiefly in cattle (*chār-pāy*).

19. BŪZHAGĀN, KHĀYMAND, SANGĀN, SALŪMIDH, ZŪZAN, are boroughs on the confines of Nishāpūr (*az ḥudūd-i N.*). These places have much cultivated land and produce cotton stuffs (*karbās*).

20. HERAT (*Harī* < **Harē*), a large town with a very strong *shahristān*, a citadel, and a suburb. It has running waters. Its cathedral mosque

¹ *Nishāpūr* added above the line.

² Perhaps with a popular etymology: *khur* “eat” and *khusp* “sleep”.

is the most frequented in all Khorāsān (*ābādhāntar-i mazgit-hā-st ba-mardum az hama-yi Kh.*). The town lies at the foot of a mountain and is a very pleasant place. Many Arabs (*Tāziyan*) live there. It has a large river which comes from the frontier region between Ghūr and Gūzgānān and is utilized in the districts of Herat. It produces cotton stuffs, manna (*shīrkhisht*), and grape-syrup (*dushāb*).¹

21. BŪSHANG is about half (the size of) Herat (*chand nīma'i az H.*) and is surrounded by a moat and has a strong fortress (*hiṣār*). In it 'ar'ar-trees (*juniperus polycarpus*?) are found and a plant (*giyāhi*)
 20 a of which the juice (*shīr*) | is an antidote (*tiryāk*) against the venom of snakes and scorpions.

22. NŪZHAGĀN, a prosperous and very pleasant borough amidst the mountains.

23. FARGIRD, a small borough; the inhabitants own cattle (*khudā-vandān-i chahār-pāy-and*).

24. BĀDHGHĪS, a prosperous and very pleasant place with some 300 villages.

25. KĀTŪN (*Kālvūn), a borough of which the water is from wells and rain; good horses come from there.

26. KHUJISTĀN, a mountainous district with many fields and warlike inhabitants.

27. KŪH-I SĪM, a borough on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*) with a silver-mine; the latter has been abandoned on account of the lack of fuel (*bī-hizumī*).

28. MĀLIN belongs to Herat; from it come good Ṭā'ifī raisins (*mavīz*).

29. ASBUZĀR (*Aspuzār) has four towns: KAVĀZHĀN (?), ARASKAN, KŪZHD (?), JARĀSHĀN, all four within the distance of 6 farsangs; the locality is pleasant and the inhabitants are Khārijites, and warlike. In this district there are numerous and difficult mountains.

30. SARAKHS, a town lying on the road amid a steppe (*andar miyān-i biyābān*). A dry river-bed (*khushkrūd*) passes through the market; the water flows in it only at the time of floods (*āb-khīz*). It is a place with much cultivation, and its people are strongly built (*qawī-tarkīb*) and warlike. Camels are their wealth.

31. BAUN (Bavan?), a borough and the chief place of the rustā of GANJ. It is a very pleasant place with running waters. It produces grape-syrup (*dushāb*).

32. KĪF, also a small borough like Baun.

33. BAGHSHŪR lies on the steppe (*biyābān*) and has water from wells.

¹ On the margin of 19 b-20 a a note is found on Marv. See Appendix A.

34. KARUKH, a borough with a prosperous district situated in the mountains. It produces fine raisins (*kishmish*).

35. SHŪRMĪN, a borough of Herat.

36. GHARCHISTĀN, a district of which the chief place is BASHĪN. The chief of this district is called *shār*. The place produces much grain, possesses numerous fields, and is prosperous. It is all mountains. The inhabitants are peaceful (*salīm*) and rather good (*nē badh* "not bad"). They are herdsmen and agriculturists.

37. DIZA, a borough at the foot of a mountain. The Marv river passes through it. It is a pleasant place and abounds in fruit.

38. MARŪD (Marv-rūd), a pleasant and prosperous town situated at the foot of a mountain. It abounds in fruit, and the river of Marv skirts it (*bar karān*).

39. DIZ-I AḤNAF (spelt: *Dar-i Hinf*), a borough in the desert with many fields and running waters.

40. P.R.KDAR (*Barakdiz) is situated on the bank of the Marv river and has a strong citadel. Zoroastrians (*gabrakān*) called [Bih]-Afrīdhī live there.

41. GĪRANG, a small town.

42. MARV, a large town. In the days of old the residence of the *mir* of Khorāsān was there but now he lives in Bukhārā. It is a pleasant and flourishing place with a citadel built by Tahmūrath; in it there are numerous castles (*kūshk*). It was the abode of the (Sasanian) kings (*khusravān*). In all Khorāsān there is no town [better] situated.¹ Its market is good. Their land taxes are levied on the extent of irrigation (*bar ābast*). Marv produces good cotton, root of asafoetida (*ushturghāz*), *filāta*-sweets, vinegar, condiments (*ābkāma*), textiles of raw silk (*qazzīn*) and of *mulham* silk.

43. SHING-I 'ABBĀDĪ, a town with numerous districts, prosperous and pleasant.

44. DANDĀNAQĀN |, a borough within a wall (*hiṣār*) which is some 20 b 500 paces long. It lies on the steppe. Outside it is a caravan station (*manzil gāh*).

45. KUSHMĪHAN (**Kushmēhan*), MUSFARĪ, MĀSHĀN, SŪSANAQĀN, SHĀBIRINJĪ (?), ZARQ—these boroughs, small and big, belong to the province ('*amal*) of Marv, and the agriculture of all these districts depends on irrigation from the Marv river.

46. GŪZGĀNĀN, a very prosperous and pleasant province. Justice, equity, and security reign there. On the east, this province marches with the limits of Balkh and Ṭukhāristān down to the limits of Bāmiyān; on the south, with the end of the confines of Ghūr and the

¹ Something fallen out: *az nihādih* [-i *vay bih*].

boundary (*ḥadd*) of Bust; on the west, with the limits of Garchistān and (its) chief place Bashīn, down to the limits of Marv; on the north, with the limits of the river Jayḥūn. The sovereign (*pādshāy*) of this province is one of the margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*). In Khorāsān he is called "malik of Gūzgānān". He is a descendant of Afrīdhūn. All the chiefs within the limits of Gharchistān and Ghūr are under his orders (*andar farmān*). He is the greatest of all the margraves in authority, greatness (*'izz*), rank, policy (*siyāsat*), liberality and love (*dūstḍārt*) of knowledge. This country produces numerous horses, felts, saddle-bags (*ḥaqība*),¹ saddle-girths (*ṭang-i asp*), *zīlū*, and *palās*. In it is found the *khinj*² tree, the wood of which never becomes dry, and is so tender (*narm*) that one can make knots (*giriḥ afgandan*) in it. In this kingdom (*andar in pādshāy* [sic]) there are numerous districts.

47. R.BŪSHĀRĀN (*Rīvshārān* ?),³ a large and very pleasant district. (The inhabitants) are warlike. The district belongs to the Gharchistān of Gūzgānān. Some of the waters of Marv rise from this district. There are gold-mines in it. The chiefs (*mihtarān*) of this district are among the chiefs of the Marches of Gūzgānān (*az mihtarān-i aṭrāf-i G.*) and they pay their annual tribute-money (*muqāṭa'a*) to the malik of Gūzgānān.

48. D.RM.SHĀN (*Dar-i M.shān* ?) consists of two regions; the one is of Bust, and the other of Gūzgānān.⁴ The latter (*in*) is adjacent (*payvasta*) to R.būshārān. The waters rising in this district join those of R.būshārān (spelt: *Būshārān*), and the river of Marv is formed by these waters. The chief of this district is called Darmashī-shāh (*Dar-i Mashī-shāh* ?).

49. TAMRĀN, TAMĀZĀN, two districts situated in the mountains near the limits of Ribāṭ-i Karvān. Their chiefs are called (respectively) Tamrān-*waranda (فنده **βaranda*) and Tamāzān-*waranda.

50. SĀRVĀN, a mountainous district. The inhabitants look arrogant (*shūkh-rūy*) and are warlike. They are professional thieves (*duzd-pīsha*) and quarrelsome (*sitiza-kār*), faithless (*bī-vafā*), and blood-thirsty (*khūn-khwāra*); and clan animosity (*'aṣabiyat*) constantly reigns among them.

51. MĀNSHĀN, a district adjacent to Dar-i Andara and lying in the mountains of Tamrān. Its chiefs were in olden times called B.rāz-banda. Actually a deputy governor (*kārdār*) goes there from the capital (*ḥaḍrat*) of the malik of Gūzgānān.

¹ Persice: *khūrjīn* (?). ² "white".

³ Spelt in the text ربوشاران بوشاران و دیگر از کوزکانان
ربوشاران

⁴ درشان از دو ناحیت یکی از بست

All these districts are very agricultural and abound in amenities. Their chiefs are (appointed) on behalf of the malik of Gūzgānān and pay him annual tribute-money (*muqāṭa'a*). The inhabitants are mostly simple-hearted (*sādha-dil*) and own great numbers of cattle, (namely) of cows and sheep. In this kingdom (*pādshāht*) small districts are very numerous. In it (*i.e.*, Gūzgānān) grows a tree of which whips (*tāziyana*) are made.¹ In its mountains are found mines of gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, antimony-stone (*sang-i surma*), and different kinds of vitriol (*zāg-hā-yi gūnāgūn*).

52. ṬĀLAQĀN lies on the frontier of Gūzgānān and belongs to its king. It is a very pleasant town | which produces much wine (*nabīdh*) 21 a and felt.

53. JAHŪDHĀN, a prosperous and pleasant town at the foot of a mountain. It is the residence of the malik of Gūzgānān who lives in the military camp (*lashkargāh*) at a distance of one farsang and a half from the town. This military camp is called DAR-I ANDARA and is a strong place at the foot of a mountain, (having) a more pleasant and salubrious (*durust*) climate than Jahūdhān and Pāryāb [sic].

54. PĀRYĀB (spelt: *Bāryāb*), a very pleasant town on the caravan high road.

55. NARYĀN, a borough between Jahūdhān and Pāryāb; its territory stretches for 2 farsangs (*hadd-i ū du farsang-ast*?).

56. GURZIVĀN, a town situated on a mountain, very pleasant and with an agreeable climate. In the days of old the residence of the kings of Gūzgānān was there.

57. K.ND.RM, a pleasant borough producing good wine (*nabīdh*) in great quantity.

58. ANBĪR (**Anbēr*), capital (*qasaba*) of Gūzgānān and a good and prosperous town, the residence of merchants and the emporium of Balkh. It is very pleasant and is situated at the foot of a mountain. It produces the Gūzgān leather (*pūst-i gūzgāni*) exported all over the world.

59. K.LĀR, a flourishing and prosperous borough with many trees and running waters. It abounds in amenities.

60. USHBŪRQĀN, a town situated on a steppe (*ṣahrā*) on the high road. It abounds in amenities and has running waters.

61. ANTKHUDH,² a borough in the steppe (*biyābān*). It is a place with much cultivation, but possesses few amenities (*kam ni'mat*).

62. SĀN, a town with a prosperous district producing many sheep.

63. RIBĀṬ-I KARVĀN, a town on the frontier of Gūzgānān. In its mountains gold-mines are found.

¹ *V. supra* under 46.

² Note on the margin: *Indkhū* [sic].

64. S.NG-B.N appertains to R.būshārān. Its *minbar* has been recently built (*ba-nau nihādha-and*).

65. AZIV, a town at the end of the province ('*amal*') of Gūzgānān.

All the towns which we have enumerated belong to the kingdom of the Gūzgānān malik (*az ān-i pādshāy-i malik-i G.*). In the steppes (*biyābān*) of this land (*shahr*) there are some 20,000 Arabs. They possess numerous sheep and camels, and their amīr is nominated from the capital (*ḥaḍrat*) of the malik of Gūzgānān, and to the latter they pay their tribute (*ṣadaqāt*). And these Arabs are richer (*tuvangtar* < **tuvangartar*) than all the (other) Arabs who are scattered throughout Khorāsān.

66. HAUSH, a large village, flourishing and prosperous, situated in the desert. It belongs to this sovereign (*in pādshāh, i.e., of Gūzgān*) and the Arabs just mentioned mostly stay here in summer.

This province (*nāḥiyat*) has many districts and large sub-divisions (*rustā-hā va nāḥiyat-hā-yi buzurg*), but the towns with pulpits (*minbar*) are those which we have enumerated.

67. BALKH, a large and flourishing town which was formerly the residence of the Sasanian kings (spelt: *Khīsravān*, [sic]). In it are found buildings of the Sasanian kings with paintings (*naqsha*) and wonderful works (*kārkird*), (which) have fallen into ruins. (That place) is called Nau-bihār. (Balkh) is a resort of merchants and is very pleasant and prosperous. It is the emporium (*bār-kadha*) of Hindūstān. There is a large river in Balkh that comes from Bāmiyān and in the neighbourhood of Balkh is divided into twelve branches; it traverses the town and is altogether used for the agriculture of its districts. Balkh produces citrons and sour oranges (*turunj-u-nāranj*), sugar-cane (*nay-shakar*), and water-lilies (*nīlūfar* "lotus"). Balkh has a *shahristān* surrounded by a mighty wall. In its suburb there are numerous marshes.

68. KHULM lies between Balkh and Ṭukhāristān in a steppe (*ṣahrā*) at the foot of a mountain. There is a river there and the land-taxes (*kharāj*) are levied on the extent of irrigation (*bar-āb*). It is a place with much cultivation.

21b 69. ṬUKHĀRISTĀN, | a pleasant province consisting mostly of mountains. In its steppes (*ṣahrā*) live the Khallukh¹ Turks. It produces horses, sheep, much grain, and various fruits.

70. SIMINGĀN, a town lying in the mountains. There are in it mountains of white stone similar to marble (*rukham*) in which dwellings have been cut (*kanda-ast*), as well as halls (*majlis*), pavilions

¹ Khallukh (§ 15) must be right here (not Khalaj, cf. § 24, 22).

(*kūshk*),¹ idol-temples, and horse-stables, with all the implements (*ālāt*) appertaining to pavilions. On it² various figures are painted in the fashion of Indians (*az kirdār-i H.*).³ Simingān produces good wine (*nabīdh*) and a great quantity of fruit.

71. SAKALKAND, a borough with much cultivation, lying in the mountains. It is a place of poor people (*darvishān*).

72. BAGHLĀN is like Sakalkand.

73. VALVĀLIJ, a flourishing town and the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Ṭukhāristān. It possesses numerous amenities and running waters. Its people are sociable (*āmīzanda*).

74. SIKĪMISHT, a district (*nāḥiyat*) with much cultivation and much grain.

75. Behind this Sikimisht there is a small kingdom (*pādhshāhī*), altogether hills (*shikastagī-hā*) and mountains, called YŪN. Its prince (*dihqān*), called Pākh, draws his strength from the amīr of Khuttalān. Yūn produces salt.

76. ṬĀYAQĀN, a town on the frontier between Ṭukhāristān and Khuttalān. It is a place with much cultivation, lying at the foot of a mountain.

77. ANDARĀB, a borough amid mountains. It is a place with much cultivation, (producing) much grain. It possesses two rivers. Here dirhams are struck from the silver extracted from the mines of Panjhīr and Jāriyāna. Its king is called Shahr-salīr (**salēr*?).

78. BĀMIYĀN, a land on the frontier between Gūzgānān and the Marches (*ḥudūd*) of Khorāsān. It has much cultivation. Its king is called Shīr (**shēr*?). A large river skirts it. In it there are two stone idols (*but*) of which the one is called Red Idol (*surkh-but*) and the other White Idol (*khing-but*).

79. PANJHĪR and JĀRIYĀNA(?), two towns where a silver mine is situated. A river passing between these two towns (lower down) enters the limits of Hindūstān.

80. MADR, MŪY, two small towns within the limits of Andarāb (*andar miyān az ḥudūd-i A.*).

§ 24. Discourse on the Region of Khorāsānian Marches⁴

East of this region (*nāḥiyat*) lies Hindūstān; south of it, the deserts of Sind and Kirmān; west of it, the borders of Herat; north of it, the borders of Gharchistān, Gūzgānān, and Ṭukhāristān. Some parts of this region belong to the hot zone and some to the cold. From its mountains the Ghūr-slaves (*barda-yi ghūrī*) are brought (*uftadh*) to

¹ *Kūshk*, usually “castle”.

² *i.e.*, on the rock.

³ Or: “bearing likeness to Indians”.

⁴ *nāḥiyat-i ḥudūd-i Khurāsān*.

Khorāsān. It is a place with much cultivation. Indian articles (*ālāt*) are brought to this region.

1. GHŪR (Ghōr), a province amid mountains and rugged country (*shikastagī-hā*). It has a king called Ghūr-shāh. He draws his strength from the mīr of Gūzgānān. In the days of old this province of Ghūr was pagan (*kāfir*); actually most of the people are Muslims. To them belong numerous boroughs and villages. From this province come slaves, armour (*zirih*), coats of mail (*jaushan*), and good arms. The people are bad-tempered, unruly (*nā-sāzanda*), and ignorant. They are white and swarthy (*asmar*).

2. SĪSTĀN, a province of which the chief place is called ZARANG. The town has a fortress (*hiṣār*), with a moat round (*pīrāmūn*) it, of which the water comes from (the fortress) itself (*ābash ham az vay bar-āyadh*). There are (several) canals inside the town and in its
22 a houses there is running water. | The town has five gates, (while) the suburb is surrounded by a wall and has thirteen gates. The province belongs to the hot zone and it never snows there. (The inhabitants) possess wind-mills (*āsiyā bar bādh sākhta*). The province produces stuffs used as carpets (*jāma-hā-yi farsh?*)¹ similar to those of Ṭabaristān (*ṭabari*), *zīlū*-rugs similar to those of Jahrum (*jahrumī*), dried dates and asafoetida (*anguzad*).

3. ṬĀQ, a borough with a strong fortress and a numerous population.

4. GASH [sic], a town with a prosperous and pleasant district. It has running waters and an agreeable climate, and is situated on the bank of the Hīdhmand.

5. NIH, a prosperous borough with much cultivation. There are no flies (*pasha*) in it.

6. FARAH, a town in the hot zone; in it dates and fruit are abundant.

7. QARNĪ, a small town. The sons of Layth² who appropriated the royal power were from Qarnī.

8. KHUVĀSH (Khwāsh), a town with running waters and underground canals. It is a pleasant place.

9. BUST, a large town with a solid wall, situated on the bank of the river Hīdhmand and possessing many districts (*bā nāhiyatī bisyār*). It is the Gate of Hindūstān and a resort of merchants. Its inhabitants are warlike and courageous. It produces fruit, which is dried and exported to other places, cotton stuffs (*karbās*), and soap.

10. *CHĀLKĀN, a borough with running water; the majority of the inhabitants are weavers.

11. SARVĀN, a borough with a small district called ALĪN(?). It belongs to the hot zone. In it grow dates. It is a strong place.

¹ Or: "covers for carpets".

² i.e., the Ṣaffārids.

12. ZAMĪN-DĀVAR, a prosperous district on the frontier between Ghūr and Bust. To it belong two towns TIL and DURGHUSH which both are frontier forts (*thaghr*) against (*bar rūy*) Ghūr. In Durghush grows much saffron. It¹ is adjacent to the district Darmashān (**Varmashān*?) of Bust.

13. BAGHNĪ, a town near Ghūr in which live Muslims.

14. BISHLANG (Bashling?) belongs to Ghūr and has much cultivation.

15. KHUVĀNĪN (Khwānīn) belongs to Ghūr and has a population of some 3,000 people.

16. RUKHUDH (Rukhkhudh), a very prosperous and pleasant district (*nāḥiyat*), to which belongs a special district (*ū rā nāḥiyati-st judhā* which forms a separate unit?). The chief place of Rukhudh is PANJVĀY (spelt: *Fījuvāni*).²

17. KUHAK and RŪDHĀN are two pleasant boroughs with cultivation; salt (also) comes from them (*vay*).

18. BĀLIS, a district in the desert. It is a place with much cultivation but few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*). In it towns are found, such as S.F.NJĀ'Ī, KŪSHK, SĪVĪ, of which Kūshk is the residence of the amīr.

19. *GHAZNĪN (spelt: *Ghazaq*), a town situated on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*), extremely pleasant. It lies in Hindūstān and formerly belonged to it, but now is among the Muslim lands (*andar Islām-ast*). It lies on the frontier between the Muslims and the infidels. It is a resort of merchants, and possesses great wealth (*khwāsta*).

20. KĀBUL, a borough possessing a solid fortress known for its strength. Its inhabitants are Muslims and Indians, and there are idol-temples in it. The royal power (*mulk*) of the raja of Qinnauj[?] is not complete (*tamām nagardadh*) until he has made a pilgrimage to those idol-temples, and here too his royal standard is fastened (*livā-yi mulkash bandand*).

21. ISTĀKH and *SUKĀVAND, two small boroughs at the foot of the mountains. Sukāvand possesses a strong fortress and much cultivation.

22. In Ghaznīn and in the limits (*hudūd*) of the boroughs which we have enumerated, live the *KHALAJ³ Turks who | possess many sheep. **22 b** They wander along climates (*gardanda bar havā*),⁴ grazing grounds and pasture-lands (*marā'i*). These *Khalaj Turks are also numerous in the provinces (*hudūd*) of Balkh, Tūkhāristān,⁵ Bust, and Gūzgānān.⁶

¹ It is more probable that Zamīn-dāvar and not Durghush is meant here.

² Here belongs { } in § 26, 20.

³ Read: *Khalaj* instead of *Khallukh*, v.i., p. 347.

⁴ Along places with favourable climate?

⁵ Cf. § 23, 69: *Khallukh*.

⁶ On the margin a note by Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī. See Appendix A.

Ghaznīn and the districts adjacent to it are all called ZĀBULISTĀN.

23. PARVĀN (spelt: *Barvān*), a pleasant town and a resort of merchants. It is the Gate of Hindūstān.

24. BADHAKHSHĀN, a very pleasant country (*shahr*) and a resort of merchants. It has mines of silver, gold, garnets (*bijādha*), and lapis lazuli. Musk is imported there from Tibet.

25. DAR-I TĀZIYĀN ("The Gate of the Arabs"), a place lying in a defile (*darband*) between two mountains. There stands a gate through which the caravans go out. The caliph Ma'mūn made that barrier (*band*).

26. DIH-I S.NK.S (**Sangas*?), a large and pleasant village in which live Muslims. Near it is a pass called 'AQABA-YI S.NK.S.

27. S.QLIYA (سقلية?), a large village.

§ 25. Discourse on the country Transoxiana and its Towns

East of this country are the borders of Tibet; south of it, Khorāsān and its Marches; west of it, the Ghūz and the borders of the Khallukh; north of it, also the borders of the Khallukh. This is a vast, prosperous, and very pleasant country. It is the Gate of Turkistān and a resort of merchants.

The inhabitants are warlike; they are active fighters for the faith (*ghāzī pīsha*), and (good) archers. Their creed is pure. This is the country where justice and equity reign. In its mountains there are very numerous mines of gold and silver, as well as all sorts of fusible substances (*jauhar-hā-yi gudāzanda*), such as are found in the mountains, and all sorts of drugs (*dārū*), such as are found in the mountains, e.g., vitriol, arsenic, sulphur, and ammoniac (*naushādhur*).

1. BUKHĀRĀ, a large town, the most prosperous of the towns in Transoxiana. Here is the residence of the King of the East (*malik-i mashriq*). The place is damp, produces plenty of fruit, and has running waters. Its people are archers and active fighters for the faith. It produces good woollen carpets as well as saltpetre (*shūra*), which are exported to (different) places. The territory (*hudūd*) of Bukhārā is 12 farsangs by 12 farsangs, and a wall has been built round the whole of it, without any interruption (*divāri . . . ba-yak pāra*), and all the ribāṭs and villages are within this wall (*az andarūn-i in dtvār*).

2. M.GHKĀN, KHUJĀDAK, ZANDANA (spelt: *Dandūna*), BŪMKATH (?), MADYĀMIJKATH, KHARGHĀNKATH (spelt: *ḡ.zgh.nkath*), boroughs with pulpits (*minbar*) within the area of Bukhārā; they are very prosperous places with much cultivation.

3. FIRAB (Firabr), a borough on the bank of the Jayhūn. The Lord of the River (*mīr-i rūdh*, “overseer of irrigation”) lives there. The place is situated in the desert.

4. PAYKAND, a borough with a thousand ribāts. Its soil is good (*durust*). In it stands the tumular dome¹ (*gunbadh-i gūrkhāna-hā-st*) (over the dead?) whom they carry there from Bukhārā (*ki az Bukhārā ānjā barand*).

5. SUGHD, a region. There is no place among the eastern regions more flourishing than this. It has running waters, many trees, and a good climate. The people are hospitable and sociable. It abounds in amenities, is prosperous, and mild, pious people (*narm-i dīndār*) are numerous there.

6. ṬAVĀVIS, a borough of Bukhārā on the frontier of Sughd. In it annually for one day a market (*bāzār*) is held at which many people assemble.

7. KARMĪNA, DABŪSĪ, | RABINJAN, boroughs in Sughd. They are **23a** prosperous and pleasant, and have running waters and trees.

8. KUSHĀNĪ, the most prosperous town of Sughd.

9. ARMĀN (read: *Zarmān*?) belongs to Kushānī.

10. ISHTĪKHAN, a flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant place.

11. K.NJKATH (*Ganj kath*?), F.R.NKATH, two towns lying between the river and Ishtikhan.

12. D.RĀN (read: *Vadhār*?), a small, flourishing town belonging to Samarqand.

13. SAMARQAND, a large, prosperous, and very pleasant town. It is the resort of merchants from all over the world. It has a city (*shahristān*), a citadel, and a suburb. On the roof of their market a stream of water flows in a leaden (conduit) (*yakī jūy-i āb ravān ast az arzīz*). In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyān*) who are called *nighūshāk* (“auditores”). Samarqand produces paper which is exported all over the world, and hemp cords (*rishta-yi qinnab*). The Bukhārā river flows near the gate of Samarqand.

14. VARAGHSAR, B.NJĪKATH, two boroughs of Samarqand, lying on the Bukhārā river. In this Varaghsar stands (the weir) distributing the waters (*qismatgāh-i āb*).

15. KISH, a borough belonging to the hot zone. Much rain falls in it. It possesses a city, a citadel, and a suburb. Two rivers flowing past (*bar*) the town gate are used in the fields. In its mountains mines of drugs are found. It produces good mules, manna (*taran-gabīn*), and red salt, which are exported everywhere.

¹ Or: *domes*? [Impossible to refer *کوره‌خانه‌ها* to the later *gūr-khāns*!]

16. NAUQAT-I QURAYSH (Nūqad Quraysh), a very agricultural borough.

17. NAKHSHAB, a very pleasant, prosperous town with cultivation. A river traverses the town.

18. SŪBAKH, a town belonging to Nakhshab.

19. SAKĪFAGHN, a town with cultivation.

20. BAZDA, a borough sparsely populated (*kam-mardum*), but with much cultivation. It has a dry river-bed in which during some parts of the year water runs, but most of their water is from wells and water-wheels (*dūlāb*, "noria").

21. KASBA, a place with much cultivation.

22. TIRMIDH, a flourishing town situated on the bank of the Jayhūn. Its citadel is on the bank of the river. This town is the emporium (*bārgah*) of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān. It produces good soap (*sābūn*), green mattings, and fans (*bādh-bīzan*).

23. HĀSHUMKIRT [sic], a borough with numerous sheep and cattle (*chahār-pāy*).

24. CHARMANGĀN, borough with cultivation and running waters.

25. CHAGHĀNIYĀN, a desolate region. It is a large tract with extensive cultivation (*bisyār kisht-u-barz*), but it has lazy peasants (*barzīgarānī kāhil*) and is a place of poor people (*darvishān*); (yet) it possesses many amenities. The people are warlike and courageous. The district has an agreeable climate, good (*durust*) soil, and waters good for digestion (*gavāranda*). It produces a small number of horses, woollen cloths, *palās*-rugs, and much saffron. The king of this district is one of the margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) and is called amīr of Chaghāniyān.

26. DĀRZANGĪ (spelt: *Dārzanlī*), a borough surrounded by a moat and belonging to Chaghāniyān. It produces puttees (*pāy-tāba*), different sorts of tapestry-woven carpets (*gilīmīna*), and woollen carpets.

27. CHAGHĀNIYĀN, a large town situated on the slope of a mountain. It is the capital of this region and possesses running waters, an agreeable climate, and a poor population (*mardumānī darvish*).

28. BĀSAND, a borough with numerous population, situated on the
23b road of Bukhārā and Samarqand. | It is a strong place; the inhabitants are warlike.

29. ZĪNVAR, a borough with much cultivation, but sparsely populated.

30. NAUZHĀN (*Būrāb*?), a borough with a very strong fortress.

31. نِهَام (?) , a borough near the river Nihām, possessing a nice climate and plenty of [amenities?].

32. HAMVĀRĀN, a borough near the river Kasavān, with sparse population.

33. SHŪMĀN, a strong town on the slope of a mountain; round it a wall is built, and its citadel is situated on the summit of a mountain, with a large spring inside. This place produces much saffron.

34. AFRĪDHĀN, a town with sparse population, situated amid mountains.

35. VAYSHAGIRT (**Vēshagirt*), a strong town situated between the mountains and the steppe, on the frontier between Chaghāniyān and Khuttalān. Wind blows there constantly, and there lies the tomb (*turbat*) of Shaqīq Balkhī, God's mercy upon him. This place produces much saffron.

36. SURŪSHANA, a large prosperous region with a town and numerous districts (*rustā*). Much wine (*nabīdh*) comes from it, and from its mountains comes iron.

37. ZĀMĪN, a town of Surūshana lying on the road of Khujand and Farghāna. It has a strong fortress and much cultivation.

38. CHARQĀN (*Kharqāna*?), a prosperous borough also belonging to Surūshna.

39. DIZAK, a borough with a stream. Near it is the place MARSAMANDA where annually for one day a market is held, and it is said that at that market business (*bāzurgānī*) is transacted for upwards of 100,000 dinars.

40. BŪNJKATH (spelt: *Navīnkath*), is the chief place of Surūshna and the residence of its amīr. It has a numerous population and is very prosperous and pleasant. It has running waters.

41. FAGHKATH, GHAZAQ, SĀBĀṬ, KURKATH, boroughs of Surūshana, with much cultivation and very populous.

42. BUTTAMĀN, a region lying amidst mountains and broken country (*kūh-hā va shikastagī-hā*), and belonging to Surūshna. It has three tracts (zones, *ḥadd*): Inner, Middle, and Outer Buttamān. This is a region with much cultivation but with a poor population (*darvishān*). It has many villages and districts (*rustā*) and in its mountains numerous mines of ammoniac (*naushādhur*) are found.

43. BARGHAR,¹ a district of Middle Buttamān. In it lies the Daryāzha (lake) which collects the waters of the Middle Buttamān, and whence rises the Bukhārā river.

44. KHUJAND, a town, and the chief place of that region. It possesses much cultivation, and chivalrous people (*bā-muruvvat*) live in it. It produces pomegranates.

45. FARGHĀNA, a prosperous, large, and very pleasant region. It has many mountains, plains, running waters, and towns. It is the Gate of Turkistān. Great numbers of Turkish slaves are brought (*uftadh*)

¹ On the margin: *Frghl*.

here. In its mountains there are numerous mines of gold, silver, copper, lead (*surb*), ammoniac, quicksilver (*simāb*), combustible schists (*chirāgh-sang*?), bezoar stone (*sang-i pāy-zahr*), lodestone (*sang-i maghnāṭis*), and numerous drugs. It produces *ṭabarkhūn* (red colour?), and plants useful in the preparation of wonderful ('*ajab*) medicines. The kings of Farghāna belonged formerly to (the class of) margraves and were called *dihqān*.

46. CHADHGHAL,¹ a district of Farghāna lying amidst mountains and broken country and possessing many boroughs and villages. It
24 a produces horses | and a great number of sheep, and has mines as well.

47. AKHSĪKATH, the capital of Farghāna and the residence of the amīr and (his) lieutenants ('*ummāl*). It is a large town situated on the bank of the river Khashart (Jaxartes), at the foot of a mountain. In its mountains there are numerous mines of gold and silver. Its inhabitants are wine-drinkers (*nabīdh-khwāra*).

48. VĀTHKATH forms the frontier between Khujand and Farghāna and is a borough with much cultivation.

49. شوح (?), a borough producing quicksilver.

50. ṬAMĀKHUS, NĀMKĀKHUS [sic], two boroughs situated on the slope of a mountain.

51. SŌKH lies in the mountains on the frontier between Buttamān and Farghāna and has sixty villages.

52. ĀVĀL lies on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūhist*) and possesses villages.

53. BAGHASKĀN (?) belongs to Āvāl.

54. KHUVĀKAND, RISHTĀN, ZANDARĀMISH, densely populated (*anbūh*) boroughs with much cultivation.

55. QUBĀ, a large town, the most flourishing in the district of Farghāna.

56. ŌSH, a prosperous and very pleasant place with a warlike population. It is situated on the slope of a mountain, on which watchers (*pāsbān*) and scouts (*ḍidabān*) are posted, to observe the infidel Turks (*kāfir-i Turk rā nigāh dārand*).

57. ŪRASHT, KHURSĀB, two boroughs with running waters, spaciousness (*gushādhaḡi*), many amenities, and a good climate.

58. ŪZGAND, a town on the frontier between Farghāna and the Turks. Two rivers pass its outskirts (*karāna*), of which the one called T.BĀGH.R (**Yabāghū*) comes from Tibet and the other, BARSKHĀN, comes from the Khallukh country.

59. KHATLĀM, a borough which is the birth-place (*maulūd*) of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, the [Sāmānid] amīr of Khorāsān.

¹ Vide *infra* under 63. "Jadghal", now Chatqal.

60. KASHŪKATH, PĀB, two prosperous boroughs, with much cultivation.

All these are the towns of Farghāna.

61. BUSHT, K.L.SKĀN, YŪKAND, KŪKATH, KHUSHKĀB (?), boroughs situated near to each other, with much cultivation but with poor people.

62. SH.LĀT, a frontier post (*thaghr*) situated towards the Turks.

63. ILĀQ, a large province stretching between (*andar miyān*) the mountains and the steppe. It has a numerous population, and is cultivated and prosperous, (but) the people have little wealth (*khwāsta*). Its towns and districts (*rustā*) are numerous. The people profess mostly the creed of those “in white raiment” (*sapīd jāmagan*). The people are warlike and arrogant-looking (*shūkh-rū*). In its mountains are mines of gold and silver. Its frontiers march with Farghāna, Jadghal [sic], Chāch, and the river Khashart. The chiefs of this province are called Dihqān-i Ilāq. Formerly the dihqāns in this province were counted among the margraves (*dihqān in nāhiyat rā az mulūk-i aṭrāf būdandī*).

64. NŪKATH [sic], the chief place of Ilāq, has a city, a citadel, and a suburb. Its river is called Ilāq, and Nūkath is situated on its bank.

65. KŪHSAYM (**Kūh-i sim*) is a borough on the slope of the mountain, in which there is a silver-mine.

66. DHAKHKATH, a borough which produces *dārū-yi mūsh* (“mouse-poison” = arsenic?).

67. YAHŪDHLIQ, ABARLIQ (?), ITLUKH (?), ALKH.JĀS (Alkh.njās?), boroughs on the frontier of Farghāna and Ilāq.

68. SĀMĪ S.BRAK, a flourishing and populous borough.

69. رڤكوم (?), حنح, KHĀS,¹ boroughs with much cultivation but sparsely populated.

70. GH.ZJAND, a flourishing and prosperous borough.

71. TUKATH, a borough with great wealth.

72. K.L.SHJ.K, KH.MB.RK, ARDALĀNKATH, S.T.BGH.VĀ, | حناح, are **24 b** boroughs situated near one another, populous, with much cultivation and running waters. Ardalānkath is the chief place of these boroughs.

73. K.RĀL, GH.ZK, KHĪVĀL, VARDHŪL, K.BRIYA, B.GHŪRĀNK (?), small boroughs, very agricultural, producing horses, and lying close to one another.

74. اردك, BAGHŪYKATH, F.RNKATH, small boroughs, prosperous, pleasant, and lying close to one another.

75. JABGHŪKATH, a small borough which formerly was the military camp of Chāch.

¹ Barthold's Index: *Khābs*.

76. SH.KĀKAB, مانجاس, two flourishing and prosperous towns of Īlāq.

77. TUNKAT-I B.KHĀRNĀN, a chief place with several districts situated between Īlāq, Jadghal, and Chāch. It has running waters and is a resort of merchants.

78. YĀLĀPĀN, a borough from which the bank of the river Parak is 1 farsang distant. There stands a dirham-mint (*sarāy-i diram zadan*).

79. CHĀCH (spelt: *Chāj*), a large and prosperous district. The inhabitants are active fighters for the faith, warlike (*jang-kun*), and wealthy (*tuvangar*). (The locality) is very pleasant. It produces great quantities of *khalanj*-wood, and of bows and arrows made of *khadang*-wood. Its kings formerly belonged to the class of margraves (*mulūk-i vay . . . az mulūk-i atrāf būdandī*).

80. BINKATH (spelt: *Bikath*), capital of Chāch (spelt: *ġāj*). This large town, prosperous and flourishing, is the seat of the government.

81. NŪJAKATH, a borough from which come the boatmen (*kashti-bānān*) working on the rivers Parak and Khashart.

82. K.RJĀKATH (?), TARKŪS,¹ KHĀTŪNKATH, دسمان ک two [sic] small but prosperous boroughs which are the store-places (*bārgāh*) of Sughd and Samarqand, as well as of Farghāna and Īlāq (*va ān-i F. va Ī. ast*).

83. BANĀKATH, a flourishing and prosperous borough on the bank of the river Khashart. حرکت, حرسنک, SH.TŪRKATH, S.BKATH (Biskath?), حاک (?), K.K.RĀL, boroughs of Chāch producing the *chāchī*-bows. The locality is flourishing, very pleasant, and prosperous.

84. ISBĪJĀB, a region on the frontier between the Muslims and the Infidels. It is an extensive and pleasant locality on the frontier of Turkistān, and whatever is produced in any place of Turkistān is brought here. It possesses many towns, provinces, and districts, and produces felt and sheep. The chief place is called Isbījāb. It is a large and very pleasant town and is the seat of the government. It possesses great wealth and merchants from all over the world abound in it (*ma'dan-i bāzurgānān*).

85. SĀNĪKATH, a flourishing, pleasant, and wealthy (*tuvangar*) town.

86. ذحک, a flourishing and very pleasant town.

87. SUTKAND, a pleasant locality on the bank of a river. The people are warlike. It is the abode of trucial Turks (*jāy-i Turkān-i āshtī*). From their tribes many have turned Muslims.

88. PĀRĀB, a pleasant district of which the chief place is called Kadir. The people are warlike and courageous. It is a resort of merchants.

¹ Barthold's Index: *Tarkūsh*.

89. Between Isbījāb and the bank of the river is the grazing-ground (*giyā-khwār*) of all Isbījāb and of some parts of Chāch, Pārāb, and Kunjdih. On it a thousand felt-tents are seen of the trucial Turks who have turned Muslims.

90. ŠABRĀN (spelt: *Šahrān*), a very pleasant town and the resort of Ghūz merchants.

91. DHARNŪKH (?), a borough on the bank of a river, prosperous but sparsely populated.

92. SŪNĀKH, a very pleasant borough | of Pārāb (spelt: *Bārāb*), 25 a producing bows which are exported to different places.

93. SHILJĪ, ṬARĀZ (spelt: *Ṭ.rār*), كاك (Takābkath?), FARŪNKATH, MIRKĪ, NAVĪKATH, boroughs where both Muslims and Turks live. (This locality) is a residence of merchants, and the Gate of the Khallukh (*dar-i Khallukh*). In Afrūnkat [sic], Mirkī, and Navikath the Turks are numerous.

§ 26. Discourse on the Region of Transoxianan Marches and its Towns¹

The Marches (*ḥudūd*) of Transoxiana are scattered districts, some lying to the east of Transoxiana, and some to the west of it.

East of the Eastern Marches of Transoxiana are the borders of Tibet and Hindūstān; south of them, the (Marches) of Khorāsān; west of them, the borders of Chaghāniyān; and north of them, the borders of Surūshana which belong to Transoxiana.

1. KHUTTALĀN (spelt: *Khatulān*), a region lying amidst high mountains, extensive, prosperous, cultivated, populous, and abounding in amenities. Its king is one of the margraves. The inhabitants are warlike. In its limits towards Tibet some wild people live in the deserts. Mines of silver and gold are found in its mountains. Great numbers of good horses come from Khuttalān (*az in*).

2. HULMUK (Hulbuk) is the chief place of Khuttalān and the seat of the king. It is situated on the slope of the mountain and has many men and many districts (*rustā*).

3. NUCHĀRĀ, a strong town situated between two rivers: Kharnāb² and Jayhūn. Its district extends to the confines of Badhakhshān and is called Rustā Bīk. (Nuchārā) is a town on one side of which is the Jayhūn and on the other a mountain. It is a very pleasant locality, and the emporium of Khuttalān.

4. PĀRGHAR (spelt: *Bārghar*), a prosperous town, with much cultivation, and very populous.

¹ *nāhiyat-i ḥudūd-i Mā warā' al-nahr.*

² **Vakhshāb*? See Notes.

5. BĀRSĀRAGH, MUNK, T.MLIYĀT (ملیات), small boroughs, very pleasant and prosperous, with a warlike population.

6. VAKHSH, a prosperous region lying on the bank (*karāna*) of Vakhshāb.

7. HALĀVARD, the chief place of Vakhsh. It is an agricultural town with many districts (*rustā*). The inhabitants are warlike archers.

8. LĪVKAND (*Lēvkand) belongs to Vakhsh, and from it come the *vakhshī*-sheep.

9. ZHĀSHT (Rāsht?), a district lying amid mountains and broken country (*andar kūh-hā va shikastagī-hā*), between Buttamān and Khuttalān, with many divisions (*rustā*) and fields. The chiefs of this district are called Dihqān-i Zāsht [sic].

10. Within the limits of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān there is a tribe (*gurūh*) called KUMĪJIYĀN. They are courageous and warlike and professional thieves. Their wealth is in sheep and slaves. They possess numerous villages and districts but have no towns. Those of them who are within the limits of Chaghāniyān are found in the district SAYLĀKĀN (*Sēlākān) situated between Shūmān and Bishgird (*Vēshgird?). And those of them who live within the limits of Khuttalān are found between *Tamliyāt (spelt: *Namliyāt*) and Munk. They live among mountains and dales (*dasht*) which have running waters and are pleasant places. Each tribe lives under the orders of the amīr of its district (*andar firmān-i amīr-i nāhiyat-i khwīsh-and*), and the amīrs of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān, when they have need, solicit their help (*va amīrān-i Khuttalān va Chaghāniyān-rā chūn bāyad az īshān yārī khwāhand*).¹

25 b 11. THE K.NJĪNA TURKS, a tribe of few men living in the mountains between Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān and established in a valley (*darra*). This place is very strong. The people are professional thieves and looters of caravans (*karvān-shikan*) | and look arrogant (*shūkh-rūy*). In their predatory expeditions they behave gallantly (*andar ān duzdī javānmard-pīsha*). They go for looting to a distance of 40 and 50 farsangs from the periphery (? *gardān*) of their district. They show attachment (*payvastagī numāyand*) to the amīr of Khuttalān and that of Chaghāniyān.

12. DAR-I TUBBAT, a village where a gate stands on a mountain. There live Muslims who levy the toll (*bāz*) and keep watch on the road. And when you come out of this gate (you) are in the limits of Vakhān.

13. R.KHT.J.B (?), a village of Vakhān where the *vakhī* infidels (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians?) live.

¹ For the sense of *yārī* "friendly help, contribution" cf. Gardīzī (ed. M. Nāẓim), p. 36. For *chūn bāyad v. i.*, p. 136, n. 2.

14. SIKĀSHIM (Ishkāshim), a town and the chief place of the region of Vakhān (*qaṣaba-yi nāḥiyat-i ū* (?) *Vakhān-ast*). Its inhabitants are infidels (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians?) and Muslims, and the malik of Vakhān (spelt: *Rakhān*) lives there. From it come covers for saddle-cloths (*rūy-i namad-zīn*), and the *vakhī* arrows.

15. KHAMDĀDH, a place where the idol-temples of the Vakhīs are (*andar [ū] but-khāna-hā-yi Vakhīyān-ast*). A few Tibetans are found in it. On its left side is a fortress occupied by the Tibetans.

16. S.NGLNJ (*Sanglich*?), lies at the foot of a mountain. The mine of the Badhakhshī garnets (*bijādha*) and of rubies (*la'l*) lies in that mountain. Near the mine is a hot spring in a pool (*ab-i garm va istādha*), such that on account of its heat it is impossible to put the hand into it. From that mine to Tibet there is a distance of one day and a half.

17. Beyond (S.nglnj) is a region called RŪSTĀ *B.LJ.M (M.lj.m?) (*va az ānjā bigudhari nāḥiyatī āyadh ū-rā rūstā* روستا [مستم?] *khwānand*).

18. SAMARQANDĀQ, a large village in which live Indians, Tibetans, and Vakhīs, as well as Muslims. It is the frontier and the farthest point (*ākhīr-i ḥudūd*) of Transoxiana.

19. BOLOR (*Bulūr*)¹ is a vast country (*nāḥiyatī-st 'aẓīm*) with a king who declares that he is the Son of the Sun (*mā farzand-i āftāb-īm*). And he does not rise from his sleep until the Sun has risen, saying that a son must not rise before his father. He is called Bulūrīn-shāh. In this country there is no salt but that imported from Kashmīr [sic].

20. ANDRĀS (?), a town in which live Tibetans and Indians. From it to Kashmīr is a journey of two days (? *dwza rāh* < **du rūza rāh*?).

{The houses which are (seen) on the Map (*ṣūrat*) between Rukhudh and Mūltān are all villages and stations of caravans. (They lie) in the desert, and are places devoid of amenity and poor in grass (*tang 'alaf*).}²

21. KHWĀRAZM. West of Transoxiana are the limits of Khwārazm.

22. KĀTH (spelt: *Kāzh*), the capital of Khwārazm and the Gate of the Ghūz Turkistān (*T.-i Ghūz*). It is the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxiana, and the Khazar. It is a resort of merchants. Its king, who is one of the margraves (*az mulūk-i atrāf*), is called Khwārazmshāh. The people are active fighters for the faith and are warlike. The town abounds in wealth (*khwāsta*). It produces covers for cushions (*rūy-i mukhadda*), quilted garments (*qazhāgand*), cotton stuffs (*karbās*), felt, snow (*barf*), and *rukhbīn*.³

23. KHUSHMĪTHAN, a borough with merchants and much wealth.

¹ Cf. § 11, 2.

² The paragraph between { } evidently belongs to § 24, 16.

³ Sort of cheese?

24. NŪZHĀBĀN, a town with a wall, iron gates (spelt: *daryāhā-yi āhanīn* ?), running waters, and many inhabitants.

25. GURGĀNJ, a borough which formerly belonged to the Khwārazm-shāh, but now its government (*pādhshāhiyash*) is separate and its king (*pādhshāy*) is called mīr of Gurgānj. The town abounds in wealth, and is the Gate of Turkistān and resort of merchants. The town consists of two towns: the inner one and the outer one. Its people are known for their fighting qualities and archery.

26. K.RDNĀZKHĀS (*Kurdarānkhās* ?), B.DHMĪNIYA, DIH-I QARATIGĪN, three boroughs sparsely populated (but) having cultivation.

26a 27. KURDAR, a borough with cultivation, very populous. | Great numbers of lambskins (*pūst-i barra*) come from there.

28. KHĪVA (spelt: *Khiv*), a small borough with a wall, belonging to Gurgānj.

29. JAND, KH.VĀRA, DIH-I NAU ("The New Settlement"), three towns lying on the bank of the Chāch (spelt: *ġāj*) river, at a distance of 10 post-stages (*manzil*) from Khwārazm, and of 20 post-stages from Pārāb. The king of the Ghūz stays in winter in the said village of Dih-i Nau.

§ 27. Discourse on the Country of Sind and its Towns

East of this country is the river Mihrān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Kirmān; north of it is a desert adjacent to the Marches (*hudūd*) of Khorāsān. This country belongs to the hot zone and has many deserts (*biyābān*), and few mountains. The people are swarthy with slim bodies, (good) runners (*davanda*). They are all Muslims. The region has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*), but numerous merchants (are found in it). The country produces skins (*pūst*), leather (*charm*), red *abānk* (?),¹ shoes (*na'lain*), dates (*khurmā*), and sugar-candy (*pānidh*).

1. MANŠŪRA, a great (*ʿaẓīm*) town, situated like an island in the middle of the river Mihrān. It is very pleasant and prosperous and is a resort of merchants. The inhabitants are Muslims and their king is a Quraishite.

2. MANJĀBRĪ, SADŪSĀN, two prosperous towns of the country of Sind, situated on the bank of the river Mihrān.

3. *BĪRŪN² (spelt: *موزور*), MASVĀHĪ, two towns in the limits of Sind. (The inhabitants) are the people carrying on the sea-trade (*mardu-māni-and kī bāzurgāni-yi daryā kunand*). These places have few amenities.

¹ *ابانکها* سرخ, the word *ابانک* unknown.

² Or: *Nirūn?

4. DAYBUL, a town of Sind on the coast of the Great Sea. It is the abode (*jāygāh*) of the merchants. Products (*ālat-hā*) of Hindūstān and the sea are brought there in large quantities.

5. F.NĪKĪ (**Q.nb.li* ?), *ARMĀBĪL, two towns of Mukrān (*az hudūd-i M.*) which possess many riches and are situated close to the sea on the edge of the desert.

6. TĪZ is the first town of Sind (*az hudūd-i S.*), situated on the coast of the Great Sea. It is not an interesting place (*kam sayr* ?).¹

7. KĪZ, KŪSHK-I QAND, BIH (ۛ), BIND (د), DIZAK (spelt: *Drk*), ASKF—all these towns belong to Mukrān. Most of the sugar-candy exported everywhere (*andar jihān*) comes from these boroughs. The king of Mukrān lives in Kīj.

8. RĀSK, the chief place of the district of Jurūj. It is prosperous and very populous, and is a place possessing many merchants.

9. MUSHKĪ (spelt: *Hushkī*), a borough in the steppe (*biyābān*).

10. PANJBŪR (spelt: *Banjpūr*), the largest of the towns of Sind on this side of the river Mihrān.

11. PUHLPARA (spelt: *Buhlbara*), a town belonging to the district of Jurūj. It has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*).

12. M.HĀLĪ (?), QUSDĀR (spelt: *Qusdhān*), KĪJKĀNĀN, SHŪRA, towns of the region of ṬŪRĀN. It is a pleasant locality with much cattle. In it live many Muslims and heathens (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians ?). The seat of the king of Ṭūrān is in Kījkanān.

13. ABL (?), a town of the BUD-HA (بدھ) region, prosperous and extremely pleasant; its inhabitants are Muslims.

14. QANDABĪL, a large town, prosperous, pleasant, and situated on the plain. It produces great quantities of dates.

§ 28. Discourse on the Province of Kirmān and its Towns

East of the province of Kirmān are the limits of Sind; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Pārs; north of it, the desert of Sīstān. Whatever parts of this province lie towards the sea,² they are in the hot zone, their people are swarthy; there reside merchants | and there are deserts; the local products are cumin (*zīra*), dates, indigo, 26b sugar-cane, and sugar-candy; the food of the inhabitants is millet-bread. And whatever places are remote from the sea (and) near to the desert of Sīstan, they belong to the cold zone, are prosperous and very pleasant, and the bodies (of the inhabitants) are healthy (*tan-hā*

¹ To the reading: سیر و کم one would prefer: گرمیر "hot zone".

² ناحیت کهرچه بسوی دریاست جایهای گرمیر است

durust); here (too) lie numerous mountains with mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and lodestone (*maghnāṭis*).

1. SĪRGĀN, the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (*pādh-shāh*). It is a large town and a resort of merchants. Their water comes from underground canals, and in the small districts (*rustā*) the water is from wells. The trees are few and the constructions are vaulted (*va binā-hā-shān izaja*).

2. BĀFT and KHĪR (?), two prosperous and pleasant boroughs.

3. JĪRUFT, a town occupying an area of half a farsang by half a farsang. It is a very prosperous and pleasant place. They have a rapid (*tiz*) river which flows with a roar (*bāng kunān*); its water is so abundant that it turns sixty mills, and in its canals auriferous sand (*khāk-i zar*) is found.

4. MĪZHĀN, a borough situated on the slope of a mountain. The fruit, fuel, and snow of Jīruft come from this town.

5. MUGHŪN (?), VULĀSHGIRD, KŪMĪN, BAHRŪGĀN, MANŪGĀN, large and small boroughs. From them come indigo, cumin (*zīrira*, read: *zīra*), and sugar-cane, and here sugar-candy is produced. The inhabitants' food is sorghum (*gāvars*, *v.i.*, p. 147) and they have plenty of dates. They have a custom that the owners never pick up the dates that have fallen from the tree, and those dates belong to the poor (*darvishān*).

6. BALŪJ, a people established in the steppe (*ṣahrā*) between these towns and the Kūfij mountains. They are professional way-layers, herdsmen, intrepid (*nā-bāk*) and bloodthirsty. They were [formerly] very numerous but [the Būyid] *Panā-Khusrau has destroyed them by various stratagems (*ḥilat*).

7. KŪFIJ, mountaineers (*kūhiyān*) living on the Kūh-i Kūfij. They are divided into seven tribes of which each has a chief. The Kūfij too are professional looters, herdsmen and agriculturists. East of the Kūh-i Kūfij down to Mukrān is a desert. Between Jīruft and Manūgān is a mountainous country, very prosperous and pleasant, called KŪHISTĀN-I ABŪ GHĀNIM. West of this mountainous tract is a district (*rustā*) RŪDBĀR, altogether woods, trees, and meadows (*marghzār*).

8. HURMŪZ, within half a farsang of the Great Sea. This very hot place is the emporium of Kirmān.

9. SHAHRUVĀ, a borough on the sea-coast where fishermen (*ṣay-yādān*) live.

10. SŪRĪQĀN, MAZRŪQĀN, KASBĀN, RAVĪN, KHABRŪQĀN are towns with many wells, the water of which is used for drinking and agriculture. The towns abound in amenities and have a moderate climate.

11. KĀHŪN, KHUSHNĀBĀDH, two small towns on the road to Pārs.

12. KAFTAR, DIHAK, two boroughs on the mountain Bārijān, and whatever comes (*uftadh*) from the mountain Bārijān is brought (*uftadh*) to these towns.

13. DIH-I GŌZ (spelt: *Kār*), DĀRCHĪN (spelt: *Dārjīn*),¹ two boroughs between Bam and Jīruft, prosperous and very pleasant. From it (Dārchīn?) comes cinnamon (*dārchīnī*).

14. KHWĀSH and RĪQĀN, two boroughs situated in the desert between Sind and Kirmān.

15. SHĀMĀT, | ... GHĀR (*Bahār?*), حان (*Khannāb?*), GHUBAIRĀ, 27 a KŪGHŪN, RĀYĪN (?), SARVISTĀN, DĀRCHĪN,¹ towns between Sīrgān and Bam. They belong to the cold zone, have a good climate, and are prosperous and very pleasant. They have running waters and a numerous population.

16. BAM, a town with a healthy climate (*havā-yi tan-durust*). In its *shahristān* stands a strong fortress. It is larger than Jīruft and possesses three cathedral mosques (*mazgī-i jāmi*): one belongs to the Khārijites, another to the Muslims, and the third is in the fortress. From it come cotton stuffs (*karbās*), turbans (*‘amāma*, spelt: *‘āma*), Bam-turbans (or kerchiefs, *dastār-i bamī*), and dates.

17. NARMĀSHĪR, a flourishing town, prosperous and pleasant, where the merchants reside.

18. BAHRA (**Pahra*), situated at the end of the country (*shahr*) of Kirmān and on the edge of the desert. Through it (the travellers) go to Sīstān.

19. SIBIH, a town in the desert, between Nahla (**Pahra*) and Sīstān. It belongs to Kirmān (*az ‘amal-i K.*).

20. F.RDĪR (?), MĀHĀN, KHABĪŞ, very pleasant towns with a salubrious (*durust*) climate. Some of them are situated in the mountains and some in the steppe (*biyābān*).

21. BARDASĪR, JANZARŪDH,² two boroughs on the road to Herat and Kūhistān, very favoured by nature (*bā ni‘mat-i bisyār*), but with a sparse population.

22. KŪTMĪDHAN, K.RDAGĀN, ANĀR are (*āyand*, read: *-and*) very pleasant boroughs on the road from Pārs to Rūdhān.

23. Between Sīrgān and Bardāsīr lies a mountainous tract (*kūhistān*), very prosperous and pleasant; there lie 260 villages, prosperous, pleasant, and populous.

In the whole province of Kirmān no large river is found, such as could be navigable (*chinānk kashti bitavānad raftan*). In its mountains there are long-living (*darāz-zindagānī*) and healthy people.

¹ At both places probably the same town.

² Spelt: *Chatrūdh*.

§ 29. Discourse on the Province of Pārs and its Towns

East of this province is the province of Kirmān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the river Tāb which separates Pārs from Khūzistān, and some borders (*hudūd*) of Sipāhān (Isfahān); north of it, the desert of Pārs, (which is a part) of (that of) Kargas-kūh. (Pārs) possesses many cities and a numerous population. It is a prosperous and wealthy (*tuvangar*) province with manifold resources (*ni'mat-hā-yi gūnāgūn*). It is a resort of merchants and has mountains and rivers. It was the seat of the Sasanian kings (*khusravān*). The inhabitants are eloquent (*sukhan-dān*) and clever. In its mountains there are gold-mines. It produces manifold textiles (*jāma*) of linen (*katān*), wool, and cotton, and also rose-water, violet-water, palm-blossom water (*āb-i tal'*), carpets, rugs (*bisāṭ va farsh*), *zīlū*-rugs, and *gilim* (tapestry woven carpets), of precious quality. Whatever parts of Pārs lie nearer to the sea they belong to the hot zone; and whatever parts are nearer to the desert they belong to the cold zone. In Pārs there are mountains and gold-mines. In it the fire-temples of the *Zoroastrians (*g.rān*, read: **gabrān*?) are situated [and the latter] respect [the vestiges] of the people of yore¹ and visit them on pilgrimage. Most of the towns of Pārs have mountains in their neighbourhood.

1. SHĪRĀZ, the capital of Pārs, is a large and flourishing town with many riches and many inhabitants. It is the seat of the government (*dār al-mulk*). This town was built in the Islamic epoch (*in shahr-rā ba rūzgār-i Islām karda-and*). There stands in it an ancient and very strong citadel, called Shah-mōbadh's Fortress. In it (*i. e.*, Shīrāz?) two venerated fire-temples are found. In it a kind of sweet basil (*isbargham*) is found called *sūsan* (spelt: *sūs*) -*i nargis*, of which the leaves (petals?) are like those of a lily (*sūsan*), and the middle (*miyāna*) like the narcissus.

27b 2. IṢṬAKHR, a large and ancient town, which had been the seat of the Sasanian kings. | In it ancient buildings, images (*naqsh*), and figures (*sūrat*) are found. Iṣṭakhr has many districts (*nawāhī*), and (some) wonderful buildings called Solomon's Mosque (*mazgit-i Sulaymān*). In it grows an apple, of which one half is sour, and the other sweet. In its mountain iron mines are found, and in its region, silver mines.

3. DIZ-I PISAR-I 'UMĀRA, "The castle of 'Umāra's son", a borough with a fortress, situated on the coast of the Great Sea. It is a place of fishermen, and a travelling stage (*manzil*) of merchants.

¹ Something fallen out: اندر وی آتش کدماه کرانست [و آثار] قدیمایا بزرگ دارند

4. SĪRĀF, a large town in the hot zone. It has a salubrious (*durust*) climate, and is the merchants' haunt and the emporium of Pārs.

5. JAM, KURĀN, KHURMUK (حرمك?), boroughs within the limits (*hudūd*) of Sīrāf, very prosperous and populous.

6. GŪR, a flourishing town which was built by Ardashīr Bābakān and served him as a residence. Round it is a solid wall. From it comes the *jūri* rose-water exported everywhere. It produces palm-blossom water (*ab-i tal'*) and santoline (*qaiṣūm*)-water which are exported everywhere and are not to be found anywhere else. Gūr possesses a powerful (*sakht*) spring of water.

7. BAJĪRBAGĀN, *JĪRA (حیره?), BĀNŪ, MIHRĀ, boroughs of Gūr, very pleasant and prosperous, with running waters.

8. NAJĪRAM, a town on the sea-shore which is a resort of merchants.

9. ṢA'ĀDA, BAH LAVĀN (?), two flourishing boroughs, prosperous and situated close to the sea.

10. GANĀWA (كانه [sic]), a large and flourishing town which is a resort of merchants and possesses much wealth. From it come manifold textiles (*jāma*). In the sea of Ganāfa (كانه [sic]) there is a pearl bank (*ma'dan-i murvāridh*). Bū Sa'id Daqqāq, who carried on propaganda (*da'vat kard*) and took Baḥrayn, was from this place. Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qarmaṭī was the son of Ibn Bū Sa'id.

11. TAVAZ, a town situated between two rivers. Its inhabitants are numerous and rich (*tuvangar*). All the *tavazi* textiles come from it.

12. KĀZRŪN lies near the lake Yūn. It is a large and prosperous town with much wealth. In it there are two venerated fire-temples.

13. SĪNĪZ, a town on the sea-shore, very pleasant and with a salubrious (*durust*) climate. All the *sīnizi*-textiles come from there.

14. *RĪSHAHR (spelt: شهر), a flourishing borough between Sīniz and Arragān.

15. MĀHĪ-RŪBĀN, a town standing like an island amidst waters. It is a flourishing place and the emporium of the whole of Pārs.

16. ARAGHĀN (Arragān, Arrajān), a large and flourishing town with much wealth, abounding in amenities and enjoying a good climate. In its district (*rustā*) there is a well of water of which no one in the world knows the depth (*ki zarft-yi ān ba-hama jihān natavānand dānist*); from it comes a water to turn one mill (*miqdār-i yak āsiyāb*) and spreads over the soil. This town produces good grape-syrup (*dushāb*).

17. B.ZR.K, BĪSŪK, VĀYAGĀN, LĀRANDĀN, boroughs of Arragān, abounding in amenities and enjoying a pleasant climate.

18. NAUBANDAGĀN, a flourishing town, very pleasant and having much wealth (*khwāsta*).

19. [BISHĀVUR]¹, a wealthy (*tuvangar*) town with a wall round it, built by Shāpūr Khusrau. There are two fire-temples in it to which people go on pilgrimage. Near it stands a mountain on which the figures of every king, mōbadh, and marzbān previous to Shāpūr (*pīsh az vay*) are represented (*nigāshta*) and at the same place their adventures written down (*nivishta-ast*). In its neighbourhood (*hudūd*) there is a mountain from which smoke comes up continually and every bird that happens to fly over this smoke (*bālā-yi ān dūdh biparadh*) is burned and falls down.

20. VĀYAGĀN, KIMĀRIJ, two boroughs of Bishāvur, flourishing and prosperous.

21. JŪYUM, a flourishing and pleasant borough of Shīrāz. |

28a 22. [GŪYUM?], a borough where the weir distributing the water of Shīrāz stands (*bakhsh-gāh-i āb-i Shīrāz az ānjā-st*).

23. BARSARKĀN (?), KUVARISTĀN (**Kauristān*?), two prosperous and pleasant boroughs of (*az*) Shīrāz.

24. [BAYDĀ], a prosperous borough. Hallāj who laid claim to divinity (*da'vā-yi khudhā'i kard*) was from here.

25. HAZĀR, ZARQĀN, KHĪR, boroughs . . . [flourishing],² prosperous, and pleasant.

26. PASĀ, a large and flourishing town with a citadel and a suburb. It is a resort of merchants and has much wealth (*khwāsta*).

27. TAMISTĀN, BUSTUGĀN, AZBARĀ, DĀRAKĀN, MAZĪRĀKĀN (Muray-zigān?), SANĀN, prosperous boroughs between Pasā and [Dārā]gird.

28. DĀRĀGIRD, a flourishing and prosperous town, with much wealth (*khwāsta*) but with a bad climate. It produces *mūmiyā'i* (bitumen) which is not found anywhere else in the world. In its region (*nawāhī*) are mountains of salt of white, black, red, yellow, and every other colour, of which good tables (*khwān-hā*) are made [. . . which are exported?].

29. RAM, RŪSTĀ RUSTĀM (?), FURJ (spelt: *F.rkh*), TĀRUM, boroughs between Dārāgird and the limits of Kirmān. These are places with much cultivation, abounding in amenities.

30. KĀRZĪN belongs to Pasā and has a strong citadel.

31. KĀRIYĀN, a borough of Dārāgird within (. . . *ndr*?)³ an inaccessible (*ša'b*) and strong fortress (*hiṣār*). A venerated fire-temple is found in it.

32. SAMĪRĀN, ĪRAJ, RŪFTA, MĀDHAVĀN (spelt: *Madhāran*), GŪYUM, boroughs of Dārāgird, prosperous and pleasant.

¹ Supplied from 20.

² Fol. 28 slightly damaged.

³ Cf. § 36, 15.

33. JAHNUM, a flourishing town producing *zīlū*-rugs and good prayer-carpets.

34. KIZH, a town with a strong fortress (*hiṣār*) in it.

35. KHĪR, KURDIYĀN, two prosperous boroughs having much cultivation and belonging to Pasā.

36. IJ, IṢṬAHBĀNĀT, KHIYĀR, MĀSHKANĀT, boroughs situated on the slope of a mountain, sparsely populated, but having much cultivation, and much favoured by nature.

37. ABĀDHA, BARDĀNGĀN, JĀHUK, boroughs between Iṣṭakhr and Kirmān. They are caravan-stages, much favoured by nature.

38. KAMĪN, SARVĀB, M.ZĪRAKĀN (?),¹ SHAHR-I BĀBAK (spelt: *Fānak*), KHURRA, KĪS, all these boroughs lie in the mountains of the cold zone. The locality has a salubrious climate and is very pleasant. In Khurra there is a fire-temple, held in great veneration and attracting pilgrims. It was founded by Dārā.

39. BAJJA (spelt: 𐭪𐭥), KILĪDH (spelt: *Kilind*), SHAMAGĀN, SURMA, ARJĪNĀN, boroughs lying amidst the mountains of the cold zone. The locality is prosperous, cultivated, very pleasant, and populous.

40. BARQŪH (Abarqūh), an extremely pleasant town; in its neighbourhood there are large mounds of ashes.

41. [NĀYĪN],² a prosperous and pleasant town. In its mountains there are silver-mines.

42. SARDAN, a town situated between two rivers. It is a . . . prosperous and flourishing place, and in its mountains a mine of copper (*ma'dan-i rūdh*) is found.

43. ABRAJ, K.SBĀ, MĀYIN, prosperous boroughs between Pārs and Ispāhān.

44. RŪDHĀN, DARKĀN, two towns on the frontier between Pārs and Kirmān. They are caravan-stages and belong to the cold zone.

45. ANĀR, BAHRA, KATHA, MAYBUDH, NĀYĪN, boroughs of the cold zone, much favoured by nature and lying on the frontier between Pārs and the desert.

§ 30. Discourse on the Province of Khūzistān and its Towns

East of this province lies Pārs and the borders of Sipāhān; south of it, the sea and some of the 'Irāq frontier (*ḥadd*); west of it, some of the borders (*ḥudūd*) of 'Irāq, and of the countryside (*sawād*) of Baghdād and Wāsiṭ; north of it, | the lands (*shahr-hā*) of the province of 28 b Jibāl. This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. (Its) countryside

¹ Cf. *supra* 27.

² Cf. *infra*, 45.

(*sawād-hā*) is flourishing and (its) mountains full of utility. From it come: sugar, manifold textiles, curtains (*parda-hā*), *sūzangird*- (textiles), trouser-cords (*shalvārband*), fragrant citrons (*turanj-i shammāma*), and dates. The people of this province are gain-loving¹ and avaricious.

1. DIZ-I MAHDI (spelt: *Dar-i M.*), a flourishing and prosperous town situated on the river between 'Irāq and Khūzistān.

2. BĀSIYĀN (spelt: *Bāsabān* ?), KHĀN MARDŪNA, DAURĀQ, boroughs situated on the bank of the river, prosperous, flourishing, wealthy (*tuvangar*), and very pleasant.

3. DAYRĀ, a borough near the mountains, very pleasant.

4. ASAK [sic], a large village situated on the slope of a mountain, on the summit of which a fire is constantly shining, day and night. In the days of yore the battle with the Azraqī [Khārijites] (spelt: *Raqiyān*) took place there.

5. JUBBAY (جى *Jubbā, Jubbē* ?), a borough on the bank of the Shūshtar river, flourishing and very pleasant. The well-known Abū 'Alī Jubbā'ī was from this town.

6. SŪQ AL-ARBA'Ā, a town situated on the bank of the river, very pleasant and prosperous.

7. AHWĀZ, an extremely flourishing town. There is no town in Khūzistān more flourishing than this. It abounds in amenities and has a good situation. The people are yellow-faced. It is said that whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there (*hama ṭibī* [spelt: *ṭbyy*] *ki ānjā barī*) loses its scent on account of the climate. In its mountains there are vipers (*mār-i shikanj*, spelt: *shtknj*).

8. UZAM (?), a small borough, very pleasant.

9. RĀMHUR ([sic], *Rāmhiz* ?), a borough lying on the bank of a river. Mānī was killed there (*az ānjā*).

10. 'ASKAR-I MUKRAM, a town with extensive countryside (*sawād*), flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant. All the red and white sugar (*shakar*) and refined sugar (*qand*) of the world comes from there.

11. MASRUQĀN, a flourishing and pleasant borough. In it extremely good fresh dates are found.

12. RĀM ŪRDMIZD, a large town, flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant. It is a resort of merchants and is situated between Pārs and Khūzistān.

13. BĀZĀR-I SAMBĪL, a pleasant borough.

14. ĪDHA [read: *Tustar*], a town with a very flourishing countryside

¹ The sense is clear but the word is incomplete ... بوزور. After ʾ two dots are seen under the line.

(*sawād*), prosperous, very pleasant, and possessing much wealth. It lies on the bank of a river. It produces great quantities of brocades (*dibā*). There also the brocade of the cover for the Mecca (sanctuary) (*parda-yi Makka*) is made.

15. V.NDŪSHĀVUR, a prosperous and very pleasant town. The tomb of Ya'qūb (ibn) Layth is situated there.

16. SHŪSH, a wealthy town, which is a resort of merchants and the emporium of Khūzistān. It produces textiles and turbans of precious silk stuff (*jāma va 'amāma-yi khaz*), and fragrant citrons (*turunj-i dastanbūy*). The coffin (*tābūt*) of the prophet Daniel was discovered here.

17. MANŪB (Manūf, read: *Mattūth*), BIRDŪN, two agricultural boroughs . . . , prosperous and very pleasant.

18. BAŞUNNAY (*Ba-Şunnā, Ba-Şunnē*), a flourishing wealthy town. It produces good curtains (*parda*), exported everywhere.

19. ṬĪB, a flourishing and prosperous town producing very good trouser-cords, just like the Armenian.

20. SHAHR-I QURQŪB, a small and prosperous town. It produces *sūzangird* textiles.

§ 31. Discourse on the Jibāl Province and its Towns

East of this province are some borders of Pārs, of the desert of Kargas-kūh, and of Khorāsān; south of it, the borders of Khūzistān; west of it, some parts of 'Irāq and of Ādharbādhagān; north of it, the mountains of Daylamān. This | province has much cultivation and is **29 a** prosperous. It is the place of clerks and litterati (*dabirān va adībān*). It is very pleasant and produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*), textiles of (silk ?) . . . ,¹ and saffron.

1. SIPĀHĀN, a great town consisting of two parts: the one is called Jahūdhan and the other Shahrīstān. In both there are *minbars*. Between them there is a distance of *half a farsang [read *nīm* “half” instead of *nuh* “nine”]. It is a flourishing town, much favoured by nature. . . . in Jibāl. It has a river called Zarīn-rūdh which is utilized in its fields. It produces . . . silk textiles of different kinds, such as *hulla* (“cloaks”?), “tabby” (*'attābi*, coarse watered silk), and “siglaton” (*siqlātūn*).

2. KHĀN LANJĀN, a flourishing and very pleasant borough . . .

3. JŪYGĀN, a flourishing but sparsely inhabited borough.

4. BARV (read: *Burj*?), it was a flourishing borough with much cultivation, but now lies in ruins.

¹ The end of the lines on f. 29 a and the beginning of the lines on f. 29 b are torn (1-2 words per line wanting).

5. [KARAJ ?] is large but most of it lies in ruins. There stood the army camp of Abū Dulaf of Karaj (spelt: *Karkhi*).

6. BURŪGIRD, a flourishing and pleasant borough . . . , producing saffron and good fruit.

7. RĀMIN, a sparsely populated borough with much cultivation, situated on the slope of a mountain.

8. [KARAJ-I RŪDHRĀVAR ?], a large town, prosperous, pleasant, and very populous. It is a resort of merchants. It produces much saffron and cheese (?) . . . , exported everywhere.

9. RŪDHRĀVAR, a borough, thickly populated (*anbūh*), and lying on the slope of a mountain.

10. NIHĀVAND, a town . . . with two cathedral mosques in it (*andar vay*). It is a very pleasant place. It produces saffron and fruit which owing to (their) excellency . . .

11. LĪSH TAR, a borough with a good climate and many fields. From it hazel-nuts (*bunduq*) are exported.

12. SHĀBURKHĀST (spelt: *Sārjlst*), a place . . .

13. ASĀBĀD (*Asadābād* ?), KIRMĀNSHĀHĀN, MARJ, boroughs on the road of the pilgrims (*hujjā*), densely populated (*anbūh*), prosperous, . . . and pleasant.

14. ŞAYMARA, SĪRVĀN, two prosperous and flourishing boroughs, producing dates.

15. DĪNĀVAR, SHAHRA-ZHŪR, [SUHRAVA]RD, densely populated towns, much favoured by nature, and having a sociable (*āmizanda*) population.

16. ZANGĀN, a town much favoured by nature. The people . . .

17. AUHAR, a borough situated on the slope of a mountain (*ba-bar-i kūh*, [sic]), and possessing numerous waters (?) and fields. The inhabitants are slow (*āhastā*).

18. QAZVĪN . . . , round it there is a wall. It possesses a rill (*jūy-i āb*) which flows through the cathedral mosque and which is only sufficient for drinking purposes (*chandān-ast ki bikhurand*), and the people . . . Good fruit is found there.

19. ṬĀLAQĀN, a borough of Rayy, lying close to Daylam.

20. KHUVĀR (*Khwār*), a borough of Rayy, prosperous . . .

21. RAYY, a great town, prosperous, having many riches, inhabitants, and merchants. It is the seat of the king of Jibāl (*pādshāh-i J.*). . . . The water is from underground canals. It produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*), cloaks (*burd*), cotton, china (*ghadāra*), oil (*raughan*), and wine (*nabidh*). From its districts come good woollen *ṭaylasān* (scarfs worn on the head). Muḥammad Zakariyyā the Doctor (*bijishk*) is (buried) there. The tombs (*turbat*) of Muḥammad ibn

al-Ḥasan the Lawyer (*al-faqīh*), Kisā'ī the Reader (*al-muqri*), and Fazārī the Astronomer are also there.

22. SĀVA, ĀVA, BŪSANANA (*Būsana*?), RŪDHA, boroughs densely populated, prosperous, very pleasant, flourishing, and enjoying an equable climate. (They are) on the road of the pilgrims of Khorāsān.

23. QUM, a large town, (now) lying in ruins, with many fields. The inhabitants are Shi'ites, and Bul-Faḍl | ibn 'Amīd the Minister **29b** (*dabir*) was from there. From it comes saffron.

24. KĀSHĀN, a very pleasant town. [Among its inhabitants?] are numerous Arabs. From it come many clerks and litterati. In it scorpions (*kazdum*) abound.

§ 32. Discourse on Daylamān and its Towns

This is an extensive region possessing many different dialects and types (?), which is called the Daylamite country (*nāḥiyatī bisyār-ast bā zabān-hā va šūrat-hā-yi mukhtalif ki ba-nāḥiyat-i Dayālim bāz khwānand*).

East of this province is Khorāsān; south of it, the Jibāl lands; west of it, the limits of Ādharbādhagān; north of it, the Khazar sea.

This province has running waters and numerous rivers, is prosperous, [. . . and is a resort] of merchants. The inhabitants are warlike and fight with shields and javelins (*zūpin*). They are pleasant This province produces silk textiles (*jāma-yi abrishum*), of one colour or of (several) colours (*yak-rang va bā rang*) e.g., *mubram*, *harir*, and the like, as well as great quantities of linen cloths and of wooden [utensils].

1. GURGĀN, a town with a large province and flourishing countryside (*sawād*), very well cultivated and abounding in amenities. It forms the frontier between Daylamān and Khorāsān. The people have regular features (*durust-šūrat*), are warlike, cleanly clad, chivalrous (*bā muruvvat*), and hospitable. The town consists of two halves: Shahrīstān and Bakrābād. The river Hīrand coming from Ṭūs passes between these two quarters. Gurgān is the seat of the king of Ṭabari-stān [read: *King of Gurgān*].¹ It produces black silk textiles, *viqāya* (long veils), brocade (*dibā*), and raw silk textiles (*qazīn*).

2. DIHISTĀN, a district possessing a *ribāṭ* with a *minbar*. It is very well cultivated place with extensive countryside (*sawādī bisyār*). This is a frontier post (*thaghr*) against (*bar rūy*) the Ghūz. The tomb of 'Alī b. Sukkarī (Sagzī?) lies there.

3. FARĀV, a *ribāṭ*, situated on the frontier between Khorāsān and Dihistān, on the edge of the desert. It is a frontier post against the

¹ Cf. under 13. Āmol.

Ghūz. Within the *ribāṭ* there is a spring of water sufficient for drinking purposes (*chandānk khurd rā ba-kār shavadh*). The inhabitants have no fields, and bring grain from Nasā and Dihistān.

4. ASTARĀBĀDH, a town at the foot of a mountain, pleasant and flourishing. It has running waters, and an equable climate. The people speak two languages: the one is the *hwtrā* (?) of Astarābādh, and the other is the Persian of Gurgān. From it come many silk textiles, such as *mubram* and *za'fūrī* of different kinds.

5. ĀBASKUN, a prosperous town on the sea-coast and a haunt of merchants from the whole world trading on the Khazar sea. From it come shagreen, woollen cloth (*kimukhta* [*va*] *pashmīn*?), and various fish.

6. ṬABARISTĀN is a large (division) of this country of Daylamān. Its frontier (*ḥadd*) is from Chālūs to Tamīsha. It is a prosperous (district . . .), with great wealth and numerous merchants. Their food is mostly rice-bread and fish. The roofs of their houses are of red tiles (*sufāl*) on account of the frequency of rain both in summer and in winter.

7. TAMĪSHA, a small borough round which there is a wall. It is a very pleasant place, lying (*niḥāda-ast*) between the mountains and the sea. It possesses a strong fortress. In (all parts of) the town mosquitoes are plentiful, except in the cathedral mosque where they do not enter.

8. LIMRĀSK, a flourishing borough at the foot of the mountains.
30a Within a distance of 1 farsang from it | there is a salt-mine (*namaki-stān*) which supplies salt to Gurgān and Ṭabaristān.

9. SĀRĪ, a prosperous and pleasant town with many inhabitants and merchants. It produces silk tissues (*jāma-yi ḥarīr va parniyān*), *khāvkhir* (?), as well as saffron-water (*mā* [sic] *za'farān*), sandal-wood water (*mā ṣandal*), and perfumed water (*mā khalūq*), which are exported everywhere.

10. MĀMAṬĪR, a borough with running waters. It produces thick mats (*ḥaṣīrī siṭabr*) of very good quality, which they use (*ba-kār dārand*) in summer.

11. TURJĪ, a prosperous borough, the most ancient in Ṭabaristān.

12. MĪLA, a small borough producing much sugar-cane.

13. ĀMOL, a great town and the capital of Ṭabaristān. The city (*shahristān*) has a moat but no walls. Round the city lies the suburb. (Āmol) is the seat of the kings of Ṭabaristān (*mulūk-i Ṭ.*), and a haunt of merchants. It possesses great wealth, and in it live numerous scholars in every science. It has very numerous running waters. It produces linen-cloth, kerchiefs of linen-and-cotton (*dastār-i khīsh*),

ṭabari-rugs (*farsh*), *ṭabari-mats*, and box-wood (*chūb-i shimshād*) which is found nowhere else. It also produces citrons (*turunj*) and sour oranges (*nāranj*), white Kūmish-*gilims*¹ with gold thread (*zar-bāft*), various kerchiefs shot with gold thread (*dastārcha-yi zarbāft*), shagreen (*kimukhta*), and wooden implements (*ālat-hā-yi chūbi*), like ladles (*kafcha*), combs, handles for the plough (*shāna-yi niyām?*), scales (*turāzū-khāna*), bowls, platters (*ṭabaq*), deep plates (*ṭayfūrī*), and the like.

14. ALHUM, a borough on the sea-coast which is a haunt of seamen and merchants.

15. NĀTIL, CHĀLŪS [sic], RŪDHĀN, KALĀR, boroughs lying among mountains and broken country. (These towns form) a district of Ṭabaristān, but the kingdom is separate and the king is called Ustundār. Its limits stretch from Rayy down to the sea. Kalār and Chālūs are on the frontier between Daylamān proper (*khāṣṣa*) and Ṭabaristān. This Chālūs is on the sea-coast, while Kalār is in the mountains. From Rūdhān comes the red woollen cloth, from which rain-cloaks (*bārāni*) are made, which are exported everywhere, as well as blue *gilims* which they use in Ṭabaristān itself (*ki ham der Ṭ. ba-kār dārānd*).

16. KŪMISH, a province between Rayy and Khorāsān on the pilgrims' road. It lies amidst mountains and is a prosperous and pleasant province, with warlike people. It produces *k.nīs* (?) -textiles, and fruit, of which there is no like in the world; they are exported to Gurgān and Ṭabaristān.

17. DAMGHĀN, a town having little water, and situated at the foot of the mountain. Its inhabitants are warlike. It produces dessert napkins with fine borders (*dastār-hā-yi sharāb bā 'alam-hā-yi nikū*).

18. BISTĀM, a town at the foot of a mountain. It adjoins the limits of Gurgān and is a pleasant place.

19. SIMNĀN, a flourishing and prosperous borough producing better fruit than any other place.

20. VĪMA, SHALANBA, two towns in the territory (*ḥudūd*) of the mountain Dunbāvand (spelt: *Dnyāvand*). Both in summer and winter it is very cold there. From this mountain iron is extracted (*uftadh*).

21. KŪH-I QĀRIN, a district in which there are more than ten thousand villages. Its king is called Sipahbadh-i Shahriyār-kūh. This district is prosperous and most of its people are Zoroastrians (*gabra-kān*). From the (beginning of) Muslim times (*rūzgār*) the kings of this district have been from the descendants (*farzandān*) of Bāv.

22. PIRRĪM is the chief place of this district, while the seat of the

¹ Indistinct: *gilīm-i safīd-i Kūmish*, or *gilīm-i safīd-gūsh?*

sipahbadhs is at the military camp (*lashkargāh*) situated half a farsang from the town. In (Pirrīm ?) live Muslims, mostly strangers, [namely], artisans (*pishavar*) and merchants, because (*zīrāk*) the inhabitants of
30 b this district are exclusively soldiers (*lashkar*) | and husbandmen. Every fifteen days a market day is held there, and from all the region men, girls, and young men come there dressed up (*ārāsta*),¹ frolic (*mizāh kunand*), organize games (*bāzī kunand*), play on string instruments (*rūdh zanand*), and make friends (*dūstī girand*). The custom of this province is such that each man who loves (*dūst dāradh*) a girl, beguiles her (*bifiribadh*), carries her away, and for three days does with her as he likes (*bidāradh har chūn ki khwāhad*). Then he sends some one to the father (*ba bar-i pidhar*) of the girl that he should give the girl in marriage. In the districts of Kūh-i Qārin there are springs of water to which several times in the year most of the people of the district repair, dressed up,¹ with wine (*nabīdh*), music, songs, and dances (*pāy kūftan*). There they pray God for their needs (*hājat-hā khwāhand*), considering this as a sort of worship (*ta'abbud*); they pray for rain when they need it² and the rain comes (down).

23. SĀMĀR (? *Shāhmār*), a small borough of the same province (*nāhiyat*), producing much iron, antimony, and lead (*surb*).

24. DAYLAMĀN, the district of the Daylam proper (*Daylam-i khāṣṣa*) who come from it. It is situated between Ṭabaristān, the Jibāl, Gilān, and the Khazar sea. These people are of two classes (*gurūh*): one class lives on the sea-coast and the other amidst mountains and broken country. A (third) class lives between these two. Those who live on the sea-coast occupy ten small districts: L. TRĀ, VĀRPUVĀ, LANGĀ, M. RD, CHĀLKRŪDH, GURGRŪDH (?), DĪNĀRRŪDH, JŪDĀHANJĀN, روضار, HAUSAM. Behind the mountains three big districts correspond to these ten districts: VASTĀN, SHĪR, P. ZHM. Each of these districts has numerous sub-divisions and villages. All these lie within an area of 20 farsangs by 20 farsangs. This district of Daylam is prosperous and rich. Its people are all soldiers (*lashkarī*) or agriculturists. Their women, too, till the soil (*barzigarī kunand*). They have no towns with *minbars*; their towns are Kalār and Chālūs.

25. GILĀN, a separate district between Daylamān, the Jibāl, Ādharbādhagān, and the Khazar sea. This district lies in the open land (*bar ṣahrā nihādha*), between the sea and the mountains of the Jibāl. Gilān has many running waters; one of them is a great river

¹ Read: آراسته instead of the incomprehensible اب استه. The expression *ārāsta* is indeed found a few lines higher up. A marginal note is

found here on a source in Dāmghān. See Appendix A.

² بوقتی کشان بایذ *ba vaqtī-ki-shān bibāyadh*. Cf. p. 120, n. 1.

called Sapīdh-rūdh, which crosses Gīlān and flows out into the Khazar sea. There are two classes (*gurūh*) of these Gīl-s (*Gīlān*): one class lives between the sea and the river, and is called: “those-of-this-side-of-the-river” (*in-sūy-i-rūdhī*), and the other between the river and the mountains, and is called: “those-of-that-side-of-the-river”. The first occupies seven large districts: LĀFJĀN, MYĀLFJĀN (?), KUSH-KAJĀN (?), BARFJĀN, DĀKHIL, TIJIN, CH.MA. That of the other side of the river occupies eleven large districts: NANAK, حانكجال, KŪTUM, SARĀVĀN, PAYLAMĀN-SHAHR, RASHT, TŪLĪM, DŪLĀB, KUHAN-RŪDH, ASTARĀB, KHĀN-BALĪ (?), and each of these has very numerous villages. This province of Gīlān is prosperous, favoured by nature, and wealthy (*tuvangar*). All the agricultural work is done by the women. The men have no other business but warfare, and on all the frontier¹ (*hadd*) of Gīlān and Daylamān, once or twice a day in each village, there is a fight with another village, and there are days | when many people are killed through (that) clan animosity (*‘aṣabiyat*). **31 a** And the animosity and fighting persist until [the men] have left those places on military service (*ba-lashkari kardan*), or have died, or have grown old. And when they grow old they become censors of public manners (*muḥtasib*) and are called law-abiding muḥtasibs (*muḥtasib-i ma’rūfgar*), and if in any district (*andar hama nāhiyat*) of Gīlān one man calls another names or drinks wine (*nabīdh*), or commits other offences, they give him forty or eighty strokes of the stick (*chihil chūb bizanand*). The (Gīl-s) possess boroughs with *minbars*, such as GĪLĀBĀDH, SHĀL, DŪLĀB, PAYLAMĀN-SHAHR (?), which are small places with markets, but the merchants are strangers. Take them all round the (inhabitants) are law-abiding people (*va digar hama ma’rūfgar-and*).² The food in all this province is *lit.r* (?), rice, and fish. From Gīlān come brooms, mats, prayer-carpets, and *māha*-fish (*māhi-yi māha*?), which are exported everywhere.

§ 33. Discourse on the Country of ‘Irāq and its Towns

East of this country lie some confines (*ḥudūd*) of Khūzistān and of the Jibāl; south of it, some parts of the ‘Irāq Gulf (*khalīj-i ‘Irāq*) and of the steppe (*bādiya*) of Baṣra; west of it, the deserts of Baṣra and Kūfa; north of it, some parts of the Jazīra and of Ādhārbā-dhagān. This country is situated near to the centre of the world, and is the most prosperous (*ābādhāntarīn*) country in Islam. It has running waters and a flourishing countryside (*sawād*). It is a haunt of merchants, and a place of great riches, many people, and numerous

¹ Perhaps “territory”?

colloquial sense: “anyhow, at all

² *Digar* seems to stand here in the events”, &c.

scholars. It is the seat of the great kings (*pādhshāhān-i buxurg*).¹ It belongs to the hot zone, and from it come dates which are exported everywhere (*kī ba-hama jihān bi-barand*), as well as various textiles (*jāma*), and most of the implements (*bishtar-i ālāt*) becoming kings (*mulūk rā shāyadh*).

1. BAGHDĀD, a great town, which is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of 'Irāq and the seat of the caliphs.² It is the most prosperous town in (*andar miyān*) the world, and a place of scholars and of great riches. Maṣṣūr built it (*karda-ast*) in the times of Islām. The river Tigris flows through it (*andar miyān ba-vay? biguzaradh*); on it there is a bridge (*pulli-st* [sic]) made of boats. Baghdād produces cotton stuffs, silk textiles (*jāma-yi pamba va abrishum*), crystals turned on a lathe (*ābgīna-yi makhruṭ*), glaze-ware (*ālāt-hā-yi mad-hūn*), as well as [various] oils (unguents?), potions (? *sharāb*), and electuaries (*ma'jūn*), exported everywhere.

2. MADĀ'IN, a borough lying east of the Tigris. It was the seat of the Sasanian kings of yore (*ān khusravān*). There stands an edifice called Ayvān-i Kistrā, of which it is said that there is no higher portico (*ayvān*) in the world. It had been a large and very prosperous town, but its prosperity has been transferred to Baghdād.

3. NU'MĀNIYA lies west of the Tigris, and DAYR 'ĀQŪL east of it. These two towns are prosperous.

4. JABBUL (spelt: *Hbl*) is not a populous borough (*kam-ābādhānī*). Most of its inhabitants are Kurds.

5. JARJARĀYĀ (spelt: *Jrjrāy*), east of the Tigris, FAM AL-ṢILḤ, east of the Tigris, SĀBUS (spelt: *Sābas*), west of the Tigris—these are prosperous and pleasant boroughs.

6. WĀSIṬ, a large town consisting of two parts. The Tigris flows through it (*ba-miyān-i vay hamī ravadh*), and upon it there is a bridge. In each of the two parts (of the town) there is a *minbar* built by Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. The town has an equable (*durust*) climate and is the most pleasant town in 'Irāq. From it come *gilims*, trouser-cords, and dyed wool (*pashm-hā-yi rangīn*).

7. 'ABDASĪ, NĪM-RŪDHĪ, two populous boroughs. In them (*andar vay*) dates are found in great quantities.

8. MAFTAḤ, a populous borough east of the Tigris; the canal Ma'qil starts from there (*az vay bar-giradh*).

31 b 9. UBULLA, a strong town | surrounded by water, and lying west of the Tigris. From it come the *bullī* kerchiefs and turbans (*dastār va 'amāma-yi bullī*).

10. BAṢRA, a great town possessing twelve wards; each one of

¹ Evidently the Būyids.

² So much only about the caliphs!

these is of the size of a town (*chand shahrī*) and they are separated (*gusista*) from each other. Baṣra is said to possess 124,000 canals. It was founded by 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him. Baṣra is the only country of tithes (*'ushrī*) in 'Irāq. The 'Alawī Burqa'ī rose from there. There lie the tombs of Ṭalḥa, Anas ibn Mālik, Shaykh Ḥasan Baṣrī, and the Son of Sīrīn. It produces good shoes (*na'layn*) and aprons (*fūṭa*), as well as linen-and-cotton stuffs of high quality (*jāma-hā-yi katān-va-khīsh-i murtafi'*).

11. BAYĀN, a borough to the east of the Tigris, prosperous and flourishing.

12. SALMĀNĀN, a borough to the east of the Tigris, prosperous and flourishing.

13. 'ABBĀDĀN, a flourishing and prosperous borough on the sea-coast. All the "'Abbādān mats" and "Sāmānī mats" come from there, and therefrom comes the salt for Baṣra and Wāsiṭ.

14. MĀDARĀYĀ, a prosperous and flourishing town, with much cultivation.

15. USKĀF BANĪ JUNAYD, a place on the fields of which the remainder of the Nahravān canal is used up.

16. NAHRAWĀN, a town with some prosperity (*bā ābādhāni andak*). In it some palm-trees (*khurmā andak*) are found, as well as some places built by the Sasanian kings (*khusravān*).

17. JALŪLĀ, KHĀNIQĪN, two flourishing boroughs. Through Khāniqīn flows a large river.

18. QAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, a large village with a stone wall. In it there is a portico coated with marble stones (*yakī ayvān az sang-i marmar gustarda*).¹

19. ḤULWĀN, a very pleasant town, traversed by a river. It produces figs which are dried and exported everywhere.

20. KŪTHAY-RABBĀ, a town in the neighbourhood of which there are mounds of ashes, and they are said to be (the remnants) of the fire which Nimrūd had kindled in order to burn the prophet Abraham, on him be God's blessings and protection.

21. BĀBIL, the most ancient borough in 'Irāq, which was the seat of the kings of the Canaanites (*Kan'āniyān* [sic]).

22. ṢARṢAR, a prosperous and very pleasant borough through which flows the river Ṣarṣar.

23. NAHR AL-MALIK, a prosperous and pleasant borough.

24. QAṢR IBN HUBAYRA, the largest (*mihtarīn, bihtarīn*?) town between Baghdād and Kūfa, prosperous, pleasant, and populous (*bisīyār-mardum*).

¹ Cf. § 38, 23.

25. JĀMI'AYN, a borough situated between the principal course of the Euphrates ('*amūd va Furāt*, read: '*amūd-i F.*') and the canal Surā. From all sides the access to it is only by water.

26. KŪFA, a borough on the bank of the Euphrates, founded by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās, and there lies the sepulchre (*rauḍa*) of the Prince of the Faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may God exalt his face.

27. ḤĪRA (spelt: *Ḥira*), a borough on the edge of the steppe, possessing a better climate than Kūfa.

28. QĀDISIYA, a borough on the pilgrims' road, on the edge of the steppe.

29. BARADĀN, 'UKBARĀ, two boroughs to the north of Baghdād and to the east of the Tigris. It is a prosperous locality.

30. SĀMARA [sic], a town situated to the east of the Tigris, while its countryside and fields are to the west of the Tigris.

31. KARKH, DŪR (spelt: *Dūr*), two boroughs founded by Mu'taṣim and finished by Ma'mūn [sic],¹ prosperous and pleasant.

32. TAKRĪT, a town lying on the frontier between the Jazīra and 'Irāq, prosperous, flourishing, and populous.

§ 34. Discourse on the Jazīra Province and its Towns

32 a This province on its four sides is surrounded by the waters of two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and on this account it is called the Jazīra ("island"). This is | a province prosperous, pleasant, very populous, with an equable climate and running waters. It has mountains, numerous towns, flourishing countryside, gardens and orchards known for their flourishing state (*khurramī*). In it there are many people belonging to the Rabī'a tribe, and many Khārijites.

1. MAUṢIL, a large town, with an equable climate and with some amenity (*ni'mat-i andak*).

2. BALAD, a town on the bank of the Tigris, having some running waters besides (*ba-juz az*) the Tigris.

3. BAR-QA'ID, ADRAMA (read: *Adhrama*), two flourishing and populous boroughs.

4. NIṢĪBĪN, the most flourishing town in Jazīra. It is a prosperous and pleasant place. In it monasteries (*dayr*) are found belonging to the Christians (*tarsā'ān* [sic]). In it deadly scorpions (*kazdum*) are found. In it a strong fortress stands, inside which snakes are numerous. From it comes glass-stone (*sang-i ābgīna*) of good quality.

5. DĀRĀ, a borough at the foot of a mountain with numerous running waters.

¹ Evident clerical error, *v.s.*, p. 40. 218-27 A.H. Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 167: "com-Ma'mūn: 198-218 A.H., Mu'taṣim: completed by Mutawakkil" (232-47 A.H.).

6. KAFARTŪTHĀ, a flourishing and prosperous town with running waters.

7. RA'S AL-'AYN, a flourishing town with many springs which form five rivers; the latter unite (*ba-yak jāy*) and, under the name of Khābūr, flow into the Euphrates.

8. DIYĀR-RABĪ'A (spelt: *Diyār Ra'nay*), a very pleasant land (*shahr*).

9. RAQQA,¹ RĀFIQA (spelt: *Rā'iqā*), two large and flourishing towns joined with one another and situated on the bank of the Euphrates. The battle of Šiffīn took place in their neighbourhood (*andar ḥadd-i ū*) on the other side of the river.

10. QARQĪSIYĀ, a flourishing and pleasant borough; all its countryside is always green.

11. RAḤBA, a flourishing town with abundant water and trees.

12. DĀLIYA (spelt: *Wāliya*), a small town, densely populated (*anbūh*) and pleasant.

13. 'ĀNA, a flourishing borough situated amidst the waters of the Euphrates.

14. HĪT, a prosperous and pleasant town within a solid wall. 'Abd-allāh ibn al-Mubārak's tomb (*turbat*) is there.

15. ANBĀR, a flourishing, prosperous, pleasant town with a numerous population. The seat of the Prince of the Faithful Abul 'Abbās was there.

All these towns, from Raqqa to Anbār, are situated on the bank of the Euphrates.

16. BĀLIS (spelt: *Tālis*), JISR-MANBIJ (spelt: جسر عنج), SUMAYSĀṬ (spelt: *Shumaishāṭ*), boroughs situated on the bank of the Euphrates and adjacent to Syria.²

17. ḤARRĀN, a town with little water (*ābashān andak*). In it live numerous Šābians (*Šābiyān*).

18. SARŪJ, a prosperous borough.

19. RUHĀ (spelt: *Rahā*), a flourishing town. Most of its inhabitants are Christians. In it stands a church (*kanisa*); in the whole world there is none larger, better attended (*ābādhāntar*), and more wonderful. To it belongs a flourishing countryside, and in it live numerous monks (*ruhbānān*).

20. JAZĪRA IBN 'OMAR, a flourishing borough, with trees and running waters, situated on the bank of the Tigris.

21. ḤADĪTHA, a town with very good orchards.

22. SINN, a borough on the bank of the Tigris, very pleasant and lying close to the mountains.

¹ Cf. under Syria, § 38, 27.

² Cf. under Syria, § 38, 16. and 3.

§ 35. Discourse on the Provinces of Ādharbādhagān,
Armīniya, and Arrān, and their Towns

32 b These three provinces are adjacent to each other. Their countryside enter into each other (*ba yak-dīgar andar shudha*). East of this region (*nāḥiyat*) are the borders of Gīlān; south of it, the borders of 'Irāq and the Jazīra; west of it, the borders of Rūm and the Sarīr [sic]; north of it, the borders of the Sarīr and the Khazars (spelt: *Ghazarān*). These places are the most pleasant (*bisyār-ni'mattarīn*) among the Islamic lands. The region is very prosperous and pleasant, with running waters and good fruit. It is the abode (*jāygāh*) of merchants, fighters for the faith (*ghāziyān*), and strangers coming from all parts. It produces crimson (*qirmiz* > "kermes"), trouser-cords (*shalvār-band*),¹ woollen stuffs, madder (? *rūdīna*), cotton, fish, honey, and wax. There (too) Greek, Armenian, Pecheneg, Khazar, and Slav (*ṣaqlābi*) slaves are brought.

1. ARDAVIL, the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Ādharbādhagān, and a great town within a wall. It was a strong (*sakht*) and very pleasant town, but now is less so (*aknūn kamtar-ast*). It is the seat of the kings of Ādharbādhagān. It produces striped stuffs (? *jāma-yi burd*), and stuffs of various colours (*jāma-yi rangīn*).

2. ASNA (اسنه **Ushnah* > *Ushnū*), SARĀV, MIYĀNA, KHŪNA, JĀBRŪQĀN, small but pleasant, prosperous and populous boroughs.

3. TABRĪZ, a small borough, pleasant and prosperous, within a wall constructed by 'Alā ibn Aḥmad.

4. MARĀGHA, a large town, flourishing and pleasant, with running waters and flourishing gardens. It had a strong wall, but the son of Bū Sāj destroyed it.

5. BARZAND, a flourishing and prosperous town with running waters and many fields. It produces *qaṭīfa*-textiles.²

6. MŪQĀN, a town with a district (*nāḥiyat*) lying on the sea-shore. In the district of Mūqān there are two other boroughs also called Mūqān. From (Mūqān) come: madder (*rūdhīna*), grain for food (*dāngū-hā-yi khurdanī*), sacks (*juvāl*), and *palās*-rugs in great numbers.

7. VARTĀN, a very prosperous town from which come *zīlū* and prayer-carpets.

All these towns which we have enumerated belong to Ādharbādhagān.

[§ 36. Armīniya and Arrān]

8. DUVIN (*Dwn*), a great town and the capital of Armenia, encircled by a wall. In it live numerous Christians. It is a very

¹ Arab. *tikak*. ² Stuffs with long pile; actually bath-towels are called *qaṭīfa*.

pleasant town with great riches, men, and merchants. To it belongs a vast countryside (*sawād-i bisyār*) stretching down to the limits of the Jazīra and even (*khud*) adjoining Rūm. It produces worms from which the crimson-dye is made, and good trouser-cords.

9. DĀKHARRAQĀN (spelt: *Dākhartāb*), a flourishing borough, with running waters, near the lake Kabūdihān.

10. URMIYA (spelt: *Armana*), a large town, very prosperous and very pleasant.

11. SALAMĀS (now: *Salmās*), a flourishing and populous borough producing good trouser-cords.

12. KHOY, BARGRĪ, ARJĪJ, AKHLĀṬ, NAKHCHUVĀN, BIDLĪS (spelt: *Budlais*)—these are all boroughs, small or large, flourishing, pleasant, populous, having riches and merchants. They produce large quantities of *zīlū*-carpets (? *zīlū-hā-yi qālī*), trouser-cords, and wood (?).¹

13. MALĀZGIRD, a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the people of Rūm (*Rūmiyān*). The people are warlike and the place pleasant.

14. QĀLIQALA (usually *Qālīqalā*, Erzerum), a town inside which there is a strong fortress where there are always fighters for the faith, by turn from each place. Merchants too are numerous in it.

15. MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN (spelt: *Miyafāriqīn*), a town inside [sic] a fortress (*hiṣār*), on the frontier between Armenia, the Jazīra, (and) Rūm.

16. MARAND, a small borough, prosperous, pleasant, and populous. It produces various woollen stuffs.

17. MĪMADH, a well-known (*shuhra*) district, prosperous, very pleasant, and populous.

18. AHAR, the chief place of Mīmadh, belonging to the kingdom of the son of Rawwād, who is | of the family of Julandā bul K.rk.r, the one who “omnes naves vi capiebat” [*Qur’ān*, xviii, 78].²

19. S.NGĀN (*Sungān*?), a town with a large district, belonging to the kingdom of Sunbāt.

All these boroughs which we have enumerated belong to Armenia.

20. QABĀN, a flourishing town, producing much cotton of good quality.

21. BARDA’, a large town, very pleasant. It is the capital of Arrān and the seat of the king of that province. To it belongs a countryside, flourishing, with many fields and much fruit, densely populated. In it grow numerous mulberry-trees of which the fruit belongs to everybody (*tūdh-i sabīl*). The town produces much silk, good mules, madder (*rūnās*), chestnuts (*shāh-balūt*), and caraway (*karaviyā*).

¹ Perhaps: “good (*khūb*) trouser-cords”, instead of *chūb* “wood”.

² Cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 140. [See my note. V. M.]

22. BAYLAQĀN, a very pleasant borough, producing striped textiles (*burd-hā*) in great numbers, horse-rugs (*jul*), veils (*burqa'*), and *nāṭif*-sweets.

23. BĀZHĠĀH ("Toll-house"), a borough on the bank of the river Aras (Araxes), producing fish.

24. GANJA, SHAMKŪR, two towns with extensive fields, prosperous, pleasant, and producing woollen stuffs of all kinds.

25. KHUNĀN, a district on the banks of the river Kur, forming the frontier between Armenia and Arrān.

26. VARDŪQIYA (*Bardūj*?), a small and sparsely populated town in Khunān.

27. QAL'A, a great fortress and a *minbar* on the frontier between Armenia and Arrān.

28. TIFLĪS, a large town, flourishing, strong, prosperous, and very pleasant, within a double wall. It is a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the infidels (*bar rūy-i kāfirān*). The river Kur passes through it (*andar miyān-i vay*). Tiflis possesses a spring of water, extremely hot; above it hot baths (*garmāba*) have been built which are always hot without any fire (to heat them).

29. SHAKKĪ, a district of Armenia, prosperous and pleasant. Its length is some 70 farsangs. The inhabitants are Muslims and infidels (*kāfirān*).

30. MUBĀRAKĪ, a large village at the gate of Barda'. There the camp of the Russians (*Rūsiyān*) stood when they came and seized (*bisitadand*) Barda'. This Mubārakī is at the head of the frontier (*avval-i ḥadd*) of Shakkī.

31. SŪQ AL-JABAL, a town of Shakkī, close to Barda'.

32. SUNBĀṬMĀN (?), a town at the farther end of Shakkī (*ākhir-i ḥadd-i Sh.*), with a strong fortress (*ḥiṣār*). These two (last-named) towns are prosperous.

33. ṢANĀR, a region 20 farsangs long and situated between Shakkī and Tiflis. The inhabitants are all infidels.

34. QABALA, a town between Shakkī, Barda', and Shirvān, prosperous and pleasant. From it come many beaver-furs (*qundux*).

35. BARDĪJ (?), a small town, prosperous and pleasant.

36. SHIRVĀN (شروان), KHURSĀN, LĪZĀN (*Layzān*?), three provinces under one king. He is called Shirvān-shāh, Khursān-shāh, and Līzān-shāh. He lives at the army camp (*ba lashkargāhi*, spelt: *lashkarhāhi*) at a farsang's distance from SHAMĀKHĪ. In the region (*ḥudūd*) of KURDIVĀN he possesses a mountain with a high summit, which is broad and smooth (*pahn va hāmūn*). Its area (*chahār-sū*) is 4 farsangs by 4 farsangs. It is accessible only from one side by a made road

which is very difficult. Within that area there are four villages. All the treasures and wealth of that king are kept there and all his clients (*maulāyān*), men and women, are there. They both sow and eat (their produce) there (*ānjā kārand va ānjā khurand*). This fortress is called NIYĀL-QAL‘A, and near it there is another very strong fortress at a distance of 1 farsang; (the king’s) prison is there.

37. *KHURSĀN, a district (lying between?) Darband and Shīrvān, adjacent to the mountain Qabk (Caucasus). | It produces woollen 33 b stuffs, and all the different kinds of *maḥfūrī* which are found in the world are from the said three districts.

38. KURDIVĀN, a prosperous and pleasant borough.

39. SHĀVARĀN, the capital of Shīrvān [sic], is situated near the sea and is a very pleasant (spot). From it touch-stones (*sang-i miḥakk*) are exported everywhere.

40. DARBAND-I KHAZARĀN, a town on the sea-coast. Between the town and the sea a huge chain has been stretched so that no ship can enter there without permission (*dastūrī*). This chain is solidly attached to the walls made of stone and lead (*arziz*). The town produces linen-cloths and saffron. Slaves (*bandagān*) are brought there of every kind of infidel living close to it.

41. BĀKŪ, a borough lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All naphtha used in the Daylamān country comes from there.

§ 37. Discourse on the Arab Country and its Towns

East of this country is the ‘Omān Sea, which is a part of the Great Sea; south of it, the Abyssinian Sea, also a part of the Great Sea; west of it, the Qulzum Sea, also a part of the Great Sea; north of it, the steppe (*bādiya*) of Kūfa and Syria. This is a vast country belonging to the hot zone. In it there are mountains separated one from another, as we have explained (*padīdh*) in our notice (*yādhkird*) on mountains. And in all this country there is (only) one river, which comes out of the mountains of Tihāma and skirts the region of Khaulān (spelt: *ḡaulān*) and the province of Ḥaḍramūt, to empty itself into the Great Sea. Nor is this river large either. In this country there are numerous districts. Most of the country is a desert. Here is the original home (*jāy-i aṣlī*) of the Arabs, and all those who have gone to other places are originally from here. Most of them live in the desert, except those (*magar ānk*) who live in the towns of this country. This country produces dates of different kinds, skins (*adīm*), Mekkan sand (*riḡ-i makki*), whet-stones, pilgrim shoes (*na‘lain-i mash‘ar*), and parti-coloured (*mulamma‘*) shoes. In it live various strange animals.

The districts of this region are as follows: YEMEN, ḤIJĀZ, TĪHĀMA, YAMĀMA, NIZWAIN (**Bahrayn* ?)¹—where the tents are found of the tribes, such as Tamīm (*Tamīmiyān*), Muḍar (spelt: *Miṣriyān*), Asad, Jassān (?), Kalb, Fazāra (*Fazāriyān*), and the like. We have marked (*padidh*) them all on the Map that they should be clearer (*paydhātar*).

1. MEKKA, a large town, prosperous (*ābādhān*), populous, and situated at the foot of the mountains. All round it (*girdāgird*) are mountains. This is the most honourable (*sharīftarīn*) town in the world because there was born our Prophet, on Him (added: *and on His family*) be God's blessings and protection, and because it is the House of God, may He be exalted. The length of the mosque of the House of God is 370 cubits (*arash* = Arab. *dhirā'*) and its width 315 cubits. The House of Mekka (i.e., the Ka'ba itself) is $24\frac{1}{2}$ by $23\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. The height (*samk*) of the Ka'ba is 27 cubits and the circuit around the stone² (? *va as gird-i sang ṭawāf*) is 50 cubits; while the length [of the *ṭawāf*, i.e., circumambulation?] is 150 cubits. Mekka was built (*binā'*) by Adam, on him be God's peace, and finished by Abraham, on him be God's peace. And since the times of Adam, God has made this house sacred (*'azīz kardā-ast*).

2. MADĪNA, an agreeable (*khush*) town, with a numerous population. The sepulchre (*raudā*) of the Prophet, on Him and His family be God's blessings, as well as of many of his companions are there. From the districts of Madīna come whet-stones which are exported everywhere.

3. ṬĀ'IF, a small borough lying at the foot of the mountains. It produces skins (*adīm*).

4. NAJRĀN is a | prosperous borough in which lives the tribe Hamdān. From it come brigands (*duzd*) who rifle the region of Yemen (*ba-ḥudūd-i Yaman rāh burand*).

5. JURASH, a flourishing and populous borough of Yemen.

6. ṢĀ'DA, a prosperous and populous town. Merchants from Baṣra are found in it. In the days of old it was the seat of the kings of Yemen. It produces great quantities of skins (*adīm*) and the *yemeni*-shoes for pilgrims (*na'lain-i yamani-yi mash'ar*).

7. ṢAMDĀN (*Hamdān* ?), a district in Yemen, between Ṣa'da and Ṣan'ā. It possesses three boroughs in which live the sons of Ḥimyar (*farzandān-i Ḥimyar*) who have fields, pasture grounds (*marā'i*), and vines (*raz*).

8. ṢAN'Ā, the capital of Yemen. It is a flourishing and prosperous town. Whatever (goods) come from the majority of the districts of Yemen are also produced in this town. It is the most pleasant place in all Yemen. In all the Arab country there is no larger and more

¹ نَزْوَيْن may be a misspelling for بَحْرَيْن v.i. 26.

² Read: **Hijr*. See note.

flourishing town than this. On account of the perfectly moderate climate of this land (*shahr*), wheat and other crops (*kisht*) yield harvests twice a year, and barley (even) three or four times. (The town) has a stone wall, and it is said that the first building which was built after the Flood was this.

9. DHIMĀR (spelt: *Dimār*), a populous town with markets belonging to the district (*‘amal*) of Ṣan‘ā. It is a very pleasant place. Their current money (*bāzurganī*)¹ is something (*chīzī*) similar to the *qanda-hārī*-coins; eight of (their coins) weigh a dirham.

10. SHIBĀM (spelt: *Siyām*), a mountain above a fortress in which a market and a numerous population are found.

11. ZABĪD, a town of Yemen. With the exception of Ṣan‘ā there is no larger town in Yemen than Zabīd. At a distance of three days from there is the frontier of Abyssinia. Their current money is silver and gold, but their 12 dirhams weigh only 1 dirham’s weight (*yak dirham-sang sanjadh*).

12. MANKATH, a small borough with stone walls. Huge mountains surround it and its districts (*rustā*), and in whatever direction one travels in it, it is necessary to cross mountains (*va az har sūy ki dar vay ravī kūh bibāyadh buridan*). The frontier of this place marches with that of Ḥaḍramūt.

13. ṢUHAYB (spelt: *Ṣahīb*), a flourishing and prosperous borough.

All these places are in Yemen. Among the latter’s mountains and plains there is a place of monkeys (*kapiyān*). All the baboons (*ham-dūnagān*) are from there.

14. ‘ADEN, a borough on the sea-coast. Many pearls come from it. It is adjacent to the limits (*hudūd*) of Abyssinia.

15. ḤAḌRAMŪT, a flourishing and prosperous province possessing (several) towns. They have a custom that to any stranger who enters their town and makes a public prayer (*namāz*) in their mosque, they bring food thrice a day and pay him great attention (*navākht*), unless he opposes them in religious matters (*mukhālafatī kunadh ba-madhhab bā ishān*).

16. MIKHLĀF ‘AKK (spelt: *‘Alī*), a large and pleasant village.

17. ‘ATHTHAR, a prosperous and pleasant village.

18. MAHJARA (spelt: *Mahjar*), a large town within a wall and a moat. The (inhabitants’) clothes consist of *izār* and *chādhur*.

19. SIRRAYN (spelt: *Sarīr*), a flourishing and prosperous town. The inhabitants sow sorghum² and barley. Their current money is silver washed over with quicksilver (*muzabbaq*). They all wear *izār* and *ridā*. (This place?) belongs to the province (*‘amal*) of Yemen.

¹ Cf. 153, note 2.

² *gāvars*, v.s., p. 124.

20. JIDDA (spelt: *Judda*), a town belonging to Mekka and situated on the sea-coast, prosperous and flourishing.

21. SABA' (spelt: *Sabā*), 'UQĀB (?), ماع, WĀDĪ *BAYḤĀN (? spelt: وادی محان), pleasant and populous boroughs.

22. SHIḤR, a town on the sea-coast. It produces good camels, and from here frankincense (*lubbān*) is exported everywhere.

23. 'OMĀN (spelt: 'Ommān), a large town on the sea-coast. Merchants are numerous in it. It is the emporium (*bārkadha*) of the whole world. There is no town in the world where the merchants are wealthier (*tuwangartar*) than here, and all the commodities 34 b (*jihāz*) of East, West, South, and North | are brought to this town and from there carried to different places.

24. SHARJA, عن, two prosperous and flourishing boroughs.

25. HAJAR, a very populous town on the sea-coast.

26. BAḤRAYN, a very populous region with towns, villages, and prosperous places.

27. FAYD, a flourishing and prosperous borough.

28. JABALA, a fortress with a *minbar* in it.

29. FUR' (spelt: *F.rgh*), a small borough.

30. TABŪK, WĀDĪ AL-QURĀ, TAYMĀ' (spelt: *Fymā*), very prosperous boroughs situated in the desert.

31. JĀR, a borough on the sea-coast which is the emporium of Madīna.

32. MADYAN (spelt: *Midyan*), a flourishing town on the sea-coast. There lies the well from which Moses, on him be peace, drew water for the sheep of Shu'ayb, on him be peace [*Qor'an*, xxviii, 24].

§ 38. Discourse on the Country of Syria and its Towns

East of this country is the Syrian steppe (*bādiya*) belonging to the Arab country, and the limits of Jazīra (*hudūd-i Jazīra*); south of it, the Sea of Qulzum; west of it, the limits of Egypt and some parts of the Rūm sea; north of it, the limits of Rūm. This country is flourishing, prosperous, with many people, great riches, and numerous towns. Whatever is produced in Maghrib, Egypt, Byzantium (*Rūm*), and Spain (*Andalus*) is brought there.

THE FORTIFIED LINE (*thaghr-hā*) OF JAZĪRA. These are the boroughs (forming) the military frontier (*thaghr*) against the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*), and belonging to Syria, though called after Jazīra:

1. SUMAISĀṬ, a flourishing borough lying on the bank of the river (Euphrates).¹

¹ Cf. under Jazīra, § 34, 16.

2. SANJA, a flourishing borough near which there is a bridge; in the whole world there is no better and more marvellous bridge.

3. MANBIJ, a strong borough in the desert.¹

4. MANŞÜR, QÜRUS, two prosperous but sparsely populated boroughs.

5. MALAṬYA (spelt: *Malatiya*), the largest frontier post (*thaghr*) on this side of the mountain Lukkām. Its fruit is all given free (*mubāḥ*) and has no owners.

6. MAR'ASH, ḤADATH (spelt: *Ḥadhab*), two flourishing and prosperous boroughs, small, but having many fields and running waters.

7. HĀRŪNĪ, a borough built by Hārūn al-Rashīd and lying on a mountain.

8. BAYĀS (Payas), a flourishing and very pleasant borough in which dates abound.

9. KANĪS, a small borough at the foot of the mountain.

10. KAFARBAYYĀ (spelt: *Kamarinā*), MAṢIṢA, two flourishing and prosperous boroughs divided by the river Jayḥūn. If one mounts (*chūn . . . bar ravi*) on the bridge spanning that river the sea is visible, though the distance between them is 4 farsangs (*va miyānashān chahār farsang-ast*). (Their) population is numerous.

11. 'AYN-ZARBA, a town with fruit and well cultivated fields (*kisht-hā-yi ārāsta*).

12. ADHANA, a town with a flourishing market, situated on the bank of the river Sayḥūn.

13. ṬARSŪS, a large, prosperous, and pleasant town within a double stone wall. The inhabitants are warlike and courageous.

14. AULĀS (Eleusa), the last town of Islām on the coast of the Rūm Sea. In it are two places which the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*) venerate and to which they go on pilgrimage.

These are all the frontier posts called *Thughūr-al-Jazīra*.

15. ISKANDARŪNA, ŞUHBA, LĀDHIQIYA, ANṬARTŪS, AṬRĀBULUS, BAY-RŪT, ŞAYDĀ (Sidon), ŞŪR (Tyre), 'AKKA, QAYSĀRIYA, YĀFĀ (spelt: 𐤕𐤏),² 'ASQALĀN, towns of Syria on the coast of the Rūm Sea, inhabited by Muslims. They are very pleasant towns, with extensive fields and great riches.

16. BĀLIS, a town of Syria situated on the bank of the Euphrates.

17. KHUNĀŞIRA, TADMUR, SALAMIYA, MU'ĀN (spelt: *Maghān*, now: *Ma'ān*), boroughs | on the edge of the Syrian steppe. The people of 35a Salamiya are all Hāshimites, and those of Mu'ān, Omayyads.

18. AYLĀ (spelt: *Ila*), a borough on the coast of the Qulzum Sea, on the frontier between the steppe of Egypt and Syria.

¹ Cf. under Jazīra, § 34, 16.

² Sic.

19. ALEPPO, a large town, flourishing, prosperous, populous, and having great riches. It has a wall on which a horseman can make a tour round the town.

20. BAGHRĀS, a town amidst the mountains. In it stands a palace built by Zubayda, who gave it numerous endowments (*waqf*), in order that anybody reaching that town should be put up and entertained (*mihmānī*) in the said building.

21. MA'ARRA MAṢRĪN, a flourishing borough with rain-water.

22. QINNASRĪN, a flourishing and prosperous town.

23. HIMS (spelt: *Himiş*), a large, flourishing, and populous town, with all the roads paved with stones (*ba-sang gustarda*). The inhabitants are cleanly clad, chivalrous (*bā muruvvat*), and handsome (*nikūrūy*). Snakes and scorpions abound in it.

24. KAḤR-ṬĀB (spelt: *Bqr-Ṭāb*), SHAYZAR, ḤAMĀT, prosperous, pleasant, and very flourishing towns.

25. BA'ALBAKK, a very pleasant town lying on the slope of the mountain (*bar bar-i kūh*).

26. DAMASCUS, a prosperous and flourishing town, possessing many fields, a nice countryside (*sawādī khush*), and running waters. (It lies) close to the mountains. This is the most flourishing town in the Arab lands (*dar 'Arab*). It produces yellow citrons (*turanj*) [or yellow rice, *birinj*?].

27. RAQQA, a flourishing borough with few inhabitants.¹

28. RUWĀT (spelt: *Ruwāb*), a borough lying close to the mountains. It is the chief place of the Jibāl (*Kūhistān*) district.

29. ADHRUH (spelt: *Adhrukh*), a flourishing and pleasant borough, inhabited by the Khārijites.²

30. URDUNN, a very flourishing, prosperous, and pleasant region.

31. ṬABARIYA, the chief place of Urdunn. The town is flourishing, prosperous, and pleasant, and has running waters.

32. PALESTINE (*Filasṭīn*), a province with many fields and fruits, great riches, and many inhabitants.

33. RAMLA (spelt: *Zamla*), the capital of Palestine. The locality is pleasant and the town large.

34. GHAZZA (spelt: *'Arra*), a borough on the frontier between Syria and Egypt.

35. BETHLEHEM (*Bayt al-laḥm*), a borough where the Prophet Jesus, on Him be God's blessings and protection, was born (*maulūd*).

36. MASJID IBRĀHĪM, a borough on the frontier between Egypt and Syria. The sepulchre (*raudā*) of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, on them be God's blessings, is there.

¹ Cf. in Jazīra, § 34, 9.

² Iṣṭ., 58: *al-shurāt*.

37. NĀBULUS, RĪHĀ (Jericho, spelt: *Rīkhā*), two small boroughs, little favoured by nature (*kam-ni'mat*).

38. JERUSALEM (*Bayt al-muqaddas*), a town lying on the slope of the mountain. It has no running water. In it stands a mosque which is visited by Muslims coming from everywhere.

These are all the towns of Palestine.

39. THE HOME OF LOT'S PEOPLE (*jāy-i qaum-i Lūt*), a desolate district, sparsely populated, and without amenity.

40. ZUGHAR (spelt: *Z'r*), a town of the Home (*diyār*) of Lot's people. A little prosperity is still left there.

41. Within the limits of this (!) mountain of BALQĀ there are many villages and small districts (*rustā*), and it is inhabited by the Khārijites (*va andar vay hama mardumān-i khawārij-and*).

§ 39. Discourse on the Country of Egypt and its Towns

East of this country are some borders of Syria and some parts of the Egyptian desert; south of it, the borders of Nubia; west of it, some parts of Maghrib and of the desert called Wāḥāt (oases); north of it, the Sea of Rūm. This is the wealthiest (*tuṡangartarin*) country of Islām and in it lie numerous towns, all prosperous, flourishing, wealthy, and extremely favoured by nature in many respects (*bā ni'mat-hā-yi bisyār-i gūnāgūn*). It produces textiles (*jāma*), handkerchiefs (*dastār*), and robes (*ridā*) of various kinds, than which there are none more precious in the whole world—such as Egyptian woollen goods and textiles, and handkerchiefs made of *dabiqi* [and ?] *khazz*.¹ And in this country | good asses are found of great price (*kharān-i 35 b nīk uftadh bā-qīmat*).

1. FUSTĀṬ (spelt: *Fastāt*), the capital of Egypt. It is the wealthiest city in the world, extremely prosperous and very pleasant. It lies to the east of the river Nile. The tomb of Shāfi'i, God's mercy on him, is there.

2. DHAMĪRA, DANQARĀ (*Dabqū?*), two towns to the east of the Nile, prosperous and pleasant, producing excellent (*murtafi'*) and precious linen-cloths.

3. FARAMĀ, a town on the shore of the lake Tinnīs, amidst the sands of Jifār. The tomb of Galen (*Jālinūs*) is there.

4. TINNĪS, DIMYĀṬ, two towns situated on two islands in the lake of Tinnīs. The inhabitants have no fields. They produce woollen and linen stuffs of very high price.

5. ISKANDARIYA (Alexandria), a town, of the two sides of which the one is adjacent to the Sea of Rūm and the other to the lake of

¹ چون صوف مصری وجامها و دستارها دبیقی خز

Tinnīs. In it stands a lighthouse (*mināra*) which is said to be 200 cubits (*arash*) high. It is situated in the midst of the water (*andar miyān-i āb*), upon a rock, and when the wind blows it moves (*bijunbadh*) so that one cannot see it.

6. HARAMAYN (Pyramids), two structures on the summit of a mountain near Fustāt; their mortar (*milāt*) is of a substance (*jauhar*) on which nothing has effect. Each of them is 400 cubits long by 400 cubits broad and 400 cubits high. Inside (them) rooms have been made (*khāna-hā*). (Each) has a narrow door. Hermes built these buildings before the Flood, as he knew that the Flood would take place (*khwāhad būd*), and he built them in order that the water might not do him harm (*ziyān*, spelt: *zabān*). He has written on them in Arabic: "We have built this by a (supernatural) power; if some one wants to know how we have built it, let him destroy it."¹ And on these two pyramids much science has been engraved (*kanda-ast*) of medicine, astronomy, geometry, and philosophy.

7. FAYYŪM, a borough to the west of the Nile. It has other running waters, too, besides the Nile.

8. BŪṢĪR (spelt: *Tūṣīr*), a town lying to the east of the Nile. The magicians (*musha'bidhān*) who were with Pharaoh and who worked sorceries (*jādhū'i*), were from there. In the river Nile crocodiles abound everywhere; they snatch men and quadrupeds from the banks of the river, but when they reach this town [the situation becomes different]. (Here) a talisman has been put up (*karda-and*) that they should be impotent and do no harm (*ziyān natavānadh kardan*), and it may happen that children catch a crocodile in the water and sit upon it and guide it (*hamī-gardānand*) and it cannot do any harm. And wherever the crocodiles are upstream and downstream of this town they are harm-doers.

9. ASHMŪNAYN (spelt: *Ash'ūnayn*), AKHMĪM, BULAINĀ, three towns on the bank of the Nile, to the west of it. They are prosperous, flourishing, and very pleasant. In (this locality) grow numerous ebony trees.

10. SUWĀN (Assuan), the last town of Egypt and a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the Nubians. It is situated west of the Nile and is a town with great riches (*māl*). The people are warlike. In the mountains which are near Suwān and belong to al-Wāḥāt (oases region), mines of emeralds and chrysolites (*zumurrud va zabarjad*) are found, and in all the world they are found nowhere else. In the mountains of al-Wāḥāt there are wild sheep. Beyond Suwān, in the frontier region between Egypt and Nubia, there are great numbers

¹ The text in Arabic and in Persian. In Persian: "say (to him): Destroy this."

of wild asses, striped (*mulamma'*) (with) black and yellow, small, of the size of a sheep (*khurd chand guspandi*). If taken out of that country, they die.¹

§ 40. Discourse on the Country of Maghrib and its Towns

East of this country | is the country of Egypt; south of it, a desert of **36 a** which the farther end adjoins the country of the Sūdān (*ba-nāhiyat-i S. bāz dāradh*); west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, the Sea of Rūm. In this country deserts are many and mountains very few. The inhabitants are black and swarthy. The country has many regions, towns, and districts (*rustā*). In their desert live numberless Berbers. This place (belongs to) the hot zone. Gold is found there in large quantities. In the sands of this region are gold-mines. Their transactions (*bāzurgāni*)² are mostly in gold (*ba-zarr*).³

1. AṬRĀBULUS, the first town of Ifrīqiya. It is a large and prosperous town lying on the shore of the Rūm Sea. It is populous and is the resort of the Byzantine and Spanish merchants. Whatever the Rūm sea produces comes there.

2. MAHDIYA, a large town on the coast of the Rūm Sea and adjacent to the limits of Qayruwān. It is a pleasant place. Merchants from (different) lands (*az jāyhā*) are numerous in it.

3. BARQA, a large town to which belongs a province adjoining Egypt. It is a place with great wealth and with (many) merchants. In it numerous troops are always stationed.

4. QAYRUWĀN, a great town. In Maghrib there is no town larger, more prosperous, and richer than this. It is the capital of Maghrib.

5. ZAWĪLA, a great town on the edge of the desert of Sūdān. In its neighbourhood and in its district live many Berbers. In the deserts (*biyābān-hā*) of Maghrib these Berbers are what the Arabs are in (their) steppe (*bādiya*). They own cattle (*khudāvandān-i chahār-pāy*) and much gold (*zar*), but the Arabs are wealthier (*tuvangartar*) in cattle, and the Berbers in gold.

6. TŪNIS (spelt: *Tūnas*), a town of Maghrib on the sea-coast. This is the first town opposite Spain (Andalus).

7. FARSĀNA (Qalshāna?), a flourishing town, very pleasant. The people are sociable (*āmizanda*) and possess great wealth. The town lies near Qayruwān.

8. SAṬĪF (spelt: *Saṣīf*), a large town, with many inhabitants and much gold (*zar*), but little favoured by nature.

9. ṬABARQA, a town on the coast of the Rūm Sea. Near it, in the

¹ Cf. § 5, 23.

³ Or: “their current money is gold”.

² Present-day pronunciation.

sea, lie extremely numerous coral-banks; in the world there is no other place (like it). There are large and deadly scorpions (in Ṭabarqa).

10. TANAS, a large town on the sea-coast, prosperous, pleasant, and having many inhabitants and great wealth.

11. JAZĪRA BANĪ ZAGHANNĀ (spelt: *Ra'nā*), a town surrounded on its three sides (*si karān*) by the sea. In its region (*hawālī*) live many Berbers.

12. NĀKŪR, a town like Tanas.

13. TĀHART, a great town with a special district (*nāḥiyatī judhā*) belonging to the province ('*amal*) of Ifrīqiya. It possesses great wealth.

14. SIJILMĀSA (spelt: *Slḥmāsa*), a town situated on the edge of the desert of Sūdān amid sands which are auriferous. This town is separated (*gusista*) from all the districts; it is little favoured by nature (*kam-ni'mat*) but has much gold.

15. BUṢAYRA (?), a town on the sea-coast opposite Gibraltar (*Jabal Tāriq*). It is a very prosperous place.

16. AZAYLA (spelt: *Uzīla*), a large town within an extremely solid wall. It is the very last (*bāzpas-tarīn*) town (of Africa) from which (travellers) go to Spain.

17. FĀS, a great town which is the capital of Tangiers (*Ṭanja*), and the seat of the kings. It is a place of great wealth. |

36b 18. SŪS AL-AQSĀ, a land (*shahr*) situated on the coast of the Western Ocean which is the last land of the oecumene (*ābādhānī-yi 'ālam*) towards the west. It is a great land and its people have extraordinary (*bī-andāza*) quantities of gold. The people are somewhat far (*dūrtar*) from the characteristics of humanity (*ṭab'-i mardī*). Strangers rarely happen to visit it (*kamtar uftadh*). (The articles) mostly coming from the country of the Berbers are panther-skins (*palang*). The Berbers hunt (panthers) and bring their skins (*pūst*) to Muslim towns.

§ 41. Discourse on the Country of Spain (*Andalus*) and its Towns

East of this country are the borders of Rūm; south of it, the straits of the Rūm Sea; west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, also the borders of Rūm. This country is prosperous and flourishing, and possesses many mountains, running waters, and great riches. In it mines of every kind (*ma'dan-i hama-yi jauhar-hā*) are found: gold, copper, lead (*arzīz*), and the like. Their houses are of stone. The people are white-skinned and blue-eyed.

1. CORDOBA (spelt: *Qrṭna*), the capital of Spain, prosperous,

populous, with great amenities and riches. By the nearest road there is a three days' journey from it to the sea. Cordoba lies near a mountain and is the seat of the government. The kingdom belongs to the Omayyads (*pādishāh-i* [sic] *vay Amaviyān-rā-st*). The houses (of the town) are of stone.

2. TOLEDO (*Ṭulayṭula*), a town on a mountain (*bar kūh*), situated on the slope of the mountain and (the bank of a) river (*bar bar-i kūh va rūdh*),¹ and the river Tagus (*Tājh*, read: *Tāju*) encircles it.

3. TUDELA (*Tuṭayla*, spelt: *B.ṭila*), a town situated near the mountains. In it an extraordinary (*bī andāza*) number of sable-martens (*samūr*) is found; (their skins) are exported to different places (*ba-jāy-hā*).

4. LERIDA (*Lārīda*), SARAGOSSA (*Sarquṣ*, usually: *Saraqusta*), SHANTARIYA, * REGIO (? ر.ج. * *Rayyu*), ÉCIJA (*Isinja*, spelt: *Istinja*), JAEN (*Ḥayyān*, spelt: *Khyān*), MORÓN (*Maurūr*, spelt: *Maurūd*), CARMONA (*Qarmūna*), NIEBLA (*Labla*), GHĀFIQ, towns of Spain possessing great amenities, and (frequented by) merchants from Rūm, Maghrib, and Egypt. These towns possess great wealth and have a moderate climate.

5. BEJA (*Bāja*) is an old, wealthy town in Spain.

6. CORIA (*Qūriya*), a small town. In it people are few but there is much wealth.

7. MÉRIDA (*Mārīda*), the largest town in Spain. It has a fortress, a wall, and a moat, all strong.

8. TRUJILLO (*Turjāla*), GUADALAJARA (*Wādī al-Ḥijāra*), two towns belonging to the cold zone of Spain. This is the oldest place (*jā*) in this region (*nāhiyat*).

9. TORTOSA (*Ṭurtūsha*), a prosperous town on the coast of the Rūm Sea, adjacent to the limits of GH.L.J.SK.S (the people of Jacá?) and IFRANJA (Franks), which are two provinces of Rūm.

10. VALENCIA (*Balansiya*), MURCIA (*Mursiya*), PECHINA (*Bajjāna*), pleasant towns in the maritime zone (*bar karāna*) of the straits (*khalij*) of the Rūm Sea.

11. MÁLAGA (*Mālaqa*), a town on the coast (*karān*) of the Rūm Sea. From it come very great numbers of lizard-skins (*pūst-i sūsmār*) used for the hilts of swords (*qabḍa-yi shamshīr*).

12. ALGECIRAS (*Ḥazīra*), a borough on the coast of the straits. At the beginning of the Islamization (*musalmānī*) Spain was conquered from this town (*az in shahr bigushādhand*).

13. MEDINA SIDONIA (*Sadūna*), SEVILLA (*Ishbiliya*), OCSONABA (*Ukhshunaba*), boroughs in the maritime region (*bar karān*) of the

¹ The phrase is awkward: * *va* [lab-i] *rūdh*?

Western Ocean. They are places with few amenities and sparsely populated.

14. SANTAREM (*Shantarīn?*), the farthest town of Spain in the maritime zone of the Ocean. From it comes extremely good ambergris ('*anbar-i ashhab*) in great quantities.

Within the limits of Maghrib [sic] there is no other place.

§ 42. Discourse on the Country of Rūm, its Provinces and Towns

East of this country lie Armenia, the Sarīr, and the Alān (*al-Lān*); south of it, some parts of Syria, of the Rūm Sea, and of Spain; west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, some Uninhabited Lands 37a (*virānī*) of the North, some parts | of the countries of the Ṣaqlāb and Burjā(n) (*ba'dī hudūd-i Ṣaqlāb va ba'dī nāḥiyat-i Barjā-st* [sic]), and some parts of the Khazar Sea (*daryā-yi Khazarān*). This country is extremely vast; it abounds in amenities beyond description (*bī andāza*), and is extremely prosperous. It has many towns, villages, and great provinces, all with extensive fields, running waters, wealth, and troops. In it small lakes (*daryāyak-hā*), mountains, and very numerous fortresses (*ḥiṣār*) and castles (*qal'a*) are found. It produces in great quantities brocades (*jāma-yi dībā*), *ṣundus*-textiles (of silk), *maysānī*-(textiles?), carpets (*tanfasa*), stockings, and valuable trouser-cords.

The provinces of Rūm are fourteen; three lie behind (*az pas*) the straits of Constantinople on their western side; and eleven provinces lie east of the straits.

Those that lie westwards are as follows:

1. The first is ṬĀBLĀN in which Constantinople is situated. The latter is the seat of the kings of Rūm and a place of great wealth.

2. The other is MACEDONIA (*Maqadūniya*). Alexander of Rūm was a native of it. It lies by the Rūm Sea.

3. The third is Thrace (*Thrāqiya*, spelt: *Brāqiya*) which lies by the Georgian Sea (*daryā-yi Gurz*).

As regards the other eleven provinces which lie eastwards of the straits of Constantinople, they bear the following names: 4. THRACE-SION (spelt: *Brqsis*); 5. OPSIKION (spelt: *Absyq*); 6. OPTIMATON (spelt: *Aftmāt*); 7. SELEUCIA (*Salūqiya*); 8. ANATOLICON (*Nātliq*); 9. BUCCELLARION (spelt: *Bqlār*); 10. PAPHLAGONIA (*Aflakhūniya*); 11. CAPPADOCIA (*Qabādhaq*, spelt: *Fyādq*); 12. CHARSIANON (*Khar-shana?*); 13. ARMENIACON (*Arminyāq*); 14. CHALDIA (*Khāldiya*).

Each of these provinces (themes) is vast and has numerous towns,

villages, castles, fortresses, mountains, running waters, and amenities. In each of these provinces lives a commander-in-chief (*sipāhsallār*) on behalf of the king of Rūm (*az ān-i malik al-Rūm*), with numerous troops numbering from 3,000 men to 6,000 horse [sic] and (destined) to guard the province (*mar nigāh dāshtan-i nāhiyat rā*).

In the days of old cities were numerous in Rūm (*andar Rūm shahr-i qadīm andar bisyār būdh*, read: *andar qadīm*?), but now they have become few. Most of the districts (*rustā-hā*) are prosperous and pleasant, and have (each) an extremely strong fortress (*bā hiṣārī sakht bisyār ustuvār*), on account of the frequency of the raids (*tākhtan*) which the fighters for the faith (*ghāziyān*) direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle (*qal'a*) where in time of flight [they may take shelter].¹

And these provinces, with large villages, and whatever there is (in them) of towns,² are such as we have represented them and shown on the Map (*ṣūrat*).

15. GURZ (Georgia?) is also a province of Rūm; most of its (population) live on small islands. By (?) the sea of Gurz they have a land (*shahr*) called Gurz which lies in Rūm on the coast of the said sea.³ All the customs (*akhlāq*) of these people resemble exactly and in every respect (*rāst ba-hama rūy*) those of the people of Rūm (*Rūmiyān*).

16. BURJĀN, a province with a district (*shahr*) called Thrace (spelt: *B.rqiya*); it is a flourishing place, much favoured by nature but having little wealth (*khurram va bisyār-ni'mat va kam-khwāsta*). Taking it altogether it is steppe and cultivated lands (*va digar hama ṣahrā-st va kisht-u-barz*). It is a prosperous place and has running waters. It is a part of Rūm and (its people) pay land-taxes (*kharāj*) to the king of Rūm.

17. CHRISTIANIZED SLAVS (*al-Ṣaqāliba al-mutanaṣṣira*), a province of Rūm, in which live the Slavs who have become Christians (*Ṣaqlābi-yi tarsā gashta*). They pay land-taxes (*kharāj*) to the king of Rūm. They are wealthy (*tuvangar*) people and their country is pleasant and safe.

18. BULGHARĪ, is the name of a people living on the mountain Bulgharī (*qaumī-st bar kūh-i Bulgharī nishinand*) to the north-west of Rūm. They are infidels (*kāfir*). They too are Rūmī, but are

¹ *Ki andar gurikhtan*. . . . Something omitted by the scribe: **ba-ānjā panā-hand*.

² The text is awkward: the words “villages” and “towns” ought to come in inverted order.

³ *Va bishtar az vay andar jazira-hā-and khurd. Va andar* [sic] *daryā-yi *Gurz īshān-ra shahrī-st ki *Gurz khwānand va andar Rūm-ast bar karān-i in daryā*.

perpetually at war with the other Rūmīs. These Bulgharī are mountaineers, possessing fields and great numbers of cattle.

This country of Rūm stretches westwards (*ba maghrib bikashad*) down to the Western Ocean, and its southern side (*sūy*) marches
 37b with Spain. Towards | the north it marches with the Uninhabited Lands of the North, and includes some (*pāra-i*) deserts. In all the other places of Rūm there are no deserts; on the contrary (*illā*) cultivated lands (*ābādhānī*) are everywhere.

19. IFRANJA, a province of Rūm adjoining the Rūm Sea.

20. RŪMIYA (Rome), a town on the coast of this sea, belonging to Ifranja. In the days of old the seat of the kings of Rūm was in this Rūmiya.

21. *B.SKŪN.S (Vascones, Basques), *GH.LJ.SK.S (the people of Jacá?), are two provinces between Ifranja and Spain. The (people) are Christians.

22. BRITANNIA (*Bariṭiniya*), the last land (*shahr*) of Rūm on the coast of the Ocean. It is an emporium (*bārgāh*) of Rūm and Spain.

From the limit of the straits (of Constantinople) down to Spain whatever is on the shore of the Sea of Rūm is called "the coast of Athens" (*sāhil-i Athinās*).

23. YŪNĀN (Greece) was in the days of old a town of this Athens¹ and all the sages and philosophers arose (*khāsta*) from this region of Athens (*nāḥiyat-i A.*).

§ 43. Discourse on the Slav Country (*Ṣaqlāb*).

East of this country are the Inner Bulghārs (*Bulghār-i andarūnī*) and some of the Rūs; south of it, some parts of the Gurz sea and some parts of Rūm; west and north of it everywhere are the deserts of the Uninhabited Lands of the North. This is a vast country with extremely numerous trees growing close together (*payvasta*). The people live among the trees and sow (*kisht*) nothing except millet (*arzan*). They have no grapes but possess plenty of honey from which they prepare wine and the like. Their vessels (casks) for wine (*khunb-i nabīdh*) are made of wood, and there are people (*mard buvadh kī*) who annually prepare a hundred of such vessels of wine. They possess herds of swine (*ramma-hā-yi khūg*) which are just like (*ham chinānk*) herds of sheep. They burn the dead. When a man dies, his wife, if she loves him, kills herself. They all wear shirts and shoes over the ankles (*pirāhan va mūza tā ba ka'b*). All of them are fire-worshippers. They possess string instruments (*ālāt-hā-yi rūdh*) unknown in the Islamic

¹ *Shahrī būd az īn Athinās*. Perhaps: **Shahr būd* "was the country (belonging) to this (town) of Athens."

countries (*andar musalmāni*), on which they play. Their arms are shields, javelins (*zūpin*), and lances. The Ṣaqlāb king is called S.mūt-swyt (or *Bsmūt-swyt*, بسموت سويت خوانند). The food of their kings is milk. They spend the winter in huts and underground dwellings (*kāz-hā va zīr-zamīn-hā*). They possess numerous castles and fortresses. They dress mostly in linen stuffs. They think it their religious duty (*vājib andar dīn*) to serve the king. They possess two towns.

1. VĀBNĪT is the first town on the east of the Ṣaqlāb and some (of its inhabitants) resemble the Rūs.

2. KHURDĀB, a large town and the seat of the king.

§ 44. Discourse on the Rūs Country and its Towns

East of this country are the mountains of the Pechenegs; south of it, the river Rūtā (رتا, ?); west of it, the Ṣaqlābs; north of it, the Uninhabited Lands of the North. This is a vast country, and the inhabitants are evil-tempered (*badh ṭab'*), intractable (*badh-rag va nā-sāzanda*), arrogant-looking (*shūkh-rūy*), quarrelsome (*sitīza-kār*), and warlike (*ḥarb-kun*). They war with all the infidels (*kāfir*) who live round them, and come out victorious (*bihtar āyand*). The king is called Rūs-khāqān. It is a country extremely favoured by nature with regard to all the necessities (of life). One group (*gurūh*) of them practise chivalry (*muruvvat*). They hold the physicians in respect (*ṭabībān rā buzurg dārand*). They annually pay the tithe on their booty and commercial profits (*ghanīmat va bāzurgāni*) to the government (*sultān*). Among them lives a group of Slavs who serve them. Out of 100 cubits (*gaz*) of cotton fabric (*karbās*), more or less, they sew trousers which they put on (*andar pūshand*), tucking them up above the knee (*bar sar-i zānū gird karda dārand*). They wear woollen bonnets (*ba sar bar nihādha dārand*) with tails let down behind their necks (*dum az pas-i qafā furū hishta*). They bury the dead with all their belongings (*bā har chi bā khwishtan dāradh*), | clothes, and 38a ornaments (*pirāya*). They (also) place in the grave, with the dead, food and drinks (*ṭa'ām va sharāb*).

1. KŪYĀBA (? Kūbāba, &c.) is the town [land?] of the Rūs lying nearest to the Islamic lands. It is a pleasant place and is the seat of the king. It produces various furs (*mūy*) and valuable swords.

2. Ṣ.LĀBA (? صلابه), a pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade (? *bā bāzurgāni āyand*) to the districts of Bulghār.

3. URTĀB (? ارتاب), a town where strangers are killed whenever they visit it. It produces very valuable blades and swords which can be bent in two (*ū rā du tāh tavān kardan*), but as soon as the hand is removed they return to their former state.

§ 45. Discourse on the Country of the Inner Bulghārs¹

East of it (live) the Mirvāt [so spelt]; south of it, is the Gurz Sea; west of it, the Ṣaqlābs; north of it, the Rūs mountain. It is a country without towns. The people are courageous, warlike, and terror-inspiring (*bā haybat*). Their nature resembles that of the Turks living near the Khazar country. The Inner Bulghārs are at war with all the Rūs, but carry on commerce (*bāzurgān*² *kunand*) with all those who live around them (*az gird-i vay*). They possess sheep, arms, and implements of war (*ālāt-i ḥarb*).

§ 46. Discourse on the Country of Mirvāt

East of it are some mountains, and some of the Khazarian Pechenegs (*Bachanāk-i Khazar*); south of it, some of the Khazarian Pechenegs and the Gurz Sea; west of it, some parts of the latter (*ba'ḍi daryā-yi Gurz*), and the Inner Bulghārs; north of it, some of the latter and the V.n.nd.r mountains. They are Christians and speak two languages: Arabic (*tāzi*!) and Rūmī (Byzantine Greek?). They dress like the Arabs. They are on friendly terms (*yāri kunand*) with the Turks and the Rūm. They own tents and felt-huts (*khudāvandān-i qubba va khargāh*).

§ 47. Discourse on the Country of the Khazarian Pechenegs

East of it is the mountain of the Khazars; south of it, are the Alāns; west of it, is the Gurz Sea; north of it, are the Mirvāt. These people were formerly a group of the Pecheneg Turks (*Turkān-i Bachanāki*); they came here, took the country by conquest (*ba ghalaba in nāḥiyat bisitadand*), and settled down in it. They own felt-huts and tents (*khargāh va qubba*), cattle, and sheep. They wander within the same territory on the grazing grounds situated in the Khazar mountains. The Khazar slaves brought (*uftadh*) to the Islamic lands (*musalmānī*) are mostly from here.

These three (last) named countries are little favoured by nature (*kam-nī'mat*).

§ 48. Discourse on the Country of the Alāns (*al-Lān*) and its Towns

East and south of it is the Sarīr; west of it, Rūm; north of it, the Gurz Sea and the Khazarian Pechenegs. All this country is broken and mountainous (*andar shikastagī-hā va kūh-hā*) and is favoured by

¹ *Bulghār-i andarūni*.

² Cf. p. 159, l. 37.

nature. Their king is a Christian. They possess 1,000 large villages. Among them there are both Christians and idol-worshippers (*but-parast*). Some of the people are mountaineers and some plain-dwellers.

1. KĀSAK, a land (*shahr*) of the Alān on the coast of the Gurz Sea. It is a pleasant place and there are merchants in it.

2. KHAYLĀN (?), the town where the king's army is stationed.

3. DAR-I ALĀN ("the Alān gate"), a town situated like a fort on the summit of a mountain. Every day 1,000 men by turn mount guard on its wall.¹

§ 49. Discourse on the Sarīr Country and its Towns

East and south of it are the borders of Armenia; west of it, the Rūm limits; north of it, the Alān country. This is an extremely pleasant country consisting of mountains and plains. It is reported that in its mountains live flies, each as big as a partridge (*chand kabkī*). Every now and then (*har chand gāhī*) this king sends to the place where the flies dwell large quantities of carrion of slaughtered or dead cattle and of game (*shikāri-hā*) to be thrown there for their nourishment, for if they grow hungry, they come and devour every man (*mardum*) and animal | whom they may meet.

38 b

1. THE KING'S CASTLE (*Qal'a-yi malik*) is an extremely huge (*sakht 'aẓīm*) castle on the summit of a mountain. The seat (*nishast*) of the King is in that fort, and he is said to possess an extremely grand throne (*takhtī sakht 'aẓīm*) of red gold.

2. KHANDĀN (Khaydān?) is the town serving as a residence (*nishast*) for the generals (*sipāh-sālārān*) of that king.

3. R.BKH.S (*R.nj.s?*), M.SQ.Ṭ, two very prosperous towns.

From both these countries (*nāhiyat*)² numerous slaves are brought to the Islamic countries.

§ 50. Discourse on the Country of the Khazars³

East of it is a wall stretching between the mountains and the sea, and for the rest (*digar*) the sea and some parts of the river Ātil [sic]; south of it, the Sarīr; west of it, mountains; north of it, the B.rādhas and N.nd.r (*V.n.nd.r). This is a very pleasant and prosperous country with great riches. From it come cows, sheep, and innumerable slaves.

1. ĀTIL, a town divided by the river Ātil. It is the capital of the Khazars and the seat of the king, who is called Ṭarkhān Khāqān and

¹ Cf. § 5, 18 c.

² i.e., the Alān and the Sarīr.

³ *Nāhiyat-i Khazarān*.

is one of the descendants of Ansā (?). He lives with all his troops in the western half of the town which possesses a wall. In the other half live Muslims and idol-worshippers. This king has in this town seven governors (*hākīm*) belonging to seven different creeds. At any hour (*ba har sā'atī*) when a more important litigation arises (*chūn dāvarī buzurgtar uftadh*), they ask the king for instructions (*dastūri*), or inform him of the decision (taken) on that litigation.

2. SAMANDAR, a town on the sea-coast. It is a pleasant place, with markets and merchants.

3. *KHAMLĪKH (حجج?), *BALANJAR (بحر), BAYDĀ, SĀVGHAR (?), KH.TL.GH, L.KN, SWR, MS..T (*M.sq.t?*), towns of the Khazars, all with strong walls. The well-being (*ni'mat*) and wealth of the king (*mlk*, **malik* or **mulk?*) of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs (*bāz-i daryā*).

4. TŪLĀS, LŪGH.R (?), two regions of (*az*) the Khazar (country). The people are warlike and have great numbers of arms.

§ 51. Discourse on the Country of Burtās [read: *Bulghār!*]

East and south of it are the Ghūz; west of it, the river Ātil; north of it, the Pecheneg country. The people are Muslims and have a particular (*khāṣṣa*) language. The king is called Mus (?). They own tents and felt-tents and are divided into three hordes (*gurūh*): *BARCHŪLA (spelt: *B.hḏwla*), ISHKIL (Ashgil? &c.), and B.LKĀR. They are all at war with each other but if an enemy appears they become reconciled (*yār*).¹

§ 52. Discourse on the Country of B.rādhās

East of it is the river Ātil; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, the V.n.nd.r [sic]; north of it, the Turkish Pechenegs (*Bachanāk-i Turk*). They are a people professing the creed of the Ghūz. They own felt-huts, and burn their dead. They obey the Khazars (*andar tā'at-i Khazariyān*). Their wealth is in weasel-furs (*pūst-i dala*). They have two kings who keep separate from each other (*nayāmizand*).

§ 53. Discourse on the Country of V.n.nd.r

East of it are the B.rādhās; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, mountains; north of it, the Majgharī. They are cowards (*badh-dil*), weak, poor (*darvīsh*), and possess few goods (*khwāsta*).

¹ Immediately after this must follow wrongly placed between §§ 53 and 54. the paragraph on the Bulghār towns,

All these [countries] which we have enumerated are all countries, both of Islamic and Infidel dominions (*Musalmānī va Kāfirī*), situated in the northern part of the oecumene (*nāḥiyat-i shimāl az ābādhānī-yi jihān*).

{1. BULGHĀR, a town to which belongs a small province (*nāḥiyat*) on the bank of the river Ātil. The inhabitants are all Muslims. From (Bulghār) some 20,000 horsemen (*mard-i savār*) come out who fight against any number (*bā har chand kī buvad*) of infidel troops and have the upper hand. The place is extremely (*sakht va bisyār*) pleasant.

2. SUVĀR, a town near Bulghār. In it live fighters for the faith similar to (the people of) Bulghār.}¹

§ 54. Discourse on Southern Countries

| As regards southern countries, all their inhabitants are black 39 a (*ammā nāḥiyat-hā-yi junūb-rā mardumān-ash siyāh-and*) on account of the heat of their climate. Most of them (go) naked. In all their lands (*zamīn*) and provinces (*nawāḥi*) gold is found. They are people distant from the standards of humanity (*az i'tidāl-i mardī dūr*).

§ 55. Discourse on the Country of Zangistān and its Towns

It is the largest (*mihtarīn*) country in the south. Some of its eastern regions adjoin Zābaj; its north adjoins the Great Sea; some of its western parts adjoin Abyssinia; on its south are mountains. Their soil is (full of) gold-mines. The country is situated opposite Pārs, Kirmān, and Sind. The people are full-faced (*tamām-ṣūrat*), with large bones, and curly hair (*ja'd-mū*). Their nature is that of wild animals (*dadhagān va bahā'im*). They are extremely black. Enmity reigns between them and the Abyssinians and Zābaj.

1. M.LJĀN (M.ljmān?), a town of the Zang on the sea-coast (*bar karāna-yi daryā*). It is the haunt of the merchants visiting those parts.

2. SUFĀLA, the seat of the Zang king.

3. ḤWFL (حوئل), the town which in this country is by far the richest in goods (*bisyār-khwāstatarīn*).

§ 56. Discourse on the Country of Zābaj and its Towns

West and partly south of it is the country of Zangistān; north of it, the sea; for the rest² (it is contiguous with) the Southern

¹ The passage in { } belongs to § 51. a part) of the Southern Uninhabited

² Or: “and altogether (this country is Lands”.

Uninhabited Lands (*va dīgar hama biyābān-i junūb-ast*). This country and its inhabitants are all like the Zang, but they are somewhat (*lakhti*) nearer to humanity (*mardumi*). Their king is called M.nḥ.b (?). They constantly war with Zangistān. In the mountains of Zābaj grow camphor-trees, and snakes are found which are said to swallow at a gulp (*ba yak bār*) men, buffaloes, and elephants. A few Muslims and (some) merchants are found in it.

1. M.NJ.RĪ, a town on the sea-coast, possessing much gold.

2. M.LḤ.MĀN (?), the king's residence. (But) these Zābaj possess on the sea a great island and in summer their king resides there.

§ 57. Discourse on the Country of Abyssinia and its Towns

East of it live some Zang; south and west of it is a desert; north of it lie the sea and some parts of the Barbarī Gulf. (The inhabitants of) this (country) have faces of the average size (*bā i'tidāl-i šūrat*).¹ The people are black and lazy, but with high aspirations (*bā himmat-i buzurg-and*), and obedient (*farmān bardār*) to their king. The merchants of 'Omān, Hījāz, and Baḥrayn come here.

1. RĀSUN (**Jaramī*), a town on the sea-coast and the king's residence.

2. S.WĀR, the town where the army of the Abyssinian king is stationed.

3. RYN (**Zayla'*), the town where the commander-in-chief resides with (his) army. In this province gold is abundant.

§ 58. Discourse on the Country of Buja

East, south, and west of it is the desert . . . and north of it is that desert which lies between Abyssinia, Buja, Nubia, and the sea.² . . . He does not mix with his people except by necessity. And in their soil . . . huge, and the residence of the king of Buja is there. . . .

[§ 59. Discourse on the Country of Nubia]

. . . is the south, and north of it is the country . . . sociable and
 39 b moderate . . . called Kābīl³ and they . . . | a place of Raml al-Ma'dan is 20 farsangs.

ṬARĪ (Ṭahī?), a small province lying in the desert between the limits of Nubia and the Sūdān⁴; in it lie two remote [?] monasteries belonging to the Christians (*du ṣauma'a-st b'd [*ba'id?]*⁵ *az ān-i tarsāyān*). It is reported that in them (*andar vay*) live 12,000 monks

¹ Contrary to the Sudanese, cf. § 60.

² The edge of the fol. 39 is torn and the remaining words of the lines 20-3 make no complete sense.

³ Cf. § 6, 63.

⁴ Cf. Appendix B.

⁵ Neither *bu'd* nor *ba'd* nor *bi-'add* make any good sense.

(*mard-i rāhib*), and whenever one of them disappears (*kam shavadh*) from Nubia, one of the Christians of Upper Egypt (*Ṣa'id*) goes there.

§ 60. Discourse on Sūdān and its Towns

Its east and south are contiguous with the Southern Uninhabited Lands (*ba biyābān-i junūb bāz dāradh*); west of it is the Western Ocean; north of it is the desert separating the Sudanese (*ishān*) from Maghrib. This is an extremely vast country and (its area) is said to be 700 farsangs by 700 farsangs. It is the country from which eunuchs (*khādimān*) mostly come. Their soil is entirely auriferous (*hama ma'dan-i zar*). Their king is the best man from among these negroes and they call the king Rā'ī b. Rā'ī (?)¹ and he pretends during each three days to drink only three cups of wine (*va chinān numāyadh ki man ba-har si rūz si qadah nabīdh khuram, va bas*). From Sūdān to Egypt is a camel ride of 80 days. On that road there is only one place with water and grass, that is all (*va digar hich nist*). The people are cowards (*badh-dil*), and covetous in business. The upper part of their body is short, and the lower part long. They are slender (*bārik-tan*), thick-lipped (*siṭabr-lab*), long-fingered, and large-faced (*buzurg-ṣūrat*). Most of them go about naked. Egyptian merchants carry there salt, glass (*ābgina*), and lead (*arziz*), and sell them for the same weight in gold (*ba hamsang-i zar*). A group of them wanders in this region of theirs, camping at the places where they find more gold ore (*rag-i zar*). In the southern parts there is no more populous (*bisyār-mardumtar*) country than this. The merchants steal their children and bring them (with them). Then they castrate (*khiṣi*) them, import them into Egypt, and sell them. Among themselves there are people who steal each other's children and sell them to the merchants when the latter arrive.

1. Ḥ.RĀN, a large town and the residence of the kings. In it men and women go dressed, but children remain naked until they have got beards (*rish bar-ārānd*). They are the most sociable people in this country.

2. KH.FĀN, RYN, two boroughs near the frontier of Maghrib, and (their inhabitants) possess much gold (*va in mardumāni bisyār-zar-and*).

3. M.QYS (?), a large town and the residence of the commander-in-chief of that king.

4. LĀBA, a country (*shahr*) in the neighbourhood (*nazdiktār*) of the limits of Nubia. The people are thieves (*duzd*), poor (*darvish*), naked, and the most despicable (*madhmūm*) of all this country.

¹ راعي راى خوانند *malik [rā] rā'ī bin (?) rā'ī? khwānand?

§ 61. Epilogue¹ of the book

The inhabited (*ābādhān*) countries of the world are those [which we have enumerated] . . . in the Islamic and Infidel countries . . . in eastern, western, northern, and southern regions. After having looked up in all the books . . . we have included (*bāz āvardīm*) in this book, but we have rejected its (their ?) superfluities (*hashwiyat* ?). As regards the inhabited part of the world . . . which (has been the subject of) astronomical observations (*raṣad*). . . . and it was not very much. Therefore each town [which Ptolemy ??] . . . and other astronomers who were after him. . . .

[*Colophon*] . . . the poor ʿAbd al-Qayyūm ibn al-Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī al-Fārisī . . . in the year 656, and praises be to God, Lord of the Worlds.

¹ *Andar khatmat* (?).

PART III

COMMENTARY ON THE
TRANSLATION OF THE
ḤUDŪD AL-‘ĀLAM

By V. MINORSKY

DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES

I. Khurdādhbih	first draft		232/846
	second „		272/885
Sulaymān	written down		237/851
	completed by Abū Zayd		304/916
Ya'qūbī, <i>Geography</i>			278/891
Jayhānī	became vazīr		302/914
I. Faqīh	[used Jayhānī]	circa(?)	290/903
I. Rusta		circa or after	300/912
Balkhī	wrote	circa	308/920
Battānī	died		317/929
Qudāma, <i>Kitāb al-kharāj</i>		after	316/928
Iṣṭakhri, <i>Kitāb al-masālik</i>	written	circa	318-21/930-3
	published	circa	340/951
Mas'ūdī, <i>Murūj al-dhahab</i>			332/943
„ <i>al-Tanbih</i>			345/956
Hamdānī	died		334/945
I. Ḥauqal		circa	367/977
<i>Ḥudūd al-'Ālam</i>	begun		372/982
Maqdisī, <i>Aḥsan al-taqāsīm</i>	text		375/985
	additions		387/997
Bīrūnī, <i>Chronology</i>			390/1000
„ <i>India</i>		circa	421/1030
„ <i>Canon</i>		circa	421/1030
„ <i>al-Taḥfīm</i>		circa	421/1030
Gardīzī, <i>Zayn al-akhbār</i>			442/1050
Bakrī	died		487/1094
Kāshgharī, <i>Dīwān-l-al-Turk</i>			466/1074
		[or	470/1077]
Idrīsī, <i>Nuzhat al-mushtāq</i>			548/1154
'Aufī, <i>Ḥawāmi' al-hikāyāt</i>		before	633/1236
I. Sa'id	lived		610-85/1214-86
Abul-Fidā, <i>Taqwīm al-buldān</i>			721/1321

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations comprises only the main works quoted throughout the commentary. Some of the books specially consulted for particular subjects will be referred to under the respective chapters, though even such indications must certainly not be taken for an exhaustive "bibliography" of the given subject. A tentative list of authorities on eastern Europe is prefixed to § 43.

- Abul-Fidā**—*Taqwīm al-buldān*, Arabic text ed. by Reinaud and de Slane, Paris, 1840. Cf. also Reinaud, *Introduction*.
- Bakrī**—al-Bakrī in Baron Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī*, &c., SPb., 1878 [the quotation from Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb reprinted as annex to F. Westberg, *Kommentariy na zapisku Ibrahima*, SPb., 1903]. See notes §§ 40, 43-53.
- Barthold, Christentum**—Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien*, Leipzig, 1901 [Russian original in *ZVO*, viii (1893), 1-39].
- Barthold, Ibn-Sa'id**—Barthold, *Geografiya Ibn Sa'ida*, in *Festschrift zu Ehren D. Chwolson*, Berlin, 1898.
- Barthold, Irrigation**—Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, SPb., 1914 ("History of Irrigation in Turkestan").
- Barthold, Obzor**—Barthold, *Istoriko-geograficheskiy obzor Irana*, SPb., 1903 [Persian translation by Sardādvār, Tehrān, 1308/1930].
- Barthold, Preface**—Barthold's *Preface* to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, v.s., pp. 1-44.
- Barthold, Report**—Barthold, *Otchot o poyezdke v Sredn'uyu Aziyu*, 1893-4, SPb., 1897 ("Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia in 1893-4"), in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIII^e série, tome i, No. 4.
- Barthold, Semirechye**—Barthold, *Ocherk istorii Semirechya*, in *Pam'atnaya knizhka oblastnogo statisticheskago Komiteta Semirech. oblasti na 1898*, tome ii, Verniy, 1898.
- Barthold, Turkestan**—Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, GMS, 1928 [Russian original: *Turkestan v epokhu Mongolskago nashestviya*, SPb., 1900, consists of 2 volumes: I (selection of illustrative texts in Oriental languages) and II (Russian text); English edition gives the translation only of II with cross-references to the pages of the original].
- Barthold, Vorlesungen**—Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* [original in Turkish], deutsche Bearbeitung von Th. Menzel, published in *Die Welt des Islams* (1932-5) and separately 1935.
- Battānī**—*Al-Battānī sive Albatēnii Opus Astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, in *Pubblicazioni del real osservatorio di Brera in Milano*, N. xl, Pars I (versio capitum), 1903; Pars II (versio tabularum), 1907; Pars III (textus arab.), 1899.
- Bayhaqī**—Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Bayhaqī, *History of Sultān Mas'ūd*, ed. Morley, Calcutta, 1862 [a better lithographed edition, Tehrān, 1295 A.H.].

- BGA**—*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje.
- Bīrūnī, Canon**—al-Bayrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1997, ff. 97–103 (see also Sprenger). [Cf. Appendix B.]
- Bīrūnī, Tafhīm**—al-Bayrūnī, *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awā'il šinā'at al-tanjīm* [written in 470/1029], reproduced from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349, the translation . . . by R. Ramsay Wright, London, 1934.
- Chavannes, Documents**—E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, SPb., 1903 (published as vol. vi of *Sbornik trudov Orkhonskoy ekspeditsii*).
- Cœdès**—G. Cœdès, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême Orient depuis le IV^e siècle av. J. C. jusqu'au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1910.
- Dietrich**—K. Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5.–15. Jhd.), published as vol. v of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde*, Leipzig, 1912 (2 vols.).
- EI**—*Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1913 (in progress).
- Elliot-Dowson**—Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, i–viii, 1867–77.
- Fārs-nāma**—*The Fārs-nāma of Ibnu'l Balkhī*, ed. by Le Strange and Nicholson, GMS, 1921.
- Ferrand, Relations**—Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1913–14, 2 vols.
- Gardīzī**—Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār* (geographical chapters) in Barthold, *Report*, pp. 78–103 (Persian text), pp. 103–47 (translation).
- Gardīzī, ed. M. Naẓīm**—Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zaynu'l-Akhbār* composed by Abū Sa'id 'Abdu'l Ḥayy b. aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk [*Zuhāk?] b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī, about 440 A.H., edited by Muḥammad Nāẓīm, Berlin (İrānschāhr), 1928.
- GMS**—Gibb Memorial Series.
- H. - 'Ā.**—*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*.
- Honigmann, Ostgrenze**—E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Bruxelles, 1935 (published as vol. iii of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*), Maps.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Life (Beal)**—*The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, by S. Beal, London, 1911.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Life (Julien)**—*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, tr. du chinois par S. Julien, Paris, 1863.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Si-yu-ki (Beal)**—*Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr. by S. Beal, London, 1884.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Si-yu-ki (Julien)**—*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales par Hiouen-Thsang*, traduits par S. Julien, Paris, 1857–8.
- Hsüan-Tsang (Watters)**—Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645 A.D.* Oriental Transl. Fund, N.S., xiv, London, 1904.
- Idrīsī**—*Géographie d'Edrisi*, traduite de l'arabe par A. Jaubert, 2 vols., Paris, 1836–40.
- Idrīsī, Tallgren**—Idrīsī, *La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux (Géographie, vii, 4)*, édition critique par O. J. Tallgren-Tuulio et A. M. Tallgren, Helsingfors, 1930 (Societas Orientalis Fennica, Studia Orientalia, iii).
- I.H.**—Ibn Ḥauqal, *BGA*, ii.
- I.Kh.**—Ibn Khurdādhbih, *BGA*, v.

- I.R.**—Ibn Rusta, *BGA*, vii.
- Iṣṭ.**—Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, i.
- Kāshgharī**—Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Diwān lughat al-Turk*, Istanbul, 1333-5 (written in 466/1074, or according to A. Zeki Validi in 470/1077). The map re-edited and explained by K. Miller, *Mappae*, V, 1931, pp. 142-8, and A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte in Imago mundi* 1935, pp. 21-8.
- Kāshgharī-Brockelmann**—Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest, 1928.
- Khuwārizmī**—Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig, 1926 (Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, iii). Cf. Nallino.
- Le Strange, The Lands**—Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905 (reprinted 1930).
- Maq.**—Maqdisī [or Muqaddasī], *BGA*, iii.
- Marquart, Arktische Länder**—Marquart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Dec. 1924, IV, 3-4, pp. 261-334.
- Marquart, Benin**—Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, Leiden 1913.
- Marquart, Catalogue**—Marquart, *A Catalogue of the Principal Capitals of Ērānšahr*, Rome, 1931.
- Marquart, Ērānšahr**—Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901.
- Marquart, Komanen**—Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, Berlin, 1914.
- Marquart, Streifzüge**—Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903.
- Marquart, Wehrot**—Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang* (written towards 1903, printed by Brill, Leiden, 1907, but still unpublished).
- Mas'ūdī, Murūj**—Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861.
- Mas'ūdī, Tanbih**—Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, *BGA*, viii.
- Miller, Mappae**—Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, 6 vols., Stuttgart 1926-31.
- Mohīṭ**—[Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Re'is], *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohīṭ*, übersetzt von Dr. M. Bittner, mit einer Einleitung, sowie mit 30 Tafeln versehen von Dr. W. Tomaschek, Wien, 1897.
- Mžik, Beiträge**—*Beiträge zur historischen Geographie herausgegeben von H. von Mžik*, Leipzig and Wien, 1929.
- Mžik, Parageogr. Elemente**—H. von Mžik, *Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien*, in *Mžik, Beiträge*, pp. 172-202.
- Nallino**—C. A. Nallino, *Al-Ḥuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo* in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, serie v, memorie della classe di scienze morali, vol. ii, pp. 4-53.
- Qudāma**—Qudāma, *BGA*, vi.
- Ramsay, Asia Minor**—W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Royal Geogr. Society, Supplementary Papers, iv, 1890.

- Reinaud, Introduction**—Reinaud, G. A., *La Géographie d'Aboufêda*, vol. i, Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux, Paris, 1848.
- Reinaud, Relation des voyages**. See SULAYMÂN.
- Sarton, Introduction**—G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 1-3, Baltimore, 1927-31, published for the Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- Schwarz, Iran**—P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach d. arabischen Geographien*, i, Leipzig, 1896-1926, ii—in progress (cf. § 36).
- Sprenger, Posttrouten**—Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/3, 1864 (with maps utilizing, among other sources, Bîrûnî's *Canon*).
- Sulaymân**—Sulaymân the Merchant, *Silsilat al-tawârikh* (written down in A.D. 851, completed by Abû Zayd Ḥasan towards A.D. 916), Arabic text ed. by Langlès with commentary by Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris, 1845, new translation by Ferrand, *Voyages du marchand arabe Suleyman*, Paris, 1922. [On Ferrand's translation see notes by Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, xxi, 1922, pp. 399-413.]
- Tomaschek, Nearch**—W. Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Akademie in Wien*, cxxi, No. viii, Wien, 1890.
- Toumansky**—A. Toumansky, *Novootkritiy pers. geograf X stoletiya i izvestiya yego o Slav'anakh i Rusakh*, in *Zap.*, x, 1896, pp. 121-37.
- Ya'qûbî**—Ya'qûbî, *Kitâb al-buldân*, BGA, vii.
- Ya'qûbî, Historiae**—Ya'qûbî, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden, 1883.
- Zap.**—*Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (continued as *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov* and *Zapiski instituta vostokovedeniya*).

Note. My use of brackets may appear not strictly consistent. In principle, and especially in the translation of the *H.-'Ā.*, simple brackets () are used for additions more or less understood in the text, whereas in square brackets [] are given additional explanations not directly belonging to the text. In the notes, square brackets are used for the passages and corrections added after the basic text was printed.

§ 1. Prefatory

THE brevity and simplicity of the style of this Preface are very characteristic. In the whole of the book only one quotation from the Qor'ān is to be found (§ 36, 18.) and only one short phrase in Arabic (§ 39, 6.); apart from the author's patron no other king's name (the caliph's not excepted) is accompanied by any of the usual bombastic epithets.

The Farīghūnids

1. THE AUTHOR'S PATRON. Our book is dedicated to Abul-Hārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, ruler of Gūzgānān (cf. § 23, 26.). The author goes no further in his patron's genealogy and even omits to mention anywhere the name of Farīghūn, usually considered as the eponym of the dynasty to which Abul-Hārith belonged.

2. THE SOURCES ON THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The dynasty is known only by occasional references, chiefly in 'Utbī, Arabic text edited by Manīnī, Cairo, 1286/1869 [in square brackets Persian translation of 602/1205 by Jurbādhaqānī, ed. Tehrān, 1272/1857]: i, 166-7 [114], 184 [131], 209 [147], 275 [189], 277 [191], 316 [213], 343 [232], ii, 84 [298], 98 [304], 101-5 [305-6], 236 [397], and also in Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 85; Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 148, 265; Ibn Ḥauqal, pp. 322-3; Muqaddasī, p. 295; Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, pp. 48, 56, 74; Bayhaqī, ed. Morley, p. 125; *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. xxv, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī Tehrān 1312/1933, p. 90; 'Aufī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī, pp. 25, 294; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, p. 69 (383 H.), 103 (389 H.), 159 (401 H.); Rashīd al-dīn, *Ḥāmi' al-tawārīkh* (the passage reproducing almost verbatim Jurbādhaqānī's Persian translation of 'Utbī is given in Touman-sky's article, *v.i.*, pp. 128-9); Münejjim-bashī, *Saḥā'if al-akhbār*, ii, p. 210 (translated in Sachau, *v.i.*). On the Farīghūnids cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index, and especially Barthold, *Preface*, p. 6; Marquart, *Ērānshāhr*, p. 80; Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis d. muhamm. Dynastien*, 1923, p. 5 (after Münejjim-bashī); Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, p. 205 (*v.s.*, p. 6); M. Nāẓim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 177-8, and Sa'īd Nafīsī in his edition of the *Qābūs-nāma*, pp. 255-9. [*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, Tehrān, 1314.]

3. THE NAME FARĪGHŪN. The eponym's name is clearly associated with the lore of the Oxus basin. Nāṣir-i Khusrau in his *Dīvān*, Tehrān, 1307, pp. 329¹⁸, 355¹⁰, and 474²¹ thrice mentions a فریغون (*Farīghūn) referring to some tyrant who may be identical with the king of Khwārazm Afrīgh quoted in Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 35 (transl. 41). This ruler was supposed to have reigned nine generations before the Prophet Muḥammad (cf. note to § 26, 21.) and "his name was considered a bad omen like that of Yazdagird the Wicked with the Persians". This would suit perfectly the use of the name in N. Khusrau. The correct form of the name seems to be افریغ (Afrīgh, or Ifrīgh) which is only a parallel form of

Farīgh,¹ while the final *-ūn* is probably only a suffix, of which the sense will become clearer when we learn more about the former Iranian language of Khwārazm.² In spite of Bīrūnī and Nāṣir-i-Khusrau's characterization of Farīgh/Farīghūn, the name Afrīghūn was popular in Transoxiana: a traditionalist who lived about 438/1046–7 bore the name of افریغون بن محمد الجویقی السنی.³ [As another example of a name, repulsive in tradition but used in Eastern Iran, may be mentioned Zahāk, or Zuhāk (Iran. *azdahāk*), in Arabic garb ضحاک: the kings of Ghūr considered themselves descendants of the famous tyrant, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, Raverty's transl., p. 302, and ضحاک was the name of the historian Gardīzi's father, more probably called so in view of local associations than in imitation of the purely Arabic ضحاک Ḍaḥḥāk, though the latter was known among the Khārijites, § 10, 47.]

4. THE MA'MŪNIDS WRONGLY CALLED FARĪGHŪNIDS. It is noteworthy that Ghaffārī, in his *Jahān-ārā*, written about 972/1564–5 (Br. Mus., Or. 141, f. 86a) under *salāṭīn-i āl-i Farīghūn ki mulaqqab ba Khwārazmshāh būdand* speaks of the short-lived Khwārazmian dynasty founded by the amīr Abul-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, who in A.D. 996 usurped the power of the ancient Khwārazmshāhs (descendants of Afrīgh). Ghaffārī's blunder passed into Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 230, 237, but was denounced by Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī in his edition of the *Chahār maqāla*, p. 243. The relationship of the Ma'mūnids, enemies of the descendants of Afrīgh, and the Farīghūnids of Gūzgānān is not warranted by any facts, and only the striking likeness of the names *Afrīgh* and *Farīghūn* (*v.s.*) must have partly accounted for Ghaffārī's mistake.

5. AFRĪDHŪN, AS THE ANCESTOR OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The only indication found in our source concerning the origins of the Farīghūnids is that they were descended from Afrīdhūn, § 23, 46. Toumansky has already made a suggestion for the emendation of افریغون into افریغون *Afrīghūn*, and in favour of this hypothesis one could perhaps cite § 9, where the name of the emperor of China's ancestor is spelt *Farīdhūn*, not *Afrīdhūn*. However, the fact is that *Afrīdhūn* is clearly written in our text, and as a matter of fact numerous Turanian kings—the emperor of China making no exception—could claim as their eponym Farīdhūn's son Tūr (see I. Kh., 16, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān* in *EI.*), and Gūzgān lay right on the frontier between Īrān and Tūrān. A more specious consideration would be that if the Farīghūnids (*v.s.*) were to be connected with the Khwārazmian Afrīgh, they would probably have proclaimed as their ancestor the Kayānid Siyāvush (cf. Bīrūnī, *l.c.*) rather than the Pīshdādian Farīdhūn. However, in the popular opinion the

¹ افریغ figures in Sachau's *Zur Gesch. v. Khwārizm*, 1873. The form افریغ, with the initial long *ā*, admitted into Sachau's edition of the *Chronology*, was most probably given preference in order to suit the editor's personal hypothesis on the etymology of the name ["Shedder of water"?], cf. Sachau in *ZDMG*, 1874,

xxviii, 448–52.

² See A. Zaki Validi, "Hwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen *fiqh*-Werke", in *Islamica*, iii, 1922, pp. 190–213.

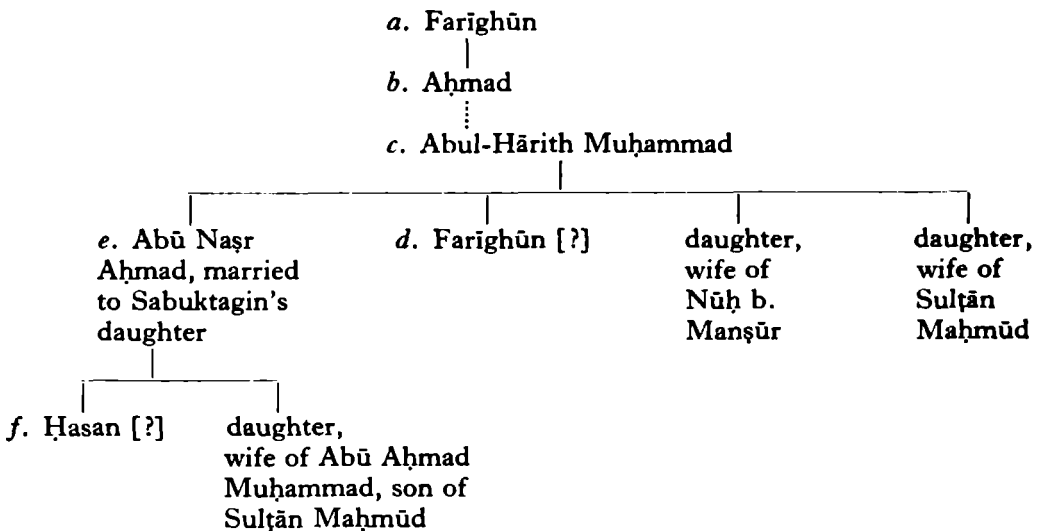
³ See the *History of Samarqand*, Bib. Nat., ms. arabe 6284, f. 18b [I owe the reference to the kindness of Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī].

Kayānids were certainly connected with the Pīshdādians; cf. Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, Copenhagen, 1932, p. 70.

6. THE ORIGINS OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. As Barthold has noticed, *v.s.*, p. 6, we know nothing on the connexion of our Farīghūnids (4th/10th cent.) with the earlier rulers of Gūzgānān whom I. Kh., p. 40, calls Gūzgān-khudāh and on whom Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1569, 1609-11, 1694, gives some details under the years 90, 119, and 120 A.H. Had such a connexion existed, the 10th-11th-cent. writers would hardly have failed to notice it. But our chief source 'Utbi, very favourably disposed to the Farīghūnids, writes only, ii, 101-2: "The province of Gūzgān belonged to the Farīghūn family in the days of the Sāmānids (*qad kānat wilāyat al-ǧūzjān li-āli Farīghūn ayyāma Sāmān*) and they (*i.e.* the Farīghūnids) inherited it from father to son (*kābir 'an kābir*) and bequeathed it from the first to the last (of them)." This text does not suggest the idea that our family had been known previously to the rise of the Sāmānids (3rd/9th cent.).

THE CHART OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The number of the ruling members of the family was certainly very limited. 'Utbi, ii, 101-5, mentions by name only two Farīghūnids, Abul-Hārith and Abū Naṣr, whereas Gardīzī, p. 48, gives the genealogy of the former as Abul-Hārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn.

The genealogical tree of the family may be reconstructed as follows:



The name of *a. FARĪGHŪN* is known to us only from the patronymic of his son (*v.i.*) whom Narshakhī and Gardīzī call Aḥmad ibn Farīghūn, and the *Qābūs-nāma*: Aḥmad-i Farīghūn. It is probable that in this case Farīghūn was a definite person, though in later times, and with regard to other persons, the appellation "ibn Farīghūn" could be used in the general sense of "Farīghūnid" and did not necessarily mean "son of a definite Farīghūn". In view of 'Utbi, ii, 101, this Farīghūn may have lived under the earlier Sāmānids in the 3rd/9th cent. and the Rabāṭ Afrīghūn, *v.s.*, p. 6, may have been associated with his activities.

b. The amīr AHMAD B. FARĪGHŪN is mentioned for the first time towards

287/900 as a prince of some importance. During the struggle of the Sāmānid Ismā'il with the Ṣaffārid 'Amr b. Layth, he was unwilling to help Ismā'il, and was treated by 'Amr on terms of equality not only with the ruler of Balkh but even with Ismā'il, see Narshakhī, p. 85, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 224 [differently in *T.-Sistān*, p. 251]. In a story of the *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. xxv, p. 90, Aḥmad-i Farīghūn appears as the owner of a large herd of mares (who foaled to him 1,000 blue-eyed colts in one day).

c. ABUL-ḤĀRITH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD is the name transmitted to us in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and Gardizī. However, 'Utbī, i, 166 (Persian translation p. 114 incomplete) and ii, 101 (Persian translation pp. 305-6) speaks of Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad [sic] b. Muḥammad who was father of Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [sic]. And the latter form: Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Farīghūnī, also occurs *l.c.* ii, 84. There is therefore no doubt that Marquart and Barthold are right in accepting the name of Abul-Ḥārith as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and of his son as Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, whereas Muḥammad Nāẓim is wrong in interpolating an "Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad" between our c. Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad and d. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad, for such a person is non-existent. 'Utbī's confusion may be accounted for by the fact that two names follow each other closely in his text i, 166-7: the above-mentioned "Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Farīghūnī" and Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. Their names were so similar that the Persian translator wrongly added to the latter the qualification "al-Farīghūnī" which is an evident mistake (*v.i.*). In any case the confusion must have existed in the early manuscripts of 'Utbī's work, for the same *quid pro quo* is found in Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 69 and 159, who followed 'Utbī.

Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad's reign marks the heyday of the Farīghūnid power. The earliest mention of Abul-Ḥārith "b. Farīghūn" (*v.s.*) is found in Iṣṭ., 142, whose work, or its revision, dates probably from 340/951; cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 6 and 19. Some time after 365/976 Abul-Ḥārith gave his daughter to the youthful Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr, Gardizī, 48. In 372/982-4 the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* was dedicated to him. After 380/990, 'Utbī, i, 165-6, he was requested by Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr to march against the rebellious amīr Fā'iḳ, but was defeated by the latter; cf. Ibn al-Athīr under 383 H. In 383/993 Nūḥ on his way to Khorāsān arrived at Gūzgān and was joined by Abul-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī, 'Utbī, i, 184; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 261. In 385/995 during the struggle of Sabuktagin with Fā'iḳ, the former sent for Abul-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī, 'Utbī, i, 209, Gardizī, 56; cf. Barthold, *ibid.* 262. Probably about that time of *rapprochement* with Sabuktagin Abul-Ḥārith gave his daughter to Maḥmūd b. Sabuktagin and took a daughter of Sabuktagin's for his son Abū Naṣr, 'Utbī, ii, 101. When Sabuktagin died (387/997) Abul-Ḥārith first mediated between Maḥmūd and his brother Ismā'il, 'Utbī, i, 275, and then communicated with Maḥmūd when the latter marched on Ghazna, *ibid.* i, 277. Finally, about 389/999, Maḥmūd entrusted the captive Ismā'il to Abul-Ḥārith's care, *ibid.* i, 316; cf. Barthold, *ibid.* 271. This is the last mention of Abul-Ḥārith.

d. In 394 or 395 (A.D. 1004-5) 'Utbī, i, 343, mentions some FARĪGHŪN B. MUḤAMMAD who with 40 generals (*qā'id*) was dispatched by Maḥmūd from Balkh against the last Sāmānid Muntaṣir. The latter at that time was roaming in the region of Andkhudh (v.i., § 23, 61.) and Pul-i Zāghūl (near Marwarrūdh), and it is likely, therefore, that this Farīghūn belonged to the Farīghūnid family and was sent as a person acquainted with the territory of Gūzgānān. We can only suppose that he was a son of Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad, but we have no means by which to ascertain whether his appearance towards 1004-5 indicates some sort of interregnum between Abul-Ḥārith and Abū Naṣr.

e. ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD is mentioned for the first time as "wālī of Gūzgānān" in 398/January 1008 when in the battle near the bridge of Charkhiyān in which the Qara-Khānids were defeated, he, together with Maḥmūd's brother, was in command of the centre of Maḥmūd's army, 'Utbī, ii, 84; cf. Gardīzī, 69 and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 273. In 399/1009 he accompanied Maḥmūd when the latter entered the fortress of Bhīm Nagar in India, 'Utbī, ii, 95. He died in 401/1010-1, *ibid.* ii, 102, and Ibn al-Athīr *sub* 401 H.

f. Bayhaqī, p. 125, describing under 401 the times when the Ghaznavid princes Mas'ūd and Muḥammad, both 14 years old, were living in Zamīn-dāvar while their father Maḥmūd was warring in Ghūr, mentions as their companion "ḤASAN, son of amīr Farīghūn, amīr of Gūzgānān". We know that exactly in 401 A.H. the last known Farīghūnid ruler died, and we may imagine that Ḥasan was the youthful candidate to the throne of Gūzgānān kept, during his minority, with his Ghaznavid cousins. Whose son was this Ḥasan? If we keep literally to Bayhaqī's text: حسن . . . پسر امیر فریغون امیر کوزگانان Ḥasan's father may have been d. Farīghūn b. Muḥammad. But probably "amīr Farīghūn" stands here only for "Farīghūnid ruler", in which case Ḥasan may have been the son of the last Farīghūnid amīr Abū Naṣr Aḥmad. On the other hand, we know that Sulṭān Maḥmūd having married his son Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to a daughter of the amīr Abū Naṣr al-Farīghūnī gave him Gūzgān as a fief (*'aqada lahu 'ala a'māl al-ḥūzjān*) and appointed Abū Muḥammad [b.] Ḥasan b. Mihrān to act as his adviser. The young prince inaugurated in Gūzgān a new era (*wa baraza ilayhā burūz al-sayf min yad al-ṣāqil*), and displayed much solicitude for the population's welfare, 'Utbī, ii, 230. Muḥammad's marriage with the Farīghūnid princess is also confirmed in the *Lubāb al-albāb*, i, 25 and 294. According to Gardīzī, p. 74, the transformation of Gūzgān into a Ghaznavid fief took place in 408/1017-18 and Nāṣir-i Khusrau in his *Dīwān*, ed. Tehrān, 1307, refers to the event in the following verse, p. 8₁₈:

کجاست آنکه فریغونان ز هبت او
ز دست خویش بدادند کوزگانانرا

"Where is he [*i.e.* Maḥmūd] for fear of whom the Farīghūnids let slip Gūzgān from their hands?"

We have enumerated all the known members of the Farīghūn family, and it remains to us only to mention the prince of Chaghāniyān (v.i., § 25, 27.) Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who has been wrongly supposed to be a Farīghūnid; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 254, and more decisively Sa'īd Nafīsī, *o.c.*, p. 258. The appellation "Farīghūnī" has been only by mistake appended to the name of this Abul-Muẓaffar in the Persian translation of 'Utbi, p. 114, and is absent in the Arabic original, i, 167. This Abul-Muẓaffar was dispossessed by his relative Ṭāhir b. Faḍl, but evidently was reinstated after the latter's death. 'Utbi, i, 165, mentions these events some time after 380/990, but according to the *Lubāb al-albāb*, pp. 27-9, Ṭāhir died in 377/987; cf. Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī's notes in the *Chahār-maqāla*, pp. 163-6.

On the possessions of the Farīghūnids see § 23, 46.-66. and Barthold's *Preface*, pp. 5-6.

WRITERS PATRONIZED BY THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. Among the men of letters patronized by the Farīghūnids 'Utbi, ii, 102-5, names Abul-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Ḥusain Badī' al-zamān Hamadhānī (the poem quoted will be found in the latter's *Dīwān*, Cairo, 1321, p. 33) and the poet Abul-Faṭḥ Bustī. Münejjim-baḥḥi adds to their number Khuwārizmī, "author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*".¹ Finally our *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is a tangible proof of Abul Ḥārith Muḥammad's literary and scientific tastes.²

§ 2. Cosmographic

1. Entirely as in I.R., 8, 12, who quotes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī, author of the *Kūtāb fil-ḥarakāt al-samawiya*, who was still alive in A.D. 861; see Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 567.

2. According to I. Kh., 5, the invisible (الذي تحتها "antipodal") part of the world is devoid of inhabitants.

¹ The connexion of the author of the *Mafātīḥ* with the Farīghūnids is probable, as he dedicated his book to the wazīr of the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr [976-97] who was son-in-law of the Farīghūnid Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad. However, the name of the author of the *Mafātīḥ* was Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. Münejjim-baḥḥi by an evident slip calls him *Abū Bakr*, which is the *kunya* of a different Khuwārizmī, namely of Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, author of the *Dīwān Rasā'il*, who died in 383/993 in Nishāpūr; cf. Ibn Khallikān, Paris, 1842, i, 736 [transl. iii, 108].

² E. G. Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 453, mentions among the Farīghūnid clients the poets Daqīqī and Manjik, though he does not quote his authority [Ethé?]. No such statement is found in

'Aufī, Daulatshāh, or the *Majma' al-fuṣaḥā*. According to 'Aufī's *Lubāb al-albāb*, ii, 13-14, Manjik was the panegyrist of the amīr of Chaghāniyān [v.i., § 25, 25.] Abul-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, and Daqīqī, *ibid.*, ii, 11, that of the amīrs of Chaghāniyān [particularly of Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad Muẓaffar Muḥtāj] and of the Sāmānid Maṣṣūr (b. Nūḥ b.) Naṣr b. Aḥmad. Farrukhī in his famous *qasīda* dedicated to Abul-Muẓaffar Chaghānī says: *tā tarāzanday* (sic) *madiḥ-i tu Daqīqī dar gudhasht, z-āfarin-i tu dilāganda chinān k-az dāna nār*, see *Chahār maqāla*, p. 165. The explanation of the error may be the fact that the said amīr Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad had been wrongly taken for a Farīghūnid, v.s., line 3.

3. The inhabited part of the earth is supposed to occupy the whole width of the visible part of it, *i.e.* 180° , while in latitude it occupies 63° in the northern part of it and 17° in its southern part. $180 \times (63 + 17) = 14,400$, while the whole area of the earth (both visible and invisible) = $360 \times 360 = 129,600$. Of the latter number $1/9$ is exactly 14,400. I. Kh., 4, says that the earth is inhabited as far as 24° beyond the Equator, *i.e.* southern lat. 24° . Prof. C. A. Nallino kindly writes to me (Rome, 5. xi. 1932): "Je pense que les chiffres 63° et 17° sont tout simplement l'application de l'idée que l'*oïkouμένη* (ربع المعمور) est la quatrième partie de la surface [*scil.* visible V.M.] du globe terrestre; 63° étant la limite boréale des habitations humaines, et 90° la largeur de l'habitable (sur 180° de longueur), on a fait $90 - 63 = 17$."

5. See § 4, 13. on the island Nāra (*Bāra) lying on the Equator.

§ 3. The Seas and the Gulfs

The word *khalij* stands in the text both for "gulf" and "strait", and *baṭiḥa* both for the real "swamp" and for "lake". Our author uses his own names for the Eastern Seas; cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 32.

1. The Eastern Ocean (cf. § 2, 4.) corresponds more or less to Khuwārizmī's, p. 32, "Sea of Darkness" *al-baḥr al-muẓlim*, and to *al-baḥr al-akhḍar* of Ibn Rusta and Mas'ūdī; cf. Mzik, *Parageographische Elemente*, p. 188. The lands bordering upon the Eastern Ocean are enumerated from the extreme south (more to the east than the Zanj, *v.i.*, 3.) towards China and the Khirkhīz, who on the east of China are supposed to reach the maritime region (§ 14).

2. The Western Ocean is the Atlantic. On its islands see § 4, 17 c.

3. The Great Sea, *i.e.* the Indian Ocean, with its dependencies and the waters adjoining eastern Africa and Arabia, corresponds to the seas which Khuwārizmī, p. 74, calls *baḥr al-Qulzum*, *al-baḥr al-akhḍar*, *baḥr al-Sind*, *baḥr al-Hind*, *baḥr al-Ṣīn*, and *baḥr al-Baṣra*. On the African coast, which is supposed to stretch eastwards parallel to the Equator (see notes to § 55), the Great Sea reaches only up to Zanj.

Of the five gulfs of the Great Sea, (a) is the Gulf of 'Aden, on the southern coast of which Barbarā is situated; cf. *al-khalij al-Barbarā* in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 231-3, and Yāqūt, i, 100 and 966-7. In § 7, 10. the "Gulf of Ayla", mentioned to the south of Arabia, between the Arab [*i.e.* Red] Sea and the Great Sea, is an evident slip for the "Barbarī Gulf". Under § 57 some parts of the Barbarī Gulf are placed north of Abyssinia, and as in § 3a the name Barbarī is given to the gulf off the Sūdān one would imagine that our author, or his source, was somehow influenced by the existence on the Nile of the town of Barbar ("the key of the Sūdān"), which he took for the source of the term *Barbarī*. Under § 7, 12 the confusion of Barbar and Barbarā is still more clear, for the waters east of the Arabian desert (which latter lies between Egypt and the Red Sea) can perhaps be associated with Barbar, but not with Barbarā! (b) the Arab Gulf

(under § 7, 10.: *the Arab Sea*) represents the Red Sea jointly with the Gulfs of Suez and 'Aqaba (Ayla < Roman *Aelana*). Under § 7, 10., the latter is placed on the west [read: *north-west*] of Arabia, while the Arab Sea is mentioned south [read: *south-west*] of Arabia; (c) the Persian Gulf is strangely given the name of the Gulf of 'Irāq. The distance between Kuwait and 'Aqaba is *circa* 1,400 km. and could hardly be travelled over in 16 days even on *mehāris*; (d) is the Gulf of 'Omān with the Arabian Sea, and (e) perhaps that of Bengal.¹

4. It is unexpected to meet Armenia on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean in the tenth century, but here the term *ḥadd* may have the more vague sense of coastal region (cf. under Spain, § 41).

5. Here the author says that the Caspian has no gulfs (or straits?).² On the supposed communication between the Caspian and the Black Sea see note to § 6, 44. On the term *daryā-yi Khazarān* as applied to the Black Sea see § 49, 17.

6. دریای کز (§§ 42 and 45-7: دریای کز) is here clearly identified with the Pontos (بطلس). This double designation of the Black Sea indicates the variety of sources used by our author. The Ptolemaic "Pontos" and "Maeotis" do not appear in the description of separate countries (§ 8 and sqq.). On the strange and abusive use of the term Gurz see notes to § 3, 8. and § 42, 15.

7. The Aral Sea, on which see Barthold, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See*, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde*, Leipzig, 1910 (Russian original, Tashkent, 1902).

[A curious caption is found in Bīrūnī's *Canon* with regard to Balkhān (north of the present-day Krasnovodsk, on the eastern coast of the Caspian sea): لبحان الحره رابطاع ححون عن محراه الى بحر ارواسان ويدر [بلد ؟] حرهان "Balkhān is a deserted place (*khirba*), on account of the Jayḥūn having deflected from its course [and having flowed] towards the *Arvāniyān* (?) sea and the town of Jurjān [read: **Jurjāniya* = Gurgānj, § 26, 25]." Bīrūnī's style is uncouth but the meaning is more likely that given in our translation than that "the [former] course of the Jayḥūn was towards the **Arvāniyān* sea". I do not see any explanation of this name as applied to the Caspian, but with regard to the Aral sea the term may be explained by the name of a certain division of the Kimāk or Qifchaq. In a letter dated 578/1182 the Khwārazm-shāh records the submission of Alp-Qara اوران (or ارزان), with all the Qifchaq tribe, adding that he sent to him his son Fīrān < Pīrān (cf. *infra* p. 295, note 2) with a number of *Yūghūr-zādagān* (v.i. § 18, 3.). Bīrūnī's term ارواسان *Arvāniyān*, *Ūrāniyān*, *Uzāniyān* (?) seems to be a derivation of the family name of these chiefs who apparently ruled in the north of the Aral sea, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 340 and 343, and the accompanying texts, p. 79 (the quotation from Fakhr al-dīn Marvar-rūdī refers to p. 47 of Sir D. Ross's edition).] [See Appendix B.]

8. ماوطن stands undoubtedly for *Maeotis as the Greeks called the Azov

¹ On the *baḥr al-aghbāb* see under India, § 10, 12.

² But see p. 391.

Sea, but the position of our ماوطن is fantastic. Though its junction with the Black Sea, and even the dimensions,¹ are rightly indicated, it is placed north of the Saqlāb and said to communicate with the Western Ocean. This latter detail is confirmed in § 4, 25.-26., with a further indication that some "water" (Baltic Sea?) coming from Ṭuwas (**Tūliya* = Thule) in the extreme north flows into the Maeotis.² This idea of the Maeotis being a connecting link between the Baltic and the Black Sea may reflect the rumours of the usual road of the Normans who utilized Russian lakes and rivers and dragged their boats over the short stretches of dry land intervening between the different basins [Map xii]. Our Maeotis may stand for the northern Russian lakes (Ilmen, Ladoga) near which the Norman Rus (§ 44) had their settlements.³ A further confusion may have arisen out of the fact that several expanses of water were associated with the Normans and that the latter were designated by two different names, *Rūs* and *Varang*.

The sense of our passage (§ 4, 25.-26.) about some "water" connecting the Western Ocean with the Maeotis becomes much clearer in the light of the description of the Baltic Sea in Bīrūnī's cosmographical work *al-Taḥḥīm*,⁴ where it is said that *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt* (= our Western Ocean), beyond Tangier and Andalus (Spain), "stretches northwards along the land of the Ṣaḡāliba, and from it a large gulf separates north of the Ṣaḡāliba which stretches up to the neighbourhood of the Muslim Bulghars' land. This (gulf) is known under the name of *Baḥr Warank* (given it) after the name of the people living on its coast. Then it curves in beyond this people towards the east, and between its coast and the furthest limits of the Turkish lands lie lands and mountains, unknown, barren, and untrodden." Cf. Wiedemann in *Sitzungsber. d. physik.-mediz. Societät zu Erlangen*, Band 44 (1912), p. 4, and Abul-Fidā, text, p. 35, transl., p. 42, where it is stated that the said *Baḥr-Warank* is found only in Bīrūnī's works and in Naṣīr al-dīn (Ṭūsī)'s *Tadhkira*. The real Maeotis, i.e. the Azov Sea, was named by the Muslims equally after the Normans. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 15, says that "in the upper reaches of the Khazar river [i.e. the Volga] there is an outflow (*fī a'ālī nahr al-khazar maṣabb*) which joins⁵ a gulf of the Pontos, which is the Rūs Sea, for no one except them [i.e. the Rūs] navigates it, and they are established on some of its coasts".⁶ Most probably the passage refers to the Azov Sea, and this is confirmed by the later Idrīsī, who makes the *Nahr al-Rūsīya*, as he calls the Tanais (Don), flow into the *Baḥr al-*

¹ Our dimensions correspond to those given by I.R., 86: 'length from west to east 300 miles, width 100 miles' (1 *farsakh* = 3 *mīl*, cf. Maq., 66). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, i, 261 and Bakrī, ed. Rosen, p. 25 (Bakrī literally follows I.R.).

² On a similar idea of the Maeotis stretching towards the North Pole cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 66. I.R., p. 85, makes the Tanais [Don] come out of the Maeotis.

³ And even for the Baltic sea itself!

⁴ Ed. R. Wright, p. 121 [the translation made from the Persian is slightly different from ours].

⁵ Cf. I.H., 276, quoted in the note to § 6, 44.

⁶ Could the latter detail refer to the still mysterious Russian principality of *Tmutarakan* (Const. Porphyr., ch. 42, Ταμταρακα) on the Taman peninsula?

Rūsiya, i.e. the Azov Sea.¹ Still more curious is the fact that on a Syriac map compiled towards A.D. 1150 and described by Dr. A. Mingana in the *Manchester Guardian* of 19 May 1933, the Azov Sea bears the name of the *Warang Sea*! This is then a very probable way in which the connexion or identity of names could lead to the confusion of the facts referring respectively to the Baltic and the Azov Seas.

The real Ptolemaic Maeotis does not play any role in our text and even the Rūs river which might be taken for the Don (but see note to § 6, 44.) is said to flow into the Volga. Consequently the real Azov Sea is merged into the Black Sea,² and I am inclined to think that the alternative name of the Pontos: *daryā-yi Gurziyān* (or *Gurz*) was passed on to the latter precisely from the real Azov Sea which our author omitted to describe. As the *Gurz*, i.e. Georgians, see note to § 42, 14., cannot possibly have given their name to the Black Sea, I admit the possibility of the name کرز standing in this case for the original رنك. Graphically such a substitution is quite imaginable, if for instance, the final ك was written somewhat above the line and the top bar of ك happened to be drawn near the initial ر.

Consequently the imaginary Maeotis corresponds probably to some northern Russian lake while the name *Gurz* applied to the Black Sea is in reality that of the courageous navigators, the *Warang* = *Rūs*, for whose special association with the Azov Sea we possess several indications in Muslim sources. This confusion was rendered possible by the fact that our compiler merged the Azov Sea into the Black Sea.

[*Additional note.* The alternative explanation of the strange term درىای کرز would be to connect it with كرخ as I.R., 143, calls the Byzantine port where the Magyars (living on the northern coast of the Black Sea) used to take their Slav prisoners for sale. كرخ *K.rkh* can be easily restored as * كرج *K.rj* of which کرز would be a tentative iranization. Instead of كرخ I. Faqīh, 281, mentions سكرش الیود read: * سكرش *S.mk.rsh*.³ The Khazar king's letter (version B) ed. Kokovtsov, p. 31, mentions on the western frontier of the Khazar kingdom *Sh.rkil* Σαρκελ, סמכרץ *S.mk.rts* and כרץ *K.rts*, of which the two latter evidently retranscribe the names quoted by I. Faqīh and I.R. For our purpose it is enough to say that our author, who among his sources undoubtedly had the text utilized by I.R., may have derived his Iranian کرز from كرخ read as كرج (cf. Hebrew *K.rts* < *K.rj*). As *K.rj* is most probably Kerch [the alternance in Arabic of *sh/j* is in favour of the original *č*], this explanation, already suggested by Westberg, *v.s.*, p. 32, still merits our consideration. However the following explanation now appears to me as being the simplest. In I.Kh. (cf. § 42, 17.), undoubtedly utilized by our author, the Black Sea (on the authority

¹ Cf. Map ii.

² According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 272, *Tanbih*, 67, Pontos and Maeotis are one sea, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 161.

³ *S.mk.rsh* may be either the same

name as *K.rj* with the initial element *sam-* (some adjective in a local language), or the name of some neighbouring place only slightly differing from the original *Krj*.

of Muslim al-Jarmī) is called بحر الخزر. The names خزر *Khazar* and جز *Jurz* are constantly confused in Arabic. As in § 3, 5., the Khazar sea is the Caspian sea, I.Kh.'s aberrant term could all the easier be read بحر الجز and as our author everywhere substitutes Iranian *Gurz* for Arabic *Jurz*, the Black Sea could under this name (*Gurz* > *Gurziyān*) become associated with the Georgians.]

9. The fact that the Lake of Urmiya is placed in Armenia explains some peculiarities of the order followed in § 36, see note to § 36, 9.

11. نيرطه must be a corruption of فارطه *Perta*, which I. Kh., 113, mentions on the road from Cilicia to Amorion. *Perta* lay immediately south of the great salt lake now called Tuz-chölü, lying north-east of Qoniya.

12. It is tempting to compare سماعي with كاص which in I.Kh.'s itinerary, p. 113, immediately follows Fāriṭa (*Perta*). This place evidently lay by a lake, for I. Kh. speaks of عَبرَةُ كَاصٍ "bank of ?". Both names are certainly corrupted, but it is not impossible that they stand for Savitra, of which it is only known that it lay in the waterless Lycaonian desert not far from Archelais. W. M. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, p. 340 and Map, places Savitra south-west of *Perta*. The respective positions of *Perta* and Savitra are not very certain; the latter lay perhaps farther north, and in that case could have given its name to the (salt?) lake which lies immediately south-west of the Tuz-chölü and which is now called Murād-gölü. The difficulty in the way of such an identification is that at present the dimensions of this lake are too small (2 × 2 km.), but it may have shrunk since. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, has nothing on this lake.

13. This name (cf. also under § 29, 13.) is very differently spelt. Iṣṭ., 100, and I.H., 193, give *Bwr*, *Lwr*, *Bwn*, *Bwdh*, *Twz*, *Mwz*, but actually the lake is called Famūr, which confirms the reading *Mūr* in the older *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, GMS, 154.

14. Iṣṭ., 122, *Bāsfahūya*, I.H., 123, *Bāshafūya*, &c., is the Lake of Tasht now forming the northern part of the Lake Bakhtagān (Bīchagān), see Schwarz, *Iran*, 11, Le Strange, *The Lands*, 276. Iṣṭ., 122, praises its utility.

15. Iṣṭ., 122, also gives *Jankān* (**Janagān*), while the older *Fārs-nāma*, 153, has *Māhalūya*, nowadays turkicized into Mahārū.

16. **Bijagān*, cf. also § 6, 33., is now called Bakhtagān but Ḥasan Fasā'i on his detailed map of Fārs (note to § 29) gives the alternative Bīchagān. The river of Dārāgird (Rūd-i Shūr flowing into the Persian Gulf, north of the island Qishm) rises from a source situated some 35 Km. south-east of the lake. It was considered as a reappearance on the surface of the Kur; cf. Iṣṭ., 121: "the Kurr is said to possess a spring (*manba'*) in some of the districts of Dārāgird and to outflow into the sea". Chardin, ed. Langlès, viii, 235, 499, who crossed the Rūd-i Shūr on his way from Lār to Bandar-i 'Abbāsī, took it for a continuation of the Band-i-mīr river (*i.e.* of the Kur). Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 44, calls it Āb-i Kurr (without quoting his authority) and identifies it with the Coros mentioned by P. Mela and Κόριος found in Ptolemy, vi, cap. 8; cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, p. 8.

17. 18. Barthold's hypothesis of the identity of the Issik-kul and Tüz-kul, *v.s.*, p. 28, does not seem very happy. The areas of the two lakes, as well as their location, are different. The Issik-kul stretched between the Chigil and Tughuzghuz and the Ili is wrongly supposed to flow into it. The Tuz-kul lay within the limits of the Khallukh. It is true that the latter occupied the southern (or south-western) bank of the Issik-kul, cf. § 15, 10. and 11., but according to the order of enumeration Tuz-kul must have lain to the west of the Issik-kul near the homonymous places Tüzün-Bulaq and Tüzün-‘Ārj, § 15, 5.-6., of which the former is mentioned on the frontier of the Yaghmā, *i.e.* on the south-western border of the Khallukh. Finally, though Gardizī calls the Issik-kul *shūr* “salt”, it is only slightly brackish and an abundant supply of salt from it is highly improbable. A. Z. Validi kindly draws my attention to the Boro-dabasun lake situated to the east of the Issik-kul, between the headwaters of the Tekes and Kegen (the two southern tributaries of the Ili); Boro-dabasun lies at an altitude of 6,400 feet and is intensely salt; it produces yearly 40,000 *poods* of salt “used by the Qirghiz and the Russian settlements round the Issik-kul; some of it is exported to China”, cf. Prince Masalsky, *Turkestanskiy kray*, SPb., 1913, p. 48, and Molchanov, *The Lakes of Central Asia* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1929, p. 49. The suggestion is interesting, but a close consideration of our text makes it very difficult to include the region of Boro-dabasun within the limits of the Khallukh (already at Barskhān, § 15, 11., the Khallukh influence was weak). Therefore I am personally more inclined to identify the Tuz-kul with the Shūr-kul “Salt lake” situated at an altitude of 5,000 feet on the southern slope of the T’ien-shan some 140 Km. to the north-east of Kāshghar, and south of the Taushqan which was within the sphere of the Khallukh influence; cf. § 15, 13.-15. According to Huntington (in R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington, 1905, p. 208) the Shūr-kul “is a sheet of salt rather than of water . . . The salt is collected by the people and is carried as far as Kāshghar; it is used just as it occurs, without cleansing.” Dr. Huntington’s exploration has shown that the level of the lake stood formerly 350 feet above the present level, which fact would account for the size of the Tuz-kul as indicated in the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*.

19. Only the eastern branch of the Nile flows out to the Tinnis lake.

21. On the rivers supposed to reach the Lake of Nicaea see § 6, 60. and 61. I. Kh., 106, gives a different measurement, *viz.*, 12×7 farsakhs.

22. ريس *Riyas* is a great puzzle but the starting-point for its identification must be the recognition that our author’s source for Asia Minor is I. Kh. The latter, 101, on an alternative road from Cilicia to Amorion, quotes رأس بحيرة الباسليون *i.e.* the locality “at the head of the lake of Basilion”. In I. Kh.’s passage the word رأس could have been misspelt into رس in which case our author having interpreted it as “Riyas, lake of Bāsiliyūn” may have retained the name and dropped the explanation. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 135, identifies the lake Bāsiliyūn with that of the Forty Martyrs, *i.e.* the Ak-shehir-gölü, which (at present) measures some 5×1 km. As above under 11.

these dimensions are much under our author's estimate, but we must in general mistrust the seeming exactitude of his statistics the origin of which is obscure [cf. the lakes of Fārs, the width of which is constantly indicated though it is not found in Iṣṭ.].

23. Iṣṭ., 122, *buhayrat bi-Dasht-Arzan*, situated west of Shīrāz, on the road to Kāzrūn.

24. The usual pronunciation of *Zarah* is *Zirih*, but this name has, of course, nothing to do with the popular etymology "(glowing like a) cuirass", &c. The name is explained by Old Persian *drayah*, Avestic *zrayah*, "sea, lake". Probably of the same origin are the names of a lake in Kurdistan Zaribār, and perhaps of some islands on the Caspian composed with *-zīra* (*Qum-zīra*, *Büyük-zīra*, with a Turkish beginning, but *Khara-zīra* "Ass [Dorn: Pig?] Island" purely Iranian, cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, 82).

24. *Daryāzha* is evidently a local (Soghdian?) form for Persian *daryācha*. Cf. § 5, 9 A, § 6, 23.

26. Bastarāb must be identical with Astarāb, the western headwater of the river of Sar-i pul and Shibarghan. The initial *b* of the name is not clear, but *v.s.* 23.

27. The Lake of Ṭūs lies in the mountain separating Ṭūs from Nishāpūr. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 264, calls the lake Sabzarūd and gives various explanations of its situation on a height. In the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, p. 241, it is called *Buhayra-yi chashma-yi sabz* and identified with the legendary lake from which came out the horse that killed Yezdegird the Sinner. According to the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 519-23, the event took place near the Lake Shahd and the source Sau; cf. Minorsky, *Ṭūs* in *EI*.¹ Following Sir P. Sykes, *A sixth journey*, in *GJ.*, Jan. 1911, p. 3, the Chashma Sabz lies under the Lūk Shīrbād peak (between Nishāpūr and Ṭūs) and occupies an area of 400 × 100 yards, though formerly it had been much larger.

28. Cf. § 6, 62.

34. This "swamp" is the Qara-kul "Black Lake" in the neighbourhood of which the Samarqand river (Zarafshān) disappears. Its other names, following Narshakhī, were *Sāmjan* [*sām-* according to Marquart, *Wehrot*, 29, means "black"] and *Bārgīn-i farākh*; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 117, and Barthold, *Irrigation*, 124. In our text the word *ازان* is evidently a common name "lake, swamp". The same word still survives in Avoza-Karti-Damzin (?), a fishery in the Krasnovodsk district on the Caspian Sea, see Geyer, *Turkestan*, Tashkent, 1909, p. 165.² The form *āvāza* is metrically attested in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, vi, 630, 651, 654. In Firdausī, 507, *Āvāza* is the castle which Bahrām Chūbīn takes after a siege during his campaign against the "Turkish" king Shāba and his son Parmūdha.

¹ Marquart, *Wehrot*, p. 7, thinks that *شید* in Firdausī is an error for *سند* **Sind*, as the lower course of the Herat river was probably called after a village which existed in the neighbourhood of Nasā

and Abivard (§ 23, 9., 10. and 30.), see Yāqūt, iii, 167.

² The maps show an *Avaza* on the western side of the spit covering from the west the bay of Krasnovodsk.

Instead of Āvāza Tha'ālibī, p. 655, mentions the castle of Paykand (cf. § 25, 4), but their identity is clear from the mention in both sources of Siyāvush's girdle deposited there by Arjāsp. On Paykand see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 118-19. In his *Wehrot*, pp. 138-65, Marquart has a long dissertation on Āvāza and Paykand. Cf. also his *Catalogue*, 34-6, where the equation is established of Dizh-i Nāvāzak = Dizh-i rōyīn = Paykand, and Firdausi's *āvāza* is regarded as a corruption of *nāvāzak* "the boatman", but the latter argument is not convincing.

35. Perhaps the Lob-nor considered as a connecting-link between the Tarim and the Huang-ho.

36. Too vague for identification (Baikal?).

§ 4. The Islands

In spite of the clear definition of what an island is, the author mentions in this chapter peninsulas as well, following the Arabic use of the word *jazīra*.

A. THE EASTERN OCEAN

1. The Silver-island. Pomponius Mela, iii, 70, and Pliny, *Natur. Hist.*, vi, 80, mention in the neighbourhood of India two islands Chrysē and Argyrē but describe them too vaguely for location, see Coedès, p. xiii. As the source of the early Muslim geographers is Ptolemy, it is much more probable that the *Jazīrat al-fidḍa* (Khuwārizmī) represents Ptolemy's *Ἰαβαδίον* **Yāvadvīpa* (Sumatra, or Java) the capital of which was called *Ἀργυρῆ* (Ptolemy, vii, 2, 29). However, the situation is complicated by the fact that Ptolemy mentions in the Transgangetic India (vii, 2, 17) two countries bearing respectively the names of *Ἀργυρᾶ* and *Χρυσῆ* (cf. Coedès, Index). In Khuwārizmī's arrangement of Ptolemy, *Jazīrat al-fidḍa* came somehow to connote two different entities: (a) an island, and (b) a peninsula protruding into the sea from a larger peninsula which vaguely corresponds to Indo-China. Mžik, who in his article *Parageographische Elemente*, has traced a map after Khuwārizmī's data, shows the *island* to the west of the *large peninsula* through which flows the river Suwās (not in Ptolemy); to the east, beyond the river protrudes the *small peninsula*. Only the latter could be considered as belonging to the Eastern Ocean and our author's "seven rivers" may somehow reflect Khuwārizmī's record on the Suwās with its three estuaries. On the other hand, the *town* of the Silver-island may refer to Ptolemy's capital of the Yabadiu: *Ἀργυρῆ*.

B. THE INDIAN OCEAN AND NEIGHBOURING SEAS

2. The two peninsulas "mentioned in Ptolemy's books" seem to be the Southern Cape (τὸ Νότιον ἄκρον) and the Cape of Satyrs (τὸ Σατύρων ἄκρον), between which, in the country of the Sinai (< dynasty of *Ch'in*), stretches the gulf *Θηριώδης*, see Ptolemy, vii, 3, and Marcianus of Heraclea (5th cent.) § 45, cf. Coedès, *o.c.*, p. 121. In this case our author, in order to be consistent, ought to have mentioned the two peninsulas under the Eastern Ocean (*v.s.* A.).

For the better understanding of 3. and 5.-8. it must be had in view that Muslim authors do not clearly discriminate between Sumatra and Java, and speak of Sumatra under several names relating to different parts of this great island.

3. This Gold-island (= Sumatra) corresponds to *bilād al-Wāqwāq* in I.Kh., 69, as confirmed by the appellation of its inhabitants "Wāqwāqian Zangis". For a second time the same place is mentioned in § 9, 1., as a dependency of China under the name of Wāq-Wāq. Cf. also §§ 55, 3. and 56.

4. Tabarnā is *Ταπροβάρη*, cf. I. Rusta, 94, *طبروانی* who evaluates its periphery at 3,000 miles and mentions 19 islands lying around it [Ptolemy, v, 4, 11] and the corundum found in it. Khuwārizmī, p. 4, places *طبروای* "in the Sarandīb island". Our author distinguishes Tabarnā from Sarandīb; see § 9, 23., cf. Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 205, note 2. The name of the town Muvas *موس* is a puzzle unless it stands for *ملي* v.i. 10. and § 10, 13. From Sarandīb Malay lies certainly "towards Hindūstān". From the graphical point of view *موس* < *ملي* has a parallel in *طوس* (v.i. 25) < *تولى*. Less probable would be the supposition that Muvas somehow represents the name of the Suwās river, v.s., note 101. [On the position v.i., p. 235, n.1.]

5. Rāmī < Rāmnī is Sumatra (v.i., 7), Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 25. This paragraph closely follows I.Kh., 64-5. On the products, cf. also Sulaymān, p. 9.

6. *صریح* in spite of its location west of Sarandīb stands evidently for *راج* for the details (camphor-trees, snakes) correspond to those quoted under § 56.

7. Jāba and Shalāhiṭ are treated as a single island (Sumatra; cf. above, 5). I.Kh., 66, uses the singular for *جابه وشلاط* *وهرلج*; cf. [Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-shāh] *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, tr. by Carra de Vaux, 1898, p. 58: "the island of Jaba contains the town of Shalāhiṭ". I.Kh., 66, does not mention ambergris and cubeb among the products of Shalāhiṭ, but they are mentioned in I. Rusta, 138.

8. Bālūs is the port lying on the south-western coast of Sumatra. Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 27, note 5, and Ferrand, *Waḵ-Waḵ* in *EI*. "The said Jāba" refers to the preceding 7. I.Kh., 66, places Kala at 2 days' distance from Bālūs (this sentence in our text comes under 9.) and from the latter counts 2 farsakhs to Jāba, Shalāhiṭ, and Harlaj.

9. Our author exactly follows I.Kh., 66. Kala (I. Kh. gives *Kila*) according to de Goeje is probably Keda (Kra) in the Malay peninsula. Instead of "south of Bālūs" Kala ought to be located north (north-east) of it. Sulaymān says that after *Lanjabālūs the ships call at Kalāh-bār,¹ which is (a part) of the Zābaj. The name of tin in Arabic *al-riṣaṣ al-qal'ī*, or simply *qal'ī* (< *kalī*), is a derivative from Kala. The "Indian (or Brahmanic?) Jāba" (I. Kh., 66), in contradistinction from the other Jāba (I. Kh.,

¹ Sulaymān rightly explains Persian *-bār* as "a country, or coast".

67), whom our author calls "Continental Jāba", see § 5, 9. B and § 10, 45.; cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 34, note 3.¹

10. Bankālūs stands for I.Kh.'s, 66, *Al.n.k.bālūs* "the Nicobar islands". Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 26, takes as the right form **Lankabālūs*. Our author exactly translates I.Kh.'s: *واموالهم الحديد ويجالسون التجار*. I.Kh. counts 10-15 days from *Al.n.k.bālūs* to *Sarandīb*, and, moreover, mentions the distances *Malay-B.llīn*, 2 days, *B.llīn-Bāpattan*, 2 days, and *B.llīn-Sarandīb*, 1 day. It is possible that our author, or his source, added all these distances together indiscriminately and obtained the result of 20 (= 15+2+2+1) days for the distance between *Bankālūs* and *Malay*.

11. One would perhaps expect, *v.s.*, note to 7., that *H.r.nj* (هرنج) following the group of islands situated east of India stands for *H.rl.j* (هرلج: *Idrīsī*: هريج) which I.Kh., 66, associates with *Sumatra*. I.R., 138, says that "Harlaj was only the name of the king's military representative (*qā'id*)", while the island itself (in which camphor was discovered in 220/835) was called *T.wārān*. However, our author clearly places *H.r.nj* in proximity to *Sindān* (§ 10, 14.) and lets 12. *Lāft* (in the Persian Gulf) follow it in the enumeration. One must perhaps look for the explanation of our هرنج in *Sulaymān's* (p. 5) name for the sea off the south-western coast of India: هركد. In, and round, this *H.rk.nd* Sea *Sulayman* mentions 1,900 islands (*dībājāt* < ssk. *dvīpa* "island") corresponding to the Laccadives, &c.² Our *H.r.nj* island may refer to the latter. The name هركد in our author stands for something entirely different, namely for *Harikel* = *Bengal*; see note to § 10, 7. Provisionally, we must have in view three different localities with names equally beginning with هـ: (1) the sea near the Laccadives, (2) *Bengal*, and (3) some part of *Sumatra*.

12. *Lāft*, *v.i.* under 14.

13. The name *تارو*, *Birūnī*, *India*, 157: *تارو* must be read **بارو* meaning in Persian "moenia et munimentum castrī vel urbis", *Vullers*, i, 170. This legendary island marking the 0° of longitude and latitude has given rise to much discussion and confusion.³ A mention of the Equinoctial, or Equatorial, Island is found in I.R., 83: *ʔazīrat istiṡwā al-layl wal-nahār*, who adds that the Indian Ocean, of which the area between *Abyssinia* and the furthest end of *India* is 8,000 × 2,700 miles, extends beyond this island

¹ According to the Chinese annals of the Sung dynasty (960-1279) the kings of *San-fo-ts'i*, i.e. the *Śrīvijaya* kings of *Palembang* in *Sumatra*, had the title of *chan-pei*. The latter (still unexplained!) according to *Ferrand's* hypothesis must be the equivalent (in Chinese pronunciation) of the Arabic *ʔāba*. The annals of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) suggest that the name of the kingdom of *Jambi* (north-west of *Palembang*) is derived from the same *chan-pei*. See

Ferrand, *Çrīvidjaya*, 16-17, 166.

² It is possible that *Sulaymān's* *H.rk.nd* as the name for the sea near the Laccadives requires emendation.

³ One of the possible sources of confusion could also be the Indian view on the existence of an island called *Malaya-dvīpa* on which lies the town of *Laṅkā* inaccessible to men, while *Laṅkā* is also the name of *Ceylon*; cf. *Kirfel*, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 111.

for 1,900 miles. Bīrūnī is the principal authority on Bāra. In his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* he says:¹

	long.	lat.
"The island Lank known in the books as the 'Cupola of the Earth'	100° 50'	0° 0'
"•Bāra [sine punctis] mentioned by Fazāri and Ya'qūb b. Ṭāriq	190° 50'	0° 0'
"Jamakūt situated at the extreme eastern limit; Persians call it Jamāgird	190° 0'	0° 0'
"According to the Indians there is no habitation beyond these two (sic)."		

Opposite Lank, Bāra, and Jamakūt, there is a note stating that these localities are "as if unknown (*k-al-majhūlāt*)". The text of Or. 1997 is faulty and an additional numeration suggests the following order in which the localities should follow: . . . 4. Lank; 5. Sūra island; 6. Jamakūt; 7. Bāra.

In the *Tafhīm*, p. 140, § 239, Bīrūnī says: "A central point of longitude between East and West of the habitable world is called the Cupola of the Earth. Sometimes it is described as lacking latitude because it is on the equator. We do not know whether this is an expression of opinion of the Persians, or others, at least the Greek books do not mention it. The Hindūs however say that it is a high place named Laṅkā, the home of devils."

Finally in his *India*, p. 157, transl. i, 303, Bīrūnī more explicitly says: "Yamakoṭi (زمكوت) is, according to Ya'qūb [b. Ṭāriq] and al-Fazāri,² the country where is the city Tāra [read: *Bāra*!] within the sea. I have not found the slightest trace of this name in Indian literature. As *koṭi* means castle and *Yama (زم) is the Angel of Death, the word reminds me of Kangdiz, which, according to the Persians, had been built by Kaykā'ūs, or Jam, in the most remote east, behind the sea. . . . Abū Ma'shar of Balkh has based his geographical canon on Kangdiz, as the 0° of longitude, or first meridian." Reinaud, *o.c.*, ccxxii, ccxxxix, &c., who first commented on this passage, showed how this Yamakoṭi (= Jamshīdgird)

(1) has got confused with the "Cupola of the Earth" (قبة الارض) which in India was identified with the site of the town of Ujjain, 'Oζήνη, 'Oζήνη misread in European medieval sources as "medius locus terrae dictus Arin"; cf. note to § 10, 18;

(2) brought into connexion with the Lank (Laṅkā Island, Ceylon) through which the first meridian was also supposed to pass; cf. Bīrūnī, *India*, ch. xxx: "On Laṅkā, or Cupola of the Earth".

However, the irregular character of the Indian first meridian was apparent; therefore "on abandonna l'ancienne base du méridien de Laṅka

¹ Prof. H. von Mžik very kindly drew my attention to this passage which I now quote from the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1997, f. 97r.

² Both these astronomers were con-

temporaries of the caliph Maṅṣūr [A.D. 754-75], see Suter, *Die Mathem. und Astron. d. Araber*, 1900, p. 4, and Sarton, *o.c.*, i, 530.

et on reporta la Coupole d'Arin à l'ouest. Mais ici on se partagea encore : quelques personnes (al-Battānī, Mas'ūdī) . . . paraissaient avoir mis Arin au milieu de la mer, dans une île imaginaire, entre l'Afrique et la presqu'île de l'Inde; pour les personnes qui . . . prolongeaient le continent africain du côté de l'est la coupole d'Arin se trouva dans une petite île située sur la côte de l'Afrique, dans le Zanguebar", Reinaud, *o.c.*, p. ccxlv and the maps of al-Battānī and Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, ad p. cclxxxii.

Our author places the island at long. 90° and mentions it after H.r.nj and along with the islands of the Persian Gulf, consequently somewhere west, or north-west of India. Some light on current views as to its situation is thrown by Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i, 171: "Sūbāra [cf. § 10, 14.] . . . est voisine de l'île de Bāra, laquelle est petite et où croissent quelques cocotiers et le costus."

12. 14. and 15. lie in the Persian Gulf. 12. Lāft is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 107, where it is said that the island was also called *Jazīra banī Kāwān* (or *Barkāwān*). This last name is mentioned only in Sulaymān, p. 16, and in I. Kh., p. 62, according to whom it was inhabited by the Ibādite sectarians. It corresponds to the large island Qishm, on the northern promontory of which there is a village called Lāft; see Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 48. Our author seems to be the first to speak of the commercial activity of Lāft. 14. 15. Uwāl is one of the Baḥrayn islands, Yāqūt, i, 395. The pearl-fisheries of 15. Khārak, are mentioned in Iṣṭ., 32.

16. I.R., 87, spells the name **Suqūṭara*, Yāqūt, iii, 101, 543, *Suqūṭrā* and *Suqāṭrā*; cf. Tkatsch, *Soḳoṭrā*, in *EI*. I.R., in his description of the Baḥr al-Hind, mentions Socotra immediately after Baḥrayn, 'Omān, and Masqat.

17. Iṣṭ., 13, 30, 31, 33, places Tārān between the gulfs of Suez and 'Aqaba (*bayn al-Qulzum wa Ayla*) and Jubaylāt near Tārān. The locality is famous for its winds and a whirlpool, and is reputed to be the place of Pharaoh's death [*Exodus*, 14, 29]. Maq., 11, spells قارآن. Yaqut, iii, 834, places the islands near Ḥijāz.

C. THE WESTERN OCEAN¹

18. I.R., 85, al-Khālidat corresponds to Ptolemy's "Isles of the Blest". Neither I.Kh., nor Iṣṭ., nor I.H. mention them. *V.s.*, pp. 7-8.

19. Ghadīra, *i.e.* Cadiz, see Qudāma, 231, and I.R. 85; Khuwārizmī, 15 [= Nallino, p. 48], has غاديرة. The Greek name is Γάδιρα, Ptolemy, i, 3, Punic *Gaddir* ("wall"). See Seybold, *Cadiz*, in *EI*.

20. 21. should really appear under D.

20. Rhodes is mentioned in Khuwārizmī, p. 115, and I. Rusta, 98. In fact Ptolemy (Book I) attributes much importance to the parallel of Rhodes (lat. 36°), cf. below 26. In A.D. 130 Hipparchus observed in Rhodes the obliquity of ecliptics. Cf. also Ptolemy, v, 2.

21. Arwādh, small island off Tārṭūs in Syria, now Ruwād. The name cannot be directly derived from Ptolemy's, *Ἀραδος* (*Geog.*, v, 14). It is not found in any other ancient Muslim sources, except Ṭabarī, ii, 163.

¹ Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 7.

22. 23. Khuwārizmī, 89 [= Nallino, 50] mentions the islands امرانوس (?) and امرانوس of which the first is inhabited by the men and the second by the women. Nallino suggests the emendation of امرانوس into *امرانوس **Amazons*. The myth of the Amazons found a favourable ground in the confusion of *Kwen-en*, a Finnish tribe north of the Bothnic Gulf, with *kwen* "woman" in Germanic languages. Cf. Idrīsī, ii, 433, Idrīsī-Tallgren, 34, 77, 140: امرنوس. Tallgren says that the island Nargen (off Reval = Tallinn) is called in Finnish *Naissare* "The island of the Woman, or the Women". A story of the Town of Women (*madīnat al-nisā*), situated west of the Rūs, is reported in Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb [*circa* A.D. 965], quoted in al-Bakrī, p. 37, but here the details are entirely different: the women bear children from their slaves and kill the latter. An Island of Women situated west of Fu-lin (Roman Empire) is mentioned in Hsüan-Tsang, *Sī-yu-Ki* (Julien), ii, 180 (under Po-la-sse).

24. The form برطانيه (as in Qudāma, 231), hails evidently from a source different from that of برطيه quoted in § 42, 21. (as in I. Rusta, 85).

25. طوس easily < طوله * [v.s. 4. موسى for ملي] looks like a dittograph of 26. تولى on which Khuwārizmī, 87, 151 [= Nallino, 50] mentions a river. I. Kh., 93, spells توليه.

26. Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book I, attributes much importance to the parallel of Thule (according to him lat. 73°); cf. also 20. above. Our author draws the Northern Polar circle ("the limit of the inhabited lands") through Thule. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch d. Alten Geographie*, 1878, p. 533, identifies Thule with the Shetland Islands. On Maeotis, cf. § 3, 7.

D. THE MEDITERRANEAN

This list of islands in the Mediterranean does not exactly correspond to any of the lists known. To it must be added the islands 20. and 21.

28. The mountain *Jabal al-qilal* (a promontory?) is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 71, and I.H., 136, as a very strong place seized by a party of Muslims and held by them against the Ifranja. According to Iṣṭ. the length of the mountain is 2 day-marches, but I.H. reduces it to only 2 miles. I.H. adds that, like Mallorca, *Jabal al-qilal* is a dependency of Spain [probably on account of the origin of the invaders, as Prof. C. A. Nallino (letter of 5. xi. 1932) kindly suggests to me]. Yāqūt, i, 392, speaking of the *Alankaburda* (Lombards) says that their country is vast and is situated half-way (*bayn*) between Constantinople and Spain: "it begins from a side of the Mediterranean (*baḥr al-khalij*, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 465) opposite the *Jabal al-qilal* and stretches opposite the Maghrib coast until it reaches the lands of Calabria (*Qalawriya*)". These data seem to refer to the greatest extension of the Lombard kingdom and at all events to the times before the latter was crushed by Charlemagne in A.D. 776, but we do not know whether the *J. al-qilal* was known under that name in the eighth century, or whether Yāqūt has combined two different sources. The mountain is taken clearly as the western (north-western) limit of the Lombard kingdom which *grosso modo* extended over the whole of Italy, with the exception of Venice, Ravenna,

Rome, Pentapolis, Naples, and the southernmost parts of Calabria and Apulia. Juynboll, the editor of the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭila'* [an abridgement of Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*], i, 185, thought first that the "island" was to be sought near the Gulf of Genoa "secundum mappam, aliquam insulam cogites, in sinu Genuensi propriorem". But in the meantime he published, v, 25-8, a remarkable letter by Reinaud in which the French orientalist suggested the identification of Jabal al-qilal with Fraxinetum, which the Arabs occupied towards A.D. 889 and kept till about 972. This Fraxinetum was further identified by Reinaud with *La garde Frainet* in the *Forêt des Maures*, which is situated on the French Riviera, in the mountainous region south of Draguignan, between Fréjus and Toulon, and more exactly north of the St. Tropez Gulf. On the Arab invasion of Provence see Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, Paris, 1836, pp. 155-225, Amari, *Bibl. Arabo-Sicula*, 1880, p. 2, Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, Paris, 1901, pp. 243-73. Reinaud's identification is still the accepted one. The details of the H.-'Ā. regarding the silver mine and the high mountain to the west of the Jabal al-qilal are not found elsewhere. The high mountain could be identified with the Massif des Maures which stretches north and south-west of the Fraxinetum. The mention by our author of the "Roman land", or the "town of Rome" in the neighbourhood of the Jabal al-qilal may be related to the old text on the Lombards reproduced in Yāqūt.¹

29. Iṣṭ and I.H. give no dimensions of Cyprus. In I. Rusta, 85, its periphery is evaluated at 300 miles, but Qudāma and al-Battāni (quoted by de Goeje, *ibid.*, 85 i) reckon its circuit as being 350 miles, as in our author.

30. قريس stands certainly for قرنس, *Kýpnos*, i.e. Corsica, Ptolemy, iii, 2. This usually mis-spelt name is found in I. Rusta, 85 (with a periphery of 200 miles), as well as in Qudāma and al-Battāni (quoted *ibid.*, 85 d). The position of Corsica is confused by our author with that of Crete.

31. بالس corresponds to باس (var. بانس) in Qudāma, 231, which is Yābis "Εβυσσος, now Ibiza, one of the Balearic islands. [Not to be confused with خالصة (خالطة, جالطة) which I.H., 136, places between Sicily and Crete.]

32. Iṣṭ., 70, and I.H., 136, place Sicily very close to the Ifranja (Franks) and give similar dimensions of 7 marḥalas in length (and 4 in width), while I. Rusta, 85, following his system, gives its periphery as being of 500 miles.

33. سردانية Sardinia is mentioned in I. Kh., 109 (there lives the patrician governor of all the islands), in Qudāma, 231 (under a different form سرتانية) and in I. Rusta, 85, who also estimates the length of its periphery as 300 miles. Our author evidently confuses Sardinia with Sicily for he places Sardinia south of Rūmiya, whereas the Imperial treasure is mentioned in Sicily.

34. Crete (usually *Iqrīṭish*, I. Kh., 112, Iṣṭ., 70) has the same periphery in I. Rusta, 75 (where the name has the form *Iqrīṭiya*). The position of this island is confused with that of Cyprus.

E. The name 35. Kabūdḥān "the blue one" belongs certainly to the lake itself called in Strabo, xi, 13, 2, λίμνην τὴν Σπαῦταν, read: *Καπαῦταν, Old

¹ [The best identification for the high mountain would be the Alps. Then J.-Q. could be taken for the island of Elba, cf. Juynboll's suggestion.]

Persian *kapauta*, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 143. [The word is now attested in *kāsaka hya kapauta* "lapis lazuli" in Darius's "charte de fondation" ed. by V. Scheil.] There are several islands in the north-eastern part of the sea but the existence of considerable villages on them is open to doubt, unless the peninsula Shāhū, Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, Shāhī, is understood here. See Minorsky, *Marāgha*, *Marand*, *Tabriz*, and *Urmiya*, in *EI*.

F. The island *Jazīrat al-Bāb* according to the description is the "Madder island" *Jazīra-yi Rūynās* which is mentioned in Khāqānī's well-known ode referring to a Russian raid in Shīrvān towards A.D. 1175. Cf. also Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, 147, and *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 239: جزیره روی. There are no islands in the immediate neighbourhood of Darband. Khanikoff, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, 131, identifies the Madder Island with the Sāra Island off Lankurān, while Westberg, *Jour. Min. Narod. Prosv.*, 1908, xiv, 7, thinks that the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābshārān), on which Bākū stands, is meant here.

37. Siyāh-kūh, on the north-eastern coast of the Caspian, is now known under the Turkish name Manghishlaq, on which see Barthold in *EI*. Išt., 219, says that the Turks "recently" seized Siyāh-kūh.

38. The MS. vocalizes Dihistānān-sur [in which *-sur* is hardly connected with the name of the local prince صول *Chūr]. It is tempting to read the name as **D.-sar*, in which case it would mean "the promontory of D.", cf. Miyānasar, the headland protecting the Gulf of Astarābād. The promontory must correspond to that of the Bay of Ḥasan-quli by the estuary of the Atrak, near the district of Dihistān, "the country of the ancient people Δάαι, Dahae"; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig, 1880, 277-81, and Minorsky, *Meshhad-i Mestoriyān* in *EI*. On the other hand, Dihistānān-sur (or *-sar*) very probably is the place where Firdausī, ed. Vullers, i, 115, places the Dizh-i Alānān, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 109, Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. On the falcons caught on the islands lying opposite the Jurjān coast, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 423.

§ 5. The Mountains

This chapter is particularly important as reflecting the author's conception of the surface of the Earth, see Map i.

1. The Arabic name of *al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr* most probably means only "protruding into the sea"; cf. Birūnī, *Canon*, 3rd climate: *al-Mahdiya 'alā anfin ṭā'inin fil-baḥr*. If eventually *ṭā'in* be taken in the sense of "striking" it may refer to some legend of the Alexandrian (?) lore. So Dimashqī (A.D. 1325), *Cosmographie*, SPb., 1866, p. 170, speaking of the Sea of Darkness (*baḥr al-ẓulumāt*) at the extreme limit of the inhabited world says: "on the coast towards the north, there are three stone statues cut in the rock and looking formidable. With their hands stretched towards the sea they show by their threatening air that there is no passage beyond there". Cf. Mżik, *Para-geographische Elemente*, who similarly explains Khuwārizmī's *al-Qal'at al-muḍī'a* by a story found in the *Abrégé des Merveilles*, tr. by Carra de Vaux, p. 46. As the easternmost mountain of the world Ibn Sa'id (13th cent.)

names *Jabal al-sahāb* "Mountain of the clouds", see Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 334. The additional details found in § 7, 1. though very vague, lend more reality to *al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr* and seem to refer to the locality between Shantung and Corea.

2. Sarandīb = Ceylon is regarded as belonging to China, § 9, 23. Khuwārizmī, 40, calls the mountain of Ceylon (Adam's peak) *Ruhūn* [Ssk. *rōhana* "ascent" and, as a proper name, "Adam's Peak"]. The mention of the first clime, while as a rule our text does not mention the climes, is curious and points perhaps to Jayhānī. On the products of Ceylon cf. also § 9, 23. and Qazwīnī's list, '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, 112.

3. It is difficult to see how the Mānisā' range is connected with a "corner" of Ceylon but under § 6, 1. it is again called the Sarandīb mountain. Possibly Ceylon is here confused with Sumatra. The sections of the range are as follows:

a. Between the imaginary "corner" of Ceylon and the boundary of Hindūstān with China. This first part of the Mānisā must represent the longitudinal chains of the Malay peninsula.

b. Eastern frontier of Tibet towards China (the ranges running west of Ssū-chuan?). Rāng-Rong (?), on which see § 11, 1., must accordingly be looked for in the south-east of Tibet.

c. The stretch of the Mānisā where from the south-to-north direction it bends to the north-west, shutting off China from the Tibetan N.zvān (cf. § 11, 3), seems to correspond to the Nan-shan mountains separating Kan-su from the Koko-nor and Tsaidam.

d. The part of the range dividing Tūsmat (*Twsmt*) from China "up to the end of the desert (forming) the extremity of China" must be the Altin-tagħ and K'un-lun separating northern Tibet from the Taklamakan desert. Possibly instead of "between Tūsmat and China" (spelt حین) we must read "between Tūsmat and Khotan" (ختن).² On a similar confusion in writing of ختن with چين see Barthold's *Preface*, p. 25. On Tūsmat see § 11, 9. On Khotan § 9, 18.

e. Some connecting words must have fallen out in the description of the final portion of the Mānisā which is represented as stretching in the north into Turkestan towards Tarāz and Shiljī (on the latter see § 25, 93. and Iṣṭ., 281). This stretch must correspond to the westernmost T'ien-shan and, farther north, to the ranges forming the eastern barrier of the Jaxartes basin, for under § 6, 21. the sources of the Khatlām river (*i.e.* the Narin) are placed on the Mānisā. The mention of Tarāz and Shiljī seems to indicate for the last portion of the Mānisā the Alexandrovsky range forming the watershed between the Jaxartes and the rivers Chū, Talās, &c., which finally disappear in the sands. On the other hand, the real continuation of the T'ien-shan,

¹ This is the vocalization indicated in the text. The origin of the name remains obscure. In Tibetan Dr. Unkrig suggests *smad gñiṣ sa*, pronounced *mañisa* with the approximate meaning of "the

region of two depressions", or "the range separating two depressions".

² The name of China usually appears in our text as *Chimistān*.

resp. its central and eastern parts, is only mentioned as "joined" to the Mānisā (cf. *infra*, 7. Ighrāj-art and 6. Tafqān).

Consequently the Mānisā range is composed of the mountains skirting Tibet on the east, then looping round the southern and western part of Chinese Turkestan and finally forming, towards the north, the eastern barrier of the Jaxartes basin.

4. These are the ramifications of the Mānisā, such as the mountains separating the basins of the Yang-tze and Huang-ho in China, the mountains of the Central Plateau of Tibet and the off-shoots of the Alexandrovsky range.

5. This statement presupposes the existence in our author's source of some detailed list of the mountains of China.

6. طفقان is perhaps a mis-spelling for طرغان Turfān. The mountains must be the eastern T'ien-shan (Boghdo)—separating Turfān (in the south) from Dzungaria (in the north). The capital of the Toghuzghuz Chīnānj-kath (Khara-Khocho) stood near it, § 12, 1. The length of 4 farsakhs may refer only to the central peak.

7. This range is certainly the central T'ien-shan stretching north of Kuchā, Aq-su, &c. The reading of the name Ighrāj-art, in Turkish "the col of Ighrāj", is not certain but as under § 6, 5. it is vocalized *Irgĥāj* (with metathesis) the form *Ighrāj* has been adopted. The mountain (and the pass) of Ighrāj-art, situated "in the neighbourhood" of the river Khūland-ghūn (§ 6, 3.) is either the Muz-art, or the lower¹ and more western Bedel-pass. More likely the Ighrāj-art is the Muz-art, if we judge by the description under § 12, 17. (cf. note to § 6, 3.) and by the fact that the Ili river is said to rise from it (§ 6, 5). The stage of Ighrāj-art (§ 12, 17.) lay on the Toghuzghuz territory, but the mountain of Ighrāj-art traversed the Yaghmā territory (§ 13, 1.) as well. It is difficult to say whether اغراج (under § 6, 5.: ارغاج) is responsible for the second part of توزون عاراج (§ 15, 6.) which probably lay south of the Western T'ien-shan, see note to § 3, 17. Cf. also § 15, 3.

8. This range seems to run to the north-west of the Toghuzghuz territory, north of the Issik-kul, and consequently corresponds to the Kūngey-Ala-tau from the western extremity of which² a branch shoots off northwards, *i.e.* at a right angle. This branch separates the basins of the Ili and Chu, and on it are situated such passes as Kastek (7780 f.) &c.³ This "Ili-Chu range" seems to be the branch mentioned at the end of 8. as "stretching off towards the Khirkhiz country". Several other passages in our book (see notes to § 14) also point to the presence of the Khirkhiz in the region north of Kastek, but though the meaning of the text is clear, the accuracy of the author's statement cannot yet be controlled by any other contemporary evidence. The name *Tūl.s* (**Tūlās*?) given in the text to the range is known

¹ Alt. 14,000 feet.

² More exactly, of the "Trans-Ili Alatau" which is a parallel range running to the north of the Kūngey Ala-tau.

³ Farther north the height rapidly decreases and here the range is crossed now by the "Turksib" railway. See Maps v and vi.

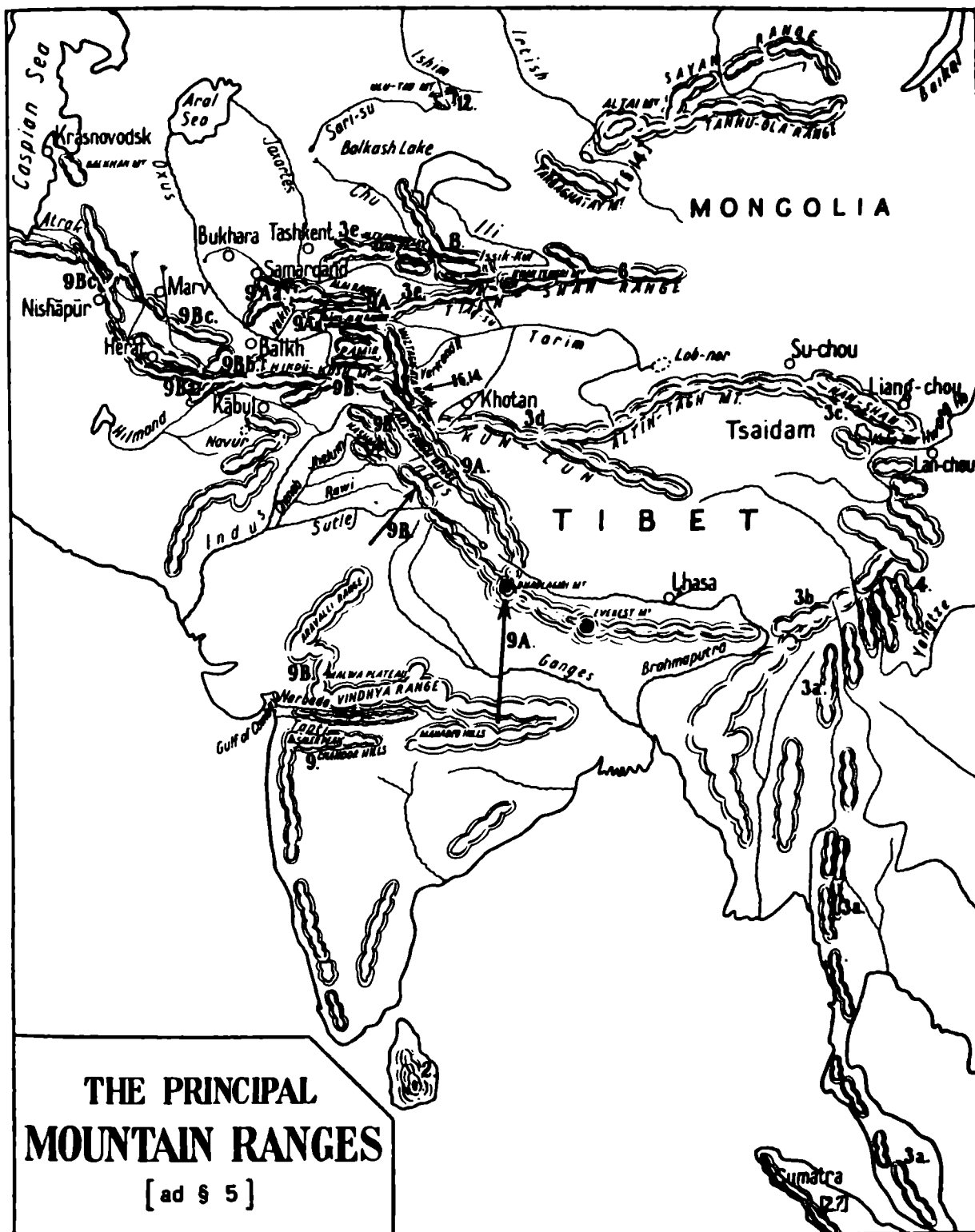
to us only at an entirely different place. According to the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 495, in 792/1390 Tīmūr sent from Tashkent an expedition against the khān Qamar al-dīn. The troops marched north of the Issik-kul and crossed the rivers Ili and Qara-tal. On reaching the Irtish they learned that Qamar al-dīn had already crossed this latter river and taken the direction of Tūlas “in the woods of which sable-martens (*samūr*) and ermine (*qāqum*) are found”. These details point certainly to the wooded Altai mountains and it is curious that the fauna mentioned by our author in his Tūlas resembles that of its namesake of the *Zafar-nāma*. If now we revert to Gardīzī, who certainly utilized much the same sources as our author, we shall find a locality Mānb.klū, abounding in “sable-martens, grey squirrels and musk-deer”, on the road leading (in a northerly direction) from the Toghuzghuz territory to that of the Khirkhīz. The distances in Gardīzī are vague (see note to § 14), but the Mānb.klū mountain seems to stand at four days’ distance south (or south-west) of the Kūkmān (**Kökmän*) mentioned also in the Orkhon inscriptions and identified with the mountains of the Upper Yenisei, cf. Barthold, *Report*, p. 110. In this case Mānb.klū (with its peculiar fauna!) must also refer to the Altai region. As the expansion of the Khirkhīz (§ 14) took place westwards it would be natural to find a tribe of theirs in the Altai. [So too I understand *qurba Khirkhīz* in Iṣṭ. 281_g.]

To sum up: geographically our author’s description of the range running north of the Issik-kul and its northern offshoot is correct, but he may have transferred to it some characteristics borrowed from a different source and belonging to some range lying farther to the east (Tūlas = Altai?). For an explanation see p. 286, n. 1.

9. In this important paragraph on the “Belt of the Earth” an attempt is made to link up the Central Indian hills with the highest ranges forming the north-eastern border of India; these again are linked up with the mountains north and south of the Oxus and finally with the Elburz. See the map “Orographical features” in *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, vol. xxvi, plate 4, and S. G. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, *A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet*, revised edition, Delhi, 1933.

The Central Indian range is represented as starting from the western coast of India, stretching eastwards and then splitting into two so that its outer ramification (9A) comprises the Himalaya, Karakorum, Pamir, and the ranges north of the Oxus, while its inner ramification (9B) comprises the part of the Himalaya immediately north of Kashmir which is then connected with the Hindukush, &c.

The paragraph on the Central Indian hills must be examined in the light of the description of the Lesser Mihrān (§ 6, 16.) which in its lower course is said to flow through the limits of Kūlī. This Kūlī of Kanbāya must be clearly distinguished from the Kūlī estuary of the Indus (§ 6, 13.). It is difficult to decide whether the starting-point of the hills is taken south or north of the Narbadā, but the presumption is for the south, as the hills descend here much nearer to the coast and possess a peak of 5,261 ft. (Saler, south of the Tapti) which is the prominent landmark of the whole of Central



India. *Ṣamūr*, or *Ṣawur* (indistinctly written), can hardly have anything to do with the coastal *Ṣamūr* mentioned in § 10, 14. Geographically it would be tempting to identify our *Ṣamūr* (s = ṣ?) with Chandor (Chandor hills west of Ajānta), after which the line of the hills takes in fact a north-eastern direction. Following our text, the range splits into two in, or beyond *Hītāl* (?). The latter (§ 10, 41.) is certainly a Transgangetic and Sub-Himalayan locality but our author, totally silent on the existence of the Ganges, does not explain how the hills coming from the west cross this great river. In spite of his opinion, the hills split off west of the Ganges. When their line south of the *Narbadā* and *Tapti* reaches the sources of the *Narbadā*, it bifurcates: the eastern branch follows the previous direction and forms the watershed between the Ganges and the rivers flowing more to the south towards the Bay of Bengal, while the other branch bends round the right bank of the *Narbadā*, following first a western direction (*Vindhya* range) and then a northern one (*Aravalli* range). This is presumably the situation which our source originally had in view.

9A. The "northward" line (in reality stretching eastwards) was then supposed to join the Himalaya and skirt *Ṭīthāl* and *Nītāl*, cf. § 10, 41.-3.¹ Here comes a curious detail: the range is continued not by the mountains lying immediately north (*i.e.* north of the *Sutlej* gorge) but by the ranges lying farther east and forming the real watershed between the Trans-Himalayan part of the Indus basin and the plateau of Tibet. The further continuation of the range is formed by the Pamir mountains (*Alay*?) and the northern watershed of the *Oxus* (on *Buttamān* see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 82).

9Aa are the ramifications of 9A, filling the extremely mountainous country north of the Upper *Oxus*; *Khuttalān* is the region lying between the *Panj* and the *Vaksh* (§ 6, 8.-9.) while *Buttamān* stretches between the *Vakhsh* and *Samarqand* (§ 6, 10-11). The two branches of *Khuttalān* seem to correspond to the *Trans-Alay* and *Alay* ranges stretching respectively south and north of the upper *Vakhsh* (cf. note to § 6, 18.). The range between the *Daryāzha* and *Chaghāniyān* is that of *Hiṣār*, which forms the southern watershed of the *Zarafshān* in the basin of which both *Samarqand* and *Bukhārā* are situated.

9B. corresponds to the *Vindhya-Aravalli* range forming the southern barrier of the Ganges basin (which was under the sway of the king of *Qinnauij* of the *Gurjara* dynasty, cf. § 10, 46.). On the impossibility of its branching off from *Hibtāl* (*Hītāl*) *v.s.* 9A. The continuation of the *Aravalli* range is the watershed of the Ganges and the Indus, and consequently the dominions of the "continental *Jāba*" (cf. § 10, 45.)² must be looked for in the basin of the Indus, and probably south of *Kashmīr*. The further extension of 9B must comprise the northern part of the Great Himalaya (*i.e.* the range west of the upper course of the Indus, towering over *Kashmīr*), the

¹ Our text, *v.s.*, line 5, presupposes the splitting off of the main range in *Hītāl* and the latter is not mentioned again under 9A.

² Bordering on the possessions of *al-Jurj (§ 10, 46.), evidently identical with the king of *Qinnauij*.

watershed between the sources of the Indus and the Oxus and the Hindū-kush.¹ The latter is then linked up with the ranges of northern Persia, but the Elburz range is not continued beyond Gīlān. The Q.s.k (*Qasak?) mountain belonging to 9 B is not mentioned in any other known source. No particular precision is expected from its location in, or near the kingdom of Lhrz (Jurz, § 10, 46.), of which, according to § 10, 57., Kashmir was a dependency. This mountain *grosso modo* stands for the watershed between the sources of the Indus and the Oxus (or more particularly the Khurnāb, see note to § 6, 14.). The name *Qasak is curious. Ptolemy, vi, 15, mentions a locality called ἡ Κασία χώρα in the Scythia-outside-the-Imaos, i.e. east of the range separating the Pamir plateau from Kāshgharia. In § 6, 14. the Qasak "is also called *Kūh-i yakh* (i.e. Mountain of Ice)", which looks like a Persian translation of the native term.² The Turkish equivalent of this would be *Muz-tagh*, which is a common term in the region: Muz-tagh-ata, west of Yarkand, Muz-tagh, south of Khotan, to say nothing of the Muz-art, north-west of Kuchā. The nearest identification would be with the Muz-tagh-ata but the latter lies too much to the north for our purpose (on 9 A, not on 9 B) and the decisive indication as to the situation of Qasak is the story quoted under § 6, 14.

9 B a. Here we are in the region which our author knows very closely, though his description of it is involved. He rightly considers the locality of Sān-va-Chāryak (now *Sangchārah*), lying on the Ābi-Safid upstream from Sar-i Pul, as the point near which the main chain splits off. He first describes the range of Siyāh-kōh following the Herat-river on the south [but commits an error in saying that Aspuzār (Isfīzār) lies north of it]; he further connects it with the mountains of southern Khorāsān and follows them up to the region of Nishāpūr and Sabzavār between which towns the line of the hills passes to the north of the great Khorāsān road. [More correctly, this passage takes place between Mashhad and Nishāpūr.] See Map viii.

9 B b. Here our author describes the central part of the knot of the Hindū-kush and Kōh-i Bābā mountains with their southward ramifications towards the headwaters of the Kābul river and the Hilmand. The valley near Ghūr resembling a finger-ring must be Dasht-i Nāvur (some 50 km. west of Ghaznī) which has no outlet. [*Nāvur* (*nor*) in Mongolian means "lake".]

9 B c describes the northern branch of the mountains (Band-i Turkistān) starting from near Sān-va-Chāryak. On the localities mentioned see notes to § 23, 53. &c.³ In the west the Band-i Turkistān is linked with the outer

¹ In reality the Hindūkush continues the Kara-korum range, which according to our author belongs to 9 A and not 9 B.

² The language to which the name [as well as *-ghūn*, v.s., 3] belongs remains mysterious. One might recall at this occasion the still puzzling Scythian name of the Caucasian mountains quoted by Pliny, *Natur. hist.*, 6, 50, "CROUCASIS,

nive candidus", cf. Marquart, *Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus?*, in *Caucasica*, fasc. 6, 1. Teil, 1930, p. 31. For the second element of the name cf. also the Greek forms *Καύκασος*, *Καύκασις*.

³ In this description *miyān* does not seem to mean that the range separates the points mentioned but simply that it stretches along them. Cf. p. 63, line 37.

(northern) range of Khorāsān separating the latter from the Atak ("the skirt of the mountains", i.e. the Transcaspian province, now Turkmenistān). The author skips the valley of the upper Atrak [which he confuses with the Gurgān, § 6, 50.] and passes on to the range stretching south of the Atrak. On the south-western face of this latter range is situated the gorge from which rises the Gurgān river and which was known under the name of Dīnār-zārī. Iṣṭ., 217, gives the following itinerary from Jurjān to Khorāsān: from Jurjān to Dīnār-zārī one marḥala; thence to Amlūtlū (> Armūt-'Alī?) *ditto*; thence to Ajugh (?) *ditto*; thence to Sībdāst *ditto*; thence to Isfarā'in *ditto*.¹ In the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* (Morley), p. 255, Dīnār-zārī is described as a gorge (*sar-darra*) on the way from Nīshāpūr to Gurgān; Ṣāḥir al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (ed. Dorn), p. 19, describes Dīnār-chārī as the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān. Nowadays the gorge is called Dahana-yi Gurgān. The "mountain on the other side of the valley" is that stretching along the left bank of the Gurgān river and separating Gurgān (in the north) from Isfarā'yīn (in the south). Farther to the west it is continued by the Māzandarān mountains. The author still distinguishes the two ranges: his 9B is the range of Māzandarān as seen from the south (from Simnān, Rayy, &c.) while his 9Bc overlooking Āmol is the northern face of the same orographic system. According to his notion the two branches meet in the region of Rayy. Between the two ranges must then lie the Māzandarān highlands. Such a view can be explained by the intricate character of the Māzandarān mountains sloping down towards the Caspian in several gradients. See A. F. Stahl's map of the Caspian mountains (Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, 1927, Heft 7-8), utilized also in the annex to Rabino's *Māzandarān*.

I have not found elsewhere the mention of the Arabic term *Mintāqat al-Arḍ* in the sense in which our author uses it.² But a similar conception is found in I.H. who, pp. 109-11, gives an account of the mountain stretching along "the spine of the earth" (*jabal 'alā ṣāḥr al-arḍ*) which "begins in the East in China, (where) it comes out from the Ocean, and (directs itself) to Vakhkhān. It traverses Tibet, in its western parts and not its centre, and the eastern parts of the Kharlukh land, until it penetrates into Farghāna which is within the Islamic limits. The ridge (*ṣadr*) of the mountain stretches over Farghāna towards the mountain of Buttām situated south of Ushrūsana. . . . Then it directs itself towards Samarqand skirting it also on the south, goes towards . . . Kishsh and Nasaf and the region of Zamm. Then it crosses the Jayḥūn and . . . goes westwards to Jūzjān . . . and over Tālaqān to Marw ar-rūdh and Ṭūs . . . leaving Nīsābūr to the east [cf. *supra* 9Ba]. Then it stretches to Rayy . . . while the mountains of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān, Gīlān and Daylam branch off from it. Then it joins the

¹ Napier, *The northern frontier of Khorāsān*, Gŷ., 1876, shows on his map "Dasht-i Armūt-Alī" between the northern source of the Gurgān and the pass of Simalghān.

² The idea may be of Zoroastrian origin. Cf. *Bundahishn*, tr. by E. W.

West, Oxford, 1880, ch. xii, where the Alburz is represented as stretching "around this earth and connected with the sky" whereas the other mountains, 2244 in number, "have grown out of Alburz".

mountains of Ādharbāyjān." It stretches on the right of the road from Rayy to Hulwān, then turns north towards Takrīt and Āmid sending off its branches into Armenia and towards the Caucasus (*al-Qabq*). Then it continues towards Mar'ash where it joins the range coming from Syria. Through the latter the principal range is united to the North African mountains which stretch on to the Atlantic.

If the general idea of I.H. and of our author is practically the same, they differ considerably in details. The *H. 'Ā.* gives much more exact information on Tibet, India, the region of the Hindūkush and the Caucasus. On the other hand, our author is silent on the supposed African extension of the Syrian mountains.

10. The Kūfij mountains, according to our author, occupied an extensive area between Jīruft and the sea, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, 164. They correspond *grosso modo* to the ranges which separate the closed basin of Jaz-Moriyān from the sea, such as Kūh-i Bashākirt (6,800 feet), Kuhrān (7,095 feet), &c. On the Kūfij cf. § 28, 7. The Bārijān (*Iṣṭ.*, 167, Bāriz) separates Jīruft from Bam. The highlands of Abū Ghānim, according to *Iṣṭ.*, 164, lay north of the Kūfij, and according to our § 28, 7. they must be the mountains to the south of Khānū (Kūh-i Dasht-gird?). The silver mountain west of Jīruft towards Khabr is probably the Siyāh Kūh. See 1:2,000,000 Map of Persia.

11. South-east of the Nīrīz lake in Fārs there is a knot of mountains where several chains running north-west to south-east unite. Our author arbitrarily makes the mountain shutting off Fasā from Dārāb the starting-point of a range which, after a sweep to the east towards Kirmān, turns in the opposite direction of south-east to north-west. This range is then brought into connexion with that forming the western border of Isfahān, with that of Northern Luristān, with the Alvand and further with the ranges of Persian Kurdistān and Ādharbāyjān. The evidence for the locality of Rūdhān (on the road from Kirmān to Yazd) has been examined by Le Strange, *o.c.*, 286, where Rūdhān is placed near Gulnābād. *Tās* (?) in our text corresponds to *Unās* which is identified with Bahrāmābād, but the reading of the names اناس *Unās*, تاس *Tās*, &c., is not certain, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, 102 *d.* Abū Dulaf's Karaj lay on the road from Isfahān to Hamadān near the present-day Sulṭānābād, cf. § 31, 5. The Sahand mountain (between Marāgha and Tabrīz) is evidently considered as the northern end of the range.

The author's idea was to describe the inner chain of the western mountains of Persia, as opposed to the outer range stretching between the Persian Gulf and the Ararat. The idea is not inaccurate, but some misunderstandings in details were natural. Even *Iṣṭ.*, 97, had to give up the task of describing in detail the mountains of his native Fārs "because there are few towns in Fārs where there is not a mountain, or whence one cannot see some mountain". Our author has translated the first part of this statement word for word. The Kūh-Gilū (**Gēlōya*) mountains are usually reckoned to Fārs. The present day Kūh-Gilū is reduced to the territory between Bāsht and Behbehān, cf. Minorsky, *Luristān*, in *El*.

12. The mountain stretching between the Kimäk (cf. § 18) and Khirkhiz (cf. § 14) looks like the Altai near which the Irtish (§ 6, 42.) rises. The Altai is further supposed to be linked up with the hills standing west of the Irtish, among which the *K.ndāv.r* mountain must be sought. Barthold reads this name *Kändir* (?) and Marquart *Komanen*, 92, 205: *Känd-ör* (?) and *Kundāvar* (with a reference to Persian *kundāvar* "army-leader, hero"). I now feel inclined to identify *K.ndāv.r* with the mountain described by Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, 264 (transl. 255): "similar to this little lake (i.e. Sabzarūd, *v.s.* § 3, 27.) is a sweet-water well in the district of the Kimäk in a mountain called مکور as large as a great shield. The surface of its water is always on a level with its margin. Frequently a whole army drinks out of this well and still it does not decrease as much as the breadth of a finger. Close to this well there are the traces of the foot, two hands with the fingers, and two knees of a man who had been worshipping here; also the traces of the foot of a child and of the hooves of an ass. The Ghuzzi Turks worship those traces when they see them."

Marquart's restoration, *Komanen*, 101, of *Mnkw* as **min köl* "thousand lakes" is inadequate from the point of view of Bīrūnī's description. One can assume that in Gardizī *K.ndāv.r* the *alif* is only a tribute to the Persian popular etymology **kundāvar* [most suspect with regard to such a remote Turkish territory as ours]. Then کنداور improved into *کندور would look very much like مکور. But even supposing that the two names are identical it is not easy to decide which form must be given preference. For *M.nkw* we have the parallel of a Qipchaq clan مکور اغلا quoted in al-Warrāq (d. A.D. 1318), Marquart *ibid.* 157, and the name of a Kurdish tribe *Mangur* which is very probably of Turkish or Mongol origin, see Minorsky *Sa'udj-bulak* in *EI*. The form *K.ndwr* (**k.ndür*) has in its favour the parallel of a Turkish title on which *v.i.*, note to § 22, and also some resemblance to the present name *Kängir* mentioned in the note to § 18.

As regards the location of the mountain we must consider the possibility of the road to the Kimäk (§ 18) having in the course of time changed its direction. If *K.ndāv.r* was found on the original route of which the starting point was near ʿTarāz (Talas), Marquart's identification of it with the Ulu-tau is still the best. This mountain has a peak of 631 metres = 2,070 feet and forms the watershed between the Sari-su and Tārs-aqan, the latter being one of the feeders of the Ishim. If, on the other hand, the route started from the lower course of the Jaxartes (Gardizī, 83) it would be necessary to look for the *K.ndāv.r* between the sources of the more northern Turghai and the western loop of the Ishim, though the heights in this locality are insignificant. Finally if Gardizī's route was imagined to run northwards (towards some other, or some later, part of the Kimäk territory) the *K.ndāv.r* could be identified with the Mugojar mountains (see note to § 18). [On the name *v.i.*, p. 308, note 1.]

13. The Savalān, which stands 16,800 feet, can be called small only in the sense that it does not belong to a long chain.

14. See Herzfeld, *Bārimma*, in *EI*. The name *Bārimma* was applied to

the present-day Hamrīn where the Tigris cuts the latter south of the estuary of the Lesser Zāb and north of Takrit. The Hamrīn is a long range of reddish hills following on the west the border range of the Persian plateau. Iṣṭ., 75, vaguely says that "in the east" it stretches to the limits of Kirmān; and that "it is (also) the mountain of Māsabadhān". From this it is evident that the Bārimma was confused with the southern part of the western outer range of Persia (on the inner range see above 11.). Our author is entirely wrong when he takes the "Bārimmā" for the starting-point of the northern part of the same outer range of Persia (*i.e.* the present "frontier range" between Persia on the one hand and 'Irāq and Turkey on the other). In the north the connexion of the Ararat with the Qara-bāgh (highlands west of Barda'a) is imaginary.

16. The Jūdī stands in Bohtān, north of the Tigris and north-east of Jazīra-ibn-'Omar. On its association with Noah's ἀποβατήριον see Streck, *Djūdī*, in *EI* and Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 349, 352. The town of Mārdīn is situated on a cliff at an altitude of 1,190 metres and its fortress lies 100 metres higher above it. The range of the Mārdīn mountains was called in antiquity Masius, or 'Iṣalās. See Minorsky, *Mārdīn*, in *EI*.

17. Tihāma is the low coastal region along the Red Sea overlooked by a long range of mountains. Ghazwān is the mountain on which Ṭā'if is situated, Iṣṭ., 19. The Shibām mountain is situated at 2 days distance towards the south-west of Ṣan'ā, see Grohmann, *Shibām I*, in *EI*. The mountain "at the end of Tihāma" is Mudhaikhira, see Iṣṭ., 24, where both its length of 20 fars. and its conquest by Muḥammad b. Faḍl are mentioned; cf. I. Kh., 106, *v.s.* 21. The two mountains of the Ṭayy territory, in Central Arabia, have nothing to do with Tihāma. Their names are Aja' and Salmā, see Yāqūt, ii, 20 (Jabalān), i, 122 and iii, 120.

18. This composite range of mountains consists of the Sinai and the Syrian mountains, of the Armenian Taurus, of the Lesser Caucasus (Alagez < Armenian *Aragats*, &c.) and of the Eastern Caucasus. The term "Qabq" covers the principalities of Daghestan. From the Sinai to the Caspian our author's range runs approximately south-west to north-east, but in the neighbourhood of the Caspian it changes its direction sharply running now from SE. to NW., and follows the eastern (outer) line of the Daghestan mountains, *grosso modo* from Darband to the Darial pass. But then instead of continuing straight to the Black Sea, the range, in our author's opinion, takes a northern direction across the eastern part of Russia (stretching, as it seems, west of the Volga). This imaginary longitudinal range explains some of the puzzling statements in our text, cf. §§ 47 and 50, where a "Khazar mountain" separates on the east the Khazarian Pechenegs from the Khazars; § 46, where a mountain is mentioned to the east of the Mirvāt; § 53, where a mountain is mentioned west of the V.n.nd.r. It is possible that this mountain represents the watershed between the Caspian and Black seas and that its extension to the north is due to the fact that our author wrongly moved to the east the peoples Mirvāt and V.n.nd.r who were divided by the Carpathians. This latter

range was then imagined to stand somewhere in Eastern Russia near the Volga!

On the Lukām cf. Iṣṭ., 14 and 56, who also mentions the tribes Bahrā and Tanūkh. [**al-Ukkām* < Syr. *ukkāmā* "black", Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 347.]

18 A. The Taurus in Asia Minor.

18 B. The central and western part of the Great Caucasian range is represented as starting from Daghestan within the loop which the principal (outer) range is supposed to make here. The real Caucasus, treated here as a branch of that outer range, stretches west to the Georgian (Black) Sea. Lower down (22.) it is called "Georgian mountain". See Map xi.

18 c. This offshoot of the great range (18.) starting from the middle Sarīr in an easterly direction corresponds to the lofty chain (heights reaching 13,656 feet) which separates the basin of the Qoy-su from that of the Terek.

18 D. The last branch following a westerly direction seems to be that of the Qazbek (16,546 feet) overlooking the Darial pass. Of the two castles the first (18 c) is perhaps that mentioned under § 49, 1., while the second (18 D) corresponds to § 48, 3., but the details must have become confused. Like the rest of the data on the western shore of the Caspian, this paragraph contains some information which would be vainly sought elsewhere, even at a much later period.

19. This mountain very probably represents the Urals. Curiously enough neither under § 18, nor under § 44, are the territories of the Kimāk and Rūs represented as contiguous, and § 5, 19. may mean only that the mountain at one end reached the Rūs and at the other the Kimāk. The Kimāk territory is supposed to stretch down to the Volga in the west (§ 18) and the Urals to stand between the basins of the Irtysh and Volga, cf. note to § 6, 42. and 43. Under § 44 the Rūs territory is bordered in the east by the PECHENEG MOUNTAINS which may refer exactly to the Urals (on the space separating the Rūs from the Kimāk).

20. Cf. Wensinck, *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* in *EI*. The Seven Sleepers' cave, according to I. Kh., 106, lay in Kharama, a district situated between Amorion and Nicaea, at 4 days' distance from the Cappadocian fortress Qurra. Another Muslim tradition places the cave in Afsūs. This latter name has been interpreted either as the Ephesus of the Christian tradition, or as Arabissos (Arab. *Absus*, Turk. *Yarpuz*) situated at the foot of the Kūrd-daghī. Cf. Yāqūt, i, 91: "Absus, ruined town near Ablastayn [now Albistān]; from it were the Companions of the Cave", Khuwārizmī, 128, calls Ephesus *افاس* and Bīrūnī in his *Canon* *ابيس*.

21. If by the town (province?) of Afrakhūn (cf. § 74, 10.) Paphlagonia is meant, the mountains in question are the Pontic Alps.

22. On the Georgian mountain see above 18 B, but the details on the mountain possessing mines are too vague.

24. *ابريق* looks like a mis-spelling of *ابريط* on which see *Buwait* in *EI*. I am obliged to Mr. R. Guest for this suggestion and for a quotation from Ibn Duqmaq, iii, p. 3, who remarks that Abwait is situated *في رأس الجبل الذي يصعد منه الى الفيوم*, i.e. "on the top of the bank (of the Nile) whence

the road goes up to Fayyūm". [The difficulty is that in our author's two principal sources (I.Kh. and Išt.) *Abwayt* (or *Buwayt*) is not found. I now see that Prince Youssouf Kamal (v.i., § 39), p. 665, restores ماربق as *تاريف. The translation must accordingly run: "(this mountain) also starts straight from the Nubian frontier and follows a northerly direction¹ down to the Fayyūm region, until it reaches the Rif" (i.e. the fertile region near the delta). This seems to be a satisfactory reading. On the name ابريق see note to § 6, 49.]

25. If the author means here the Seleucia (now Selefke) situated north-west of the Gulf (*khalij*) of Iskenderun, this mountain corresponds to the Cilician Taurus.

26. Here the eastern watershed is meant, which separates the basins of the Guadalquivir, Guadiana, and Tagus from the rivers flowing eastwards towards the Mediterranean. *Shantariya* corresponds to *Shantabriya* whence, according to Išt., 42, the Tagus comes, cf. § 41, 4. Then the watershed between the Tagus and the Guadiana is taken for the continuation of the range (in the opposite direction NE. to SW.). This watershed is naturally continued by the Sierra de Toledo.

27. It is quite natural that after the range stretching south of the Tagus the one stretching north of it (Sierra de Gredos-Guadarrama) should be mentioned. Coria is more or less suitable for the southern point of it, but Turjāla (Truxillo) situated south of the Tagus on the slope of the Sierra de Guadalupe (which continues towards the south the line of the mountains of Toledo), is entirely out of place. Morón (Maurūn) would be a suitable point to mark the northern limit of the range starting from Coria.

28. The Balkans, cf. § 42, 17. The name *Balkan* belonging originally to the mountain east of the Krasnovodsk bay, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, was probably transferred to the Balkans by the Turcomans who remembered the toponymy of their ancient country; see Barthold, *Balkhān*, in *EI*. Cf. note to § 3, 5.

29. The reading of جبل القمر *ḡabal al-qamar* "Moon Mountain" corresponds exactly to Ptolemy's τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι. However the reading of القمر in the later geographical literature of the Arabs has given rise to some controversy, see Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 330. Ibn Sa'id (circa A.D. 1208-86) warns explicitly against the pronunciation with a *fathā* (**qamar*) to which he prefers a form with *u* (**Qumr*, *Qumar*?), but this evidently with the intention of justifying his very interesting theory about the inner Asiatic people قمر (Khmer?) who after having been ousted from Central Asia went to Indo-China, then colonized the island **Qumr* (Madagascar) and finally passed over to the continent and occupied the slopes of the Jabal-al-Q.mr, Ferrand, *o.l.*, p. 317.

§ 6. The Rivers

This chapter too (v.s. § 5) is very important as facilitating a more exact location of numerous places.

¹ Or: "runs straight in a northerly direction".

1. The river of Khumdān (§ 9, 1.) is evidently the HUANG-HO and not its tributary the Wei-ho on which Ch'ang-an-fu (Hsi-an-fu) really stands. The distances are of course too short. On the Sarandīb mountain (Mānisā) cf. § 5, 3. The Huang-ho comes from the region of lakes on the north-eastern border of Tibet. The swamp on its middle course is imaginary, unless the author thinks that through the Lob-nor the Huang-ho is connected with the Tarim, *v.i.* 3. In this case he describes the same river twice over using under 3. some unknown original source and reproducing under 1. the information known already to Khuwārizmī. The latter, p. 125, mentions the river طروس rising from the mountain of the river سس and then flowing through a swamp (*baṭiḥa*),¹ after which the river crosses the City of China (*madīnat al-Šīn*) and disembogues into the sea.² Our author substitutes for this vague "City of China" (= Σήρα μητρόπολις, Ptolemy, vi, 16, 8) the name of Khumdān, and for the indication of longitude and latitude his simplified reckoning by day-marches.

2. The name *Kīsau* (کيسو), if emended into *کسو *K.nsw*, might be confronted with Kin-sha-kiang, the principal source of the YANGTZE, rising in the north-eastern part of Tibet, south of the K'un-lun range. The reading **Ghiyān* (*kiang* "The River", as the Yangtze is usually called) is confirmed by Gardīzi's *Qiyān*. On the names of the provinces see notes to § 9.

3. This river is an imaginary combination of the Tarim and Huang-ho of which the latter is represented as a continuation of the former through the Lob-nor.

The description of the TARIM proper contains several curious details. The sources of the river of Khotan are placed in the localities of *Wajākh (cf. § 11, 12.), Barīḥa (cf. § 11, 13.) and Kūskān. Of these at least بریحه or بریخه presents some resemblance to the col of Brinjak (برنجك) in the mountains south of Khotan (evidently understood under the Mānisā, *v.s.* note to § 5, 3d.).³

The names of the three tributaries of the Khotan (Wajākh) river look Iranian with their terminations in *-and*; the element *-ghūn* stands apparently for "river",⁴ but in what language? The obvious course is to identify the three rivers with the principal streams joining the Khotan river, *i.e.* respectively with the rivers of Yārkand, Kāshghar, and Aq-su. One cannot, however, ignore the difficulties raised by the eventual identification of Khūland-ghūn (*v.i.* 5. and 7. and §§ 12, 5. and 13.) with Aq-su.⁵ The mountain of Ighrāj-art ("the col of Ighrāj"), located by our author "in the neighbourhood" of Khūland-ghūn, as explained in the note to § 5, 7., looks more like the higher eastern Muz-art, than the lower western Bedel

¹ Khuwārizmī adds that another river rising also from the "mountain of the river سس" falls into the same swamp.

² طروس perhaps = *Oiχάρδης*, Ptolemy, vi, 16.

³ A remote parallel of the name کوسکان could be that of the Kashkūl glacier situated above the locality of Nisa [south

of Khotan].

⁴ The names of the rivers *Gunt* [**Ghund*], in the Pamir, and *Tazghun* (?), south of Kāshghar, may be recalled here as parallels. [Or *ghūn* = Pers. *gūn* "colour"?]

⁵ On the earlier names of Aq-su see note to § 15, 15.

pass situated above the sources of the Aq-su, *v.i.*, p. 296. On the other hand, the town of Ark (ارک) belonging to the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 5.) is said to be situated near Khūland-ghūn. In the itinerary quoted by Gardīzī, 91, 1, 1 (probably corresponding to our ارک) is placed to the east of Kuchā, see note to § 12, 5. These considerations suggest for Khūland-ghūn an easterly position in the neighbourhood of the Muz-art pass, though here again we are confronted by some difficulty for neither the Kuchā nor any other river in this region now reaches the Tarim, whatever may have been the case in the past.

If the Khūland-ghūn is to be placed so far east it is possible that the other two rivers should also be moved to the western T'ien-shan and this would entail further uncertainty about the localities of Gh.zā and K.lbānk between which the affluents join the *Wajākh river. Under § 11, 21., Gh.zā is placed "at the very beginning of Tibet from the Toghuzghuz side, near the river of Kuchā", but we shall presently see that the use of this last term involves us in fresh complications.

The river Tarim is further represented as continued beyond the Lob-nor (*v.s.* 1.) by the Huang-ho. The Chinese themselves were responsible for this belief: "This river [*Sita* = Tarim] on the east enters the sea. Passing through the Salt Lake [*Yen-tse* = Lob-nor] it flows underground and emerging at the Tsih-shi mountains [west of Lan-chou?] it is the origin of our [Yellow] river", Hsüan-Tsang, *Life* (Beal), p. 199, less clearly in Hsüan-Tsang, *Life* (Julien), p. 273, cf. Richthofen, *China*, i, 318 and Chavannes, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1907, p. 168, note 4. Consequently the sentence: "thence [from Lob-nor] it flows (down) to the limits of Kuchchā, then passes through the province of Kūr.sh and the province of F.rāj.klī and empties itself into the Eastern Ocean", ought to come under § 6, 1. which, however, is based on a different source.

Following our text (§ 6, 3.) the "limits of Kuchchā (*sic*)" where the Tarim received the name of "Kuchchā river" lie downstream (*i.e.*, E. or S.) of the swamp of *Sha-chou¹ by which only the Lob-nor can be meant. In principle it would be embarrassing to surname any reach of the Tarim after the well-known town of Kuchā (§ 9, 10.) which lies on a river of its own² rising from the western T'ien-shan and losing itself (at present!) short of the Tarim. Thus we are led to admit that by Kuchchā كچا our author may mean a different locality, namely Kuchān كچان (see note to § 9, 5.)³ which most likely is to be sought on the real course of the Huang-ho, near Lan-chou-fu. If so "the river of Kuchchā" must refer not to the Tarim, but to the Huang-ho (cf. § 7, 2.),⁴ and Ghazā is then to be placed accordingly.

The curious passage on the 'akka-birds nesting on the banks of the Tarim can hardly be connected with what Idrīsī, i, 502, says about the lake

¹ ساجو is certainly *Sha-chou [§ 9, 15.]. *Sanju*, near Khotan, is out of the question.

² It is true that the Huang-ho [*v.s.* 1] is called "river of Khumdān" though this is geographically inexact.

³ In this case the *tashdid* over the first form may be a simple mis-spelling of the final ن of the second form.

⁴ Under § 7, 3. the Lob-Nor is called طيحه رود كچا but it remains a moot point whether the "swamp" is called after the

of کوارث which he places somewhere in the Toghuzghuz country: "on voit voler au dessus de sa surface quantité d'oiseaux d'une espèce particulière qui pond et qui fait ses petits au dessus de l'eau. Cet oiseau ressemble à une huppe (*hud-hud*) et son plumage est de diverses couleurs."

4. The reference to "this" fortress (not mentioned before!) indicates that this paragraph is copied from a description of Tibet. K.rsāng is another name of Lhasa (see notes to § 11). In this case the river in question must be the left affluent of the Brahmaputra on which Lhasa stands. This would agree with the statement that the river comes from the Mānisā, i.e. evidently from its western face (cf. note to § 5, 3.). The detail about its being a branch of the Yangtze is an obvious misunderstanding.

5. The ILĀ (i.e. ILI) river, emptying itself into the Balkhash (not the Issik-kul!), rises from the corner formed by the T'ien-shan and the southern Dzungarian range. Kāshgharī, i, 85, writes Ilā (*Ilā*) and calls the river "Jayhūn of the Turkish country". On the Ighrāj-art (central T'ien-shan) see § 5, 7. and § 6, 3.

6.-12. The system of the AMŪ-DARYĀ (OXUS). See Barthold, *Turkestan*, ch. i; Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. xxxi; Barthold, *Irrigation*, pp. 71-102; Barthold, *Amū-daryā*, in *EI.*; *Tājikistān* (by several authors in Russian) Tashkent, 1925, map. On the source of the Oxus, v.i. 14. See Map ix.

6.-7. Our author distinguishes clearly between the Jayhūn and Kharnāb (خرناب) of which the former (flowing immediately north of Bolor) is certainly the Vakhān river (Panj), and the latter must be the Murghāb, which rises to the east of the Vakhān and after a north-eastern sweep crosses the Pamir and joins the Panj near Bārtang. Our writer is right in attaching more importance to the Kharnāb-Murghāb, though for some time this river has been dammed up at Sarez (following the 1911 earthquake). Iṣṭ., 296, confuses the two headwaters: "the principal stream (*amūd*) of the Jayhūn is called Jaryāb (جرىاب) and rises in Vakhkhān". See Map iv.

8. The Kulāb river (Kchī Surkhāb) is composed of two branches: Yakh-su (< Iranian *Akhshū*, cf. Iṣṭ., 296, *Akhshuvā*) and Qizil-su. The village Pārkhār still exists. Munk = Baljuvān, on the Qizil-su, Hulbuk = Hulbag, south of Kulāb, on the Yakh-su, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68-9. Our author considers this river quite correctly as forming one drainage area, while Iṣṭ., 296, presents Fārghar as a separate stream. On the contrary, our author forgets the following river Andijārāgh, on which see § 26, 3. I.R., 93, speaking of the course of the Vakhshāb and the Vakhkh-āb (= the Vakhān river, Oxus) mentions south of the latter a rustāq of the Upper Tukhāristān called مارغن. De Goeje restored this name as بارغر i.e. Pārghar and this form led astray Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, 234, and Barthold, see § 23, 69. Our text very rightly places Pārghar to the north of the river, therefore the name found in I.R. must most probably be restored as آرمن, cf. Iṣṭ., 275, 339. Ārhan

river forming it, or the river coming out of it. In a route to Tibet, of which the starting-point is Kāshghar, Gardizī, 88₁₀, mentions "the stream of Kuja (جوى كجا)

which flows towards Kuja". The distinction between this *stream* and a *river* (رود) which is mentioned immediately after it is strange. On the route v.i., p. 255.

was the well-known place where the Oxus was crossed and lay undoubtedly on the left bank, upstream from and opposite the estuary of Vakhshāb, Išt., 296. On Ārhan see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69, note 7 and cf. note to § 26, 1.

9. Vakhshāb, now Vakhsh (called in the upper course Surkhāb), a powerful river coming from the Alai valley (Vakhsh mountains). In Greek *Ωξος < *Vakhsh* has become the name for the whole of the Amū-daryā.

10. This river undoubtedly is the Kāfir-Nihān which flows between the Vakhsh and Surkhān, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72; Marquart, *Wehrot*, 89-90. The modern name of the river is due to the village of Kāfir-Nihān¹ lying on its upper course. On the Kumījīs see § 26, 10. Nūdiz (*nau-diz* "The New Fort") lay probably on the lower course of the Kāfir-Nihān, see note to § 26, 5.

11. On Chaghāniyān see § 25, 25. The river is now called Surkhān, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72-5. Under § 25, 31., دیکر (**Regar*?) is placed on the Nihām river, which is also mentioned in I.R., 93 (but wrongly considered as a source of the Kāfir-Nihān). The middle one of the Surkhān's headwaters is still called Dara-yi Nihām. On the easternmost of the Surkhān headwaters lay probably Hamvārān (§ 25, 32.) which Marquart, *Wehrot*, 62, identifies with Qara-tagħ, whereas Kasavān (*v.i.* note to § 25, 32.) must have belonged to the Kāfir-Nihān basin.

12. The form ضرغام confirms that the Arabic spelling ضرغام in I.Kh., 33, and I.R., 93, is based only on a popular etymology ("the Lion river"). Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 230, has shown its identity with Ptolemy's Δάρυγος. Valvālij (§ 23, 73.) has been long identified with Qunduz, which lies between the rivers Dōshī (Surkh-āb), coming from the south-west, and the Ṭalaqān river, coming from the south-east. The latter, according to I.R., 93 and Maq., 303, was composed of two sources حلاب and راب. The names (several variants) may mean "Lower river" (**jil-āb*, cf. Persian *zīr* "below") and "Upper river" (*bar-āb*), and the rivers correspond respectively to the Varsaj and the Ishkāmish rivers. Of the two large rivers uniting below Qunduz, the Dōshī is by far the more important. It flows precisely between Qunduz and Khulm. Our text leaves no doubt that Le Strange's identification of the ضرغام with the Kokcha is wrong.

13.-16.: Rivers of India, among which the Ganges (Khuwārizmī, 133, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 214: *Janjis*) has been entirely overlooked, though I.R., 89, who uses mostly the same sources as the H.-'Ā., mentions the كك **Gang*. The Ganges is disregarded to such an extent that the Vindhya mountains are supposed to join the Himalaya (§ 5, 9.).

13.-15.: System of the INDUS.

13. The Kābul river is considered as the principal course of the Indus. It is represented as being formed by the waters of Lamghān and Dunpūr (§ 10, 54.-55); on Nihār < **Nagarahār* = Jalālābād see § 10, 50.

¹ *Nihān* may be related to *Nihām*, though the latter is the name of one of the Surkhān's headwaters. However, the upper courses of the Kāfir-Nihān and

Surkhān form one single stretch of highlands, which fact may also explain I.R.'s (p. 93) confusion of the two rivers, Barthold, *l.c.*, and Marquart, *l.c.*

Multān is out of place both here and under 14., as lying on the Chenāb (though our author speaks only of the “confines” of Multān). The locality كولى near which the Indus disembogues into the sea is undoubtedly the Kori creek which is in fact the ancient estuary of the Indus, see map in H. Cousens, *Antiquities of the Sind*, quoted in § 27.

14. This is the principal course of the Indus, here considered as a left affluent of 13. On the Qasak mountain see § 5, 9 B. The story of the fountain springing from its summit (told under 15.) is probably inspired by I.Kh., 173.¹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 212, denounces the error of those who make the Jayhūn flow into the Mihrān, but himself seems to incorporate a headwater of the Indus (the river of Yasin-Gilgit) into the basin of the Oxus, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, ch. iii: “Oxus und Indus”, and especially its §§ 67, 70, 82.

15. No trace of the name Hivān could be discovered, but the mention of Bīrūza in its neighbourhood is in favour of the identity of this river with the Sutlej, see note to § 10, 51. The Sutlej, as the longest of the affluents of the Indus, could hardly be overlooked. Consequently instead of “the western side” of the Lamghān river one must read “the eastern side”.

After the junction of 13., 14., and 15. the Indus was called Mihrān. Khuwārizmī, 131-3, gives an elaborate description of this river which unfortunately remains obscure until the editor's commentary becomes available.

16. Khuwārizmī, 131₁₂, mentions a *Mihrān al-thānī al-kabīr* “The Second Great Mihrān”, to which our “Lesser Mihrān” may correspond. The position of the latter is a complicated problem, but the joint evidence of the relevant passages is in favour of its identification with the Narbadā. The town Qandahār, which this river skirts, is certainly that mentioned under § 10, 17., i.e. Ghandhar in the Bay of Cambay. The name of Kūlī is very misleading for its form is identical with the كولى just mentioned as the estuary of the Indus (13.). Under § 5, 9., our author distinctly refers to the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya, which is also mentioned by I.Kh., 62, as lying 18 farsakhs north of Sindān (§ 10, 14.), evidently at the entrance to the Bay of Cambay. It may correspond to *Kūlinar* of the *Mohīt* and *Qulinar*, *Curinal* shown on the Portuguese maps north-west of Diu, whence the Arab sailors could make straight for Sindān, though the distance between the two points exceeds that indicated in I.Kh. The names of the places mentioned on the Lesser Mihrān are obscure; cf. notes to § 10, 18. 24.

17.-22.: the system of the Sīr-DARYĀ (JAXARTES), on which see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 155-65; Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. xxxiv; Barthold, *Irrigation*, 129-54. The old name of the river is given in § 25, 47: *Khashart*. It is also to be found in I.Kh., 178, and Bīrūnī's *Canon*, under **Sutkand*. Marquart in his *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 1898, 5-6, first explained 'Iaξáπρης as *yaxša-arta* “wahre edle Perle” (cf. Barthold's criticism in *Irrigation*, 130), then interpreted it as Soghdian *Yaxšart* < *Rxša-arta* (?), *Skizzen z. hist.*

¹ ونهر السند هو شعب نهر جيحون. More detail in the confused additional paragraph *ibid.*, 178.

Topographie vom Kaukasus, Vienna, 1928, p. 16, and finally, *Catalogue*, 35, considered as the old form of the name **Opξάρης*, "i.e. Old Iranian **Rxarta*, the true Araxes"! The attested Iranian form remains *Khashart*.

17. This is the main stream of the Sir-Daryā (Jaxartes) coming from the south. Ūzgend is situated at the easternmost end of Farghāna. On its two rivers, *T.bāgh.r.* and *Barskhān*, see § 25, 58. and § 15, 11. تاغر must be improved into *باغر, in view of Kāshgharī, iii, 27, who says that "Yabāghū-suvī is the river flowing from the Kāshghar mountains past Ūzgend in Farghāna". Yabāghū was a Turkish tribe which according to Kāshgharī, i, 29, lived much more to the east but *yabāghū* means also "felt" and may have been used here as a personal name of the local chief, see the story in Gardizī, *v.i.*, p. 288. See Map v. [Cf. p. 256, note 2.]

18. The town of Khursāb, cf. I.H., 392, lay east of Ōsh, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 159. By Buttamān the Alay range is meant here.

19. Now called Aq-Bura, Barthold, *o.c.*, 159. 20. *Ibid.*, 159.

21. The north-eastern headwater of Jaxartes now called Narin, rises north of the Western T'ien-shan (= Mānisā, *v.s.* note to § 5, 3*e*), see Barthold, *o.c.*, 157. On Khatlām (Khaylām?) see § 25, 59.

22. Parak, now Chirchik, Barthold, *o.c.*, 169, flows into the Sir-Daryā, south of Tashkent. The Khallukh mountains mentioned here must be the hills separating the Narin from the basin of the Chirchik, i.e. Chatkal (Arab. *Jidghil*) mountains. Banākat lay near the point where the more southern Āhangarān (Angren) joins the Sir-Daryā, *ibid.*, 169. The wall of Qalās on the northern side of the Chirchik was built for protection against the Turks, *ibid.*, 172, and Barthold, *Ibn Sa'id*, 238.

23. The basin of the SUGHD RIVER (now Zarafshān), Barthold, *Turkestan*, 82., Barthold, *Irrigation*, 103–25. The Middle Buttamān is the Zarafshān range stretching between, and parallel to those of Turkestan and Hīṣār. The lake Daryāzha is now called Iskandar-kul and the *āvāza* of Paykand is the Qara-kul, cf. § 3, 34.

24. The river of Balkh was called Dah-ās ("Ten mills"), I.H., 326. The translation: "skirts the confines" is justified by the fact that Madr (§ 23, 80.) does not belong to its system. Foucher, *De Kaboul à Bactres*, in *La Géographie*, July 1924, 155, places Madar between Kāmard and Du-āb-i shāh, evidently still in the basin of the Surkh-āb (western headwater of the Qunduz river, *v.s.* 12.). On Ribāt-i karvān see § 23, 63.

25. Several branches of the HILMAND rise south of the Kūh-i Bābā in the immediate neighbourhood of the sources of the Harāt river. As Iṣṭ., 265, places the latter "in the neighbourhood of Ribāt-i Karvān" (§ 23, 63.), there is no wonder that the sources of the Hilmand were also located in the region of the same *ultima Thule* of the Gūzgan possessions. On Durghush, Til, and Bust see § 24, 12.

26. On the upper course of the Marvarūd (Murghāb) see notes to § 23, 38., 46., &c.

27. See notes to § 23, 46. and § 24, 1.

28. Cf. § 28, 3. and 7. The name of the river is Dīvrūdh.

29.-36.: RIVERS OF FĀRS. Even after the studies of Le Strange, *The Lands*, Schwarz, *Iran*, and Herzfeld, *Pasargadae*, Inaugural Dissertation, 1907, there remain numerous doubtful points regarding their identification.

29. See Minorsky, *Mānd*, in *EI*; now called Qara-aghach. Rūyagān corresponds to Iṣṭ., 120, Ruwayjān (read: *Rūyajān*). *Kavar*, now *Kavār*.

30. خويذان corresponds to خويذان in Iṣṭ., 120; the river bearing this latter name watered the districts of Khūbadhān and Anbūrān of the Sābūr province (Iṣṭ., 110) and then that of Jalādajān of the Arrajān province (Iṣṭ., 113), consequently it flowed from east to west. The *Fārs-nāma*, 151, identifies نهر خوابدان with the Naubanjān river, flowing into the Nahr-i Shīrīn (*v.i.* 32.). Our author having found Khūbadān among the districts of "Bishāvur" (§ 29, 19.) must have taken its river for one of the headwaters of the Nahr-Sābūr, probably for Iṣṭ.'s *Ratīn*. The Nahr-Sābūr, now called Rūd-i Hilla (left out in our text!), flowed past Tavvaj. The error may have resulted from the fact that in Iṣṭ., 99 and 120, the rivers Khūbadhān and Ratīn follow one another in the enumeration.

31. According to Iṣṭ., 119, Shādhagān rose in Bāzranj (province of Arrajān) and flowed to the sea through Tambūk-i Mūristān (province of Sābūr) and Dasht-i Dastagān (the town of which was صفاره, § 29, 9.). Shādhagān is not mentioned in the *Fārs-nāma*. As suggested by Le Strange, *o.c.*, 274, the river meant here may be one of the streams emptying themselves into the sea south of Ganāwa. In point of fact recent English maps show a considerable river Rūd-i Shūr of which the estuary is located 12 miles north of that of the Rūd-i Hilla (= Shāpūr), and south of Bandar-Rīg. The course of this little known river can be traced for some 60 miles northwards up to the parallel 30°. This must be the Shādhakān.

32. 35. 36. (and 30.). In the mountainous region connecting Fārs with Khūzistān there are only two important basins, *viz.* the rivers of Hindiyyān (in the south) and Arrajān (in the north). Both rivers flow parallel to one another, and *grosso modo* from east (Fārs) to west (Khūzistān). Until very lately their lower course in the plain, on the way to the Persian Gulf, was very insufficiently known, and even now the region of their sources remains unsurveyed.

The confusion in our sources with regard to these two rivers will be best presented in the following comparative tables.

A

	Iṣṭ.	<i>Fārs-nāma</i>	H.-'Ā.
name	Shīrīn	Shīrīn	Sīrīn
sources	Mt. Dīnār in Bāzranj	limits of Bāzrang	Mt. Dhanbādh, in Bāzranj
affluents	?	Khawābdān river	?
course	F.rz.k, Jalādagān	Gunbadh, Mallaghān	between Vāyagān and Lārandān, Arrajān, *Rishahr
estuary in the sea	towards Jannāba	between Sinīz and Janābā	between Sinīz and Ganāfa

B

	Iṣṭ.	Fārs-nāma	H.-'A.
name	Ṭāb	Ṭāb	Ṭāb
sources	Isfahān Mts., near Burj	Sumayram	Kūh-Jilū, on the confines of Isfahān
affluents	Masin river	Masin river	Sardan river
course	Arrajān, Rīshahr	Arrajān, Rīshahr	between Khūzistān and Fārs
estuary in the sea	near the frontier of T.st.r [?]	near Sīnīz	near Māhīrūbān

The following questions arise with regard to this table:

a. The estuary of the "Shīrīn" river lies now south of Hindiyān; the river crosses the peninsula protruding into the sea, first north to south and then, beyond Tuwaisha, east to west. Even if the river has changed its course, it could never have flowed near Sīnīz (§ 29, 13.), and still less near Ganāva (§ 29, 10.), which are shut off from it by mountains. Here all the three sources are in error.

b. The river of Arrajān (§ 29, 16.), which is now called Mārān, flows first to the north until it joins the river of Rām-Hurmūz; then their joint stream, called Jarrāhī, flows south-westwards to Fallāhiya and, through the Dauraq canal, comes into connexion with the Khor-Mūsā creek (which is the terminus of the new Trans-Persian railway). It is quite possible that, formerly, at least a branch of the Jarrāhī joined the Kārūn,¹ though the mention of *Rīshahr (§ 29, 14.) on the course of the river shows that it flowed in a south-westerly direction. In any case it is unimaginable to place the estuary of the Ṭāb between Sīnīz and Ganāva, in which case it would have flowed across the basin of the Hindiyān river.² In our text, Māhīrūbān, lying west of Sīnīz, comes nearer to the point, though there are good reasons in favour of the location of Māhīrūbān in the region of Hindiyān, *i.e.* on the Shīrīn river, cf. § 29, 15.

c. It is quite evident that our author has committed a grave mistake in joining together the upper course of the Shīrīn³ with the middle course of the Ṭāb; therefore his *Sīrīn* rising near Mt. Dhanbādh⁴ flows past Arrajān and Rīshahr!⁵

¹ And this might account for the mention of *Tustar* in Iṣṭ's original text, for the Kārūn was rightly called "Tustar [= Shūstar] river", cf. § 6, 37. Then Iṣṭ's text should be read *ثم يقع في البحر عند حد* ["then [the river] falls into the sea at the frontier (*of the estuary) of (the) Tustar (river)"].

² For our author the situation had no difficulty as, according to him, the *Sīrīn* flowed in a north to south direction.

³ Vāyagān and Lārandān named near its course are mentioned under § 29, 17.

together with *B.rz.k*, which undoubtedly is identical with Iṣṭ's *F.rz.k*, see the table p. 212.

⁴ Iṣṭ. دینار [var. دسان]. The mountain meant is surely the lofty Kūh-i Dīnā [17,000–18,000 ft.] though on the latter's western side rise in fact only the headwaters of the Khirsān, the south-easternmost affluent of the Kārūn, see C. Haussknecht, *Routen im Orient*, iv [map edited by Kiepert] and the English 1 : 2,000,000 map.

⁵ [Cf. *infra*, p. 378.]

34. Farvāb, now Pulvār, cf. *Le Strange, o.c.*, 276.

36. This Sardan river is called Masin in Iṣṭ., 119, and *Fārs-nāma*, 152. This headwater of the Ṭāb rose, according to Iṣṭ., from the limits of Isfahān and came out (*yaṣhur*) in Sardan. The *Fārs-nāma* more precisely locates its sources in the mountains of Sumayram and Simtakht (**Sisakht* of English maps?), which does not seem to contradict our author's mention of the Kūh-Jilū region. However, at least some parts of the Sardan district may have belonged to the Kārūn basin, see note to § 29, 42.

37.-39.: System of the SHŪSHTAR RIVER (Arabic *Dujayl*, now *Kārūn*). The changes in the lower course of the Kārūn in historical times are still very little known; therefore the location of many places of this region is at present impossible. See a detailed study of the texts in Schwarz, *Iran*, 294-312, and Streck, *Kārūn*, in *EI*. [Cf. A. Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i pānsad-sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehrān, 1934, pp. 77-88: on the old course of the Kārūn.]

37. The enumeration of localities is probably borrowed from Iṣṭ., 89, 94, and *passim*. The only curious and new detail is "the mouth of Shīr" (*dahana-yi Shīr*) which may refer to the *Bahamshīr* canal running to the east of the 'Abbadān island, parallel to the Tigris. According to Maq., 419, a canal between the Kārūn and Tigris was built only under the Būyid 'Aḍud al-daula (A.D. 949-83), cf. Barthold, *Obzor*, 127, and the canal, now called Bahamshīr (still navigable), was probably the natural outlet of the river into the Persian Gulf. Cf. *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, Admiralty, 1864, p. 225.

38. Masruqān = Āb-i Gargar, *i.e.* the left (eastern) of the two branches into which the Kārūn is divided by the famous weir at Shūstar.

39. Only the latest English maps present a clear picture of the hydrographic conditions south of the lower course of the Kārūn. The oasis of Fallāhiya (ancient Dauraq) is watered both by a canal coming from the Jarrāhī and by streams evidently coming from the Kārūn, but appearing on the surface only south of Ahwāz. The waters of these latter are used in the western part of the oasis, while the waters of the Jarrahī canal are taken down to the sea by the Dauraq canal. Our author evidently considers the whole of these streams as a branch of the Kārūn, spreading its waters down to Rām-Hurmuz. But in reality the chief source of irrigation of Fallāhiya is the Jarrāhī, of which one branch comes from Rām-Hurmuz and the other from Arrajān-Behbehān (note to 35.). Schwarz, *Iran*, 373, identifies Dauraq with Fallāhiya. In a westerly direction Iṣṭ., 95, gives the distances: Dauraq-Khān-Mardawaih (var. مندوه, &c.)-1 marḥala; thence to Bāsiyān (where the river splits off into two)-1 marḥala; thence to Ḥisn-Mahdī-2 marḥalas; thence to Bayān (on the Tigris)-1 marḥala. [Consequently Bāsiyān cannot be Buziya, situated 6-7 Km. east of Fallāhiya.]

40. The river of Susa (Daniel, viii, 2: *Ulai*) is now called Shā'ūr (< Shāvūr). If we are to interpret B.dhūshāvur as Gundē-Shāpur the situation is geographically inexact. Perhaps the text could be improved into: **miyān-i Shūsh va-Bidh va-Shāvur* (?). Iṣṭ., 89, mentions a place Bidhān belonging to Shūsh, and the existence of a Shāvur could be postulated from the present name of the river.

41.-4.: The rivers supposed to flow into the CASPIAN. See Map vii.

41. The river رى corresponds to the اُس which Gardizī, 83, mentions on the road from the Jaxartes to the Kimāks. Marquart, *Komanen*, 92, 206, noted the likeness of this name to that of the Ishim (اشيم*), a left affluent of the Irtish; cf. note to § 5, 12. Though the mountain forming the frontier "between the Kimāk and Khirkhiz" (cf. § 5, 12.) might be taken for the Altai, &c., whence the real Irtish comes, the fact that, both according to our author and Gardizī, the river flows westwards to the Caspian points clearly to some confusion. The *Kimāk* (note to § 18) lived probably east of the Irtish but extended also in a north-westerly direction towards the Urals. If our author thought that the road to the Kimāk ran from the lower course of the Sir-daryā northwards, we could possibly identify the Asus with the Ilāk¹, which is a southern tributary of the Yayıq but might have been taken for an independent river flowing to the Caspian.

42. The spelling Artush (or *Artūsh*) is corroborated by the popular etymology found in Gardizī, 82, "ارتش, i.e., come down", referring to the Turkish phrase *är tüş* "man, come down (from the horse)!", Barthold, *Report*, 106. The mountain from which the real Irtish rises is the region of the Altai evidently referred to in § 5, 12, where a mountain is described stretching between the Kimāk and Khirkhiz. In the present paragraph, however, the mountain where the sources of the three rivers (41.-3.) lie is meant to be the Urals (most probably referred to in § 5, 19.). As the text stands, our author's *Artush* represents the Yayıq (Const. Porph. Γεήχ, in Russian "Ural river") which rises from the south of the Ural mountains, flows to the west (down to Uralsk) and then to the south (down to Guryev) and empties itself into the Caspian, east of the Volga estuary. Our author has wrongly taken it for a tributary of the Volga. Ibn Fadlān, who in 309-10/922 travelled the whole distance between Khwārazm and Bulghār, ought to be our principal authority on the region to the south-west of the Urals. The complete version of his *Risāla* described by A. Z. Validi, (*Meshedskaya rukopis Ibnul-Faqiha*, in *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, pp. 237-48) mentions a number of large rivers. Beyond جام [A.Z. Validi: *Emba*, cf. p. 312, note 2], in the direction of the Pecheneg territory, were found جاحش, اذل, اردن, ارش, اختی, ونا. Of these, جاحش has some (?) resemblance to Gardizī's اسس, and ارش to our ارتش [though Validi takes for the Yayıq the river جنج mentioned beyond the Pecheneg territory]. Nearer to the tradition represented by our author and Gardizī is what Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, says, rather vaguely, about "the Black² and the White Irtish (Artush? spelt ارشت) on which lies the kingdom of the كماك [restored by Marquart, *Komanen*, 100, as **Kimāk yabghūy*],³ a branch of

¹ The Ilāk rises in the Mugojar hills separating it from the sources of the Irghiz. It is difficult to take *Asus/R.s* for the *Emba*. The latter, though rising from the same mountain and flowing to the Caspian is not on the eventual route from

the Sir-daryā northwards, see notes to § 5, 12. and 18.

² Note that the waters of 41. and 42. are called "black" in our text.

³ [See however note to § 18, 3. where a tribe called **Yughur* (still doubtful!)]

Turks beyond the Balkh river [*i.e.* Oxus]. On these two rivers live the Turkish Ghuzz." Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 62, where the estuaries of the two rivers are said to lie at 10 days' distance from one another. Marquart, *o.c.*, 102, has already detected the connexion of these rivers with Gardīzī's (p. 83) اسس and ارتش and thought that what Mas'ūdī had in view were the rivers Yayīq and Emba (*v.s.* note to 41.). Our author clearly uses the same source as Gardīzī but tries to give to the data a more systematic and complete form.

43. The Ātil (Volga) rising from the same mountain as the Irtish, is an extraordinary slip, but Iṣṭ., 222, also says: the Ithil, "as I have heard, rises from the neighbourhood of the Khirkhīz and flows between the Kimāk and Ghuzz forming the boundary between them; then it takes a western direction behind (*'alā ṣahr*) Bulghār, then turns eastwards until it has passed the Rūs, then it flows past Bulghār, then past Burtās until it falls into the sea". In spite of the erroneous start it is clear that the name *Ithil* (**Ātil* < *Etil*) is given to the Kama rising from the Ural mountains (§ 5, 19.) and joining the Volga below Kazan. Cf. **Map ii** (after Idrīsī).

44. The Rūs river can be either the upper course of the Volga above its junction with the Kama (as suggested by Toumansky), or the Don. The terminology of I.Kh., 154, who speaks of the Russian merchants navigating "the تنيس (Tanais?), the river of the Ṣaqāliba" does not completely tally with that of our author. On the other hand, the testimony of I.H., invoked by Barthold in favour of the identity of the Rūs river with the Don, is doubtful. According to I.H., 276, the Caspian does not communicate with any other sea "except for what enters it from the river Rūs, known (under the name of) Itil; the latter is joined to a branch (*shu'ba*) which leads from it towards the outlet (*khārīj*) (which leads) from Constantinople towards the Encircling Ocean".¹ Here the Don (or rather its lower course)² is considered as a branch of the Volga, but logically the name Rūs is applied to the Volga. In our text, the Rūs river, rising in the Slav territory, flows eastwards (*sic*) and even skirts the confines of the Khifjakh (who are supposed to be one of the northernmost peoples). Though our author knows the Maeotis (§ 3, 8.) and gives its dimensions in accordance with I.R., 85, he does not explicitly say that the Rūs river forms its outlet, whereas I.R. lets the *Ṭānīs* come from the *Māwṭish*. Contrary to our author for whom the Rūs river is an affluent of the Volga, I.R. treats the *Ṭānīs* as a separate river flowing to the Black sea (*Bontos*). Even the fact that the three Rūs "towns" (§ 44)³ were "skirted" by the Rūs river seems to suit the upper

is mentioned in the neighbourhood of the Aral sea. This brings us nearer to the Caspian (*Khazar*) sea into which the two rivers flow according to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 62.]

¹ Cf. also Mas'ūdī quoted under § 3, 8. The idea of this junction is already found in Ptolemy, v, 5, though according to Marquart *Streifzüge*, 153, the

right reading is ἐπιστροφή (not ἐκβολή).

² The Don [above Kalach] is separated from the Volga [near Tsaritsin, now Stalingrad] by a narrow neck of land across which smaller craft could be easily dragged from one river to the other. It is the place through which the projected Volga-Azov sea canal will be built.

³ *Shahr* may mean "land", *v.i.*, p. 436.

Volga better than the Don. Consequently, even admitting that I.Kh.'s "river of the *Ṣaḡālība*" stands for the "river of the *Rūs*" (for I.Kh. does not discriminate between the *Rūs* and Slavs, cf. note to § 43) and knowing that Idrīsī (see Map II) understands the Don under *nahr al-Rūsiya*, we are obliged to interpret our text in the light of its internal evidence and adhere to Toumansky's conclusion.

45. With the *Rūtā* we are right in the centre of the confusion. The name روتا in Arabic script looks very much like Gardīzī's دروتا, which most probably refers to the Danube (**دونا*), see notes to §§ 22 and 53. However, our description of its course is extremely puzzling. It apparently flows westwards, from the *Rūs* to the *Saqlāb* (the latter living to the west of the *Rūs*, §§ 43 and 44). Its sources are placed on a mysterious mountain standing between the [Turkish] Pechenegs, Majgharī, and *Rūs*. The *Rūs* river, as we have just seen, is the upper Volga, and north of the Volga there are no rivers flowing westwards. We must then admit that the *Rūtā* is one of the rivers to the south-west of the Volga's great bend. The Turkish Pechenegs (§ 20) are said to live north of the **Bulghār* (§ 51) and **Burṭās* (§ 52). The latter, both historically and according to our author, lived on the right (western) bank of the Volga; therefore the Turkish Pechenegs, in order to be found to the north of the **Burṭās*, must have occupied a part of the Volga's right bank. As the southern boundary of the *Rūs* (living along the upper course of the Volga) was the *Rūtā*, and the northern boundary of the Turkish Pechenegs was the *Rūthā* (رتوتا) it is clear that the river *Rūtā*, or *Rūthā*, divided the *Rūs* from the Pechenegs. To the south-west of the Volga and north of the *Burṭās* only the Oka could be taken into consideration in this connexion. From the point of view of the script روتا or روتا, greatly resemble **اوقا* *Ūqā* < *Oka*, and it is not excessive to imagine that the Oka was known to the informer originally responsible for the description of the *Rūs* territory [Iṣṭ.'s text suggesting that the observation point was the town of *Bulghār* on the Volga]. However, the Oka flows to the Volga in a north-easterly direction and no other contemporary source does mention the Oka! That there is a confusion is clear from the fact that our author after having placed the capital of the Slavs *Khurdāb* (see notes to § 43, 1.) on the *Rūtā* does not know what more to do with the *Rūtā*. To sum up, the river in question is an imaginary stream due perhaps to a confusion of two different names looking similar in Arabic script (**دونا* and **اوقا*); as a whole it cannot be located on the map but the elements of its description may refer to several rivers of the central part of Eastern Europe (cf. §§ 20, 22, 43, 1.). [Cf. 'Aufī's spelling روتا, *v.i.*, p. 324.]

Some light on our river is thrown by a passage in Idrīsī (ii, 435) according to which there exists in the Northern Qumānīa a lake غون (*Gh.nūn*) forming the outflow of eight rivers, of which the more important is شروی (*Sh.rwī*). The annexed sketch is based on Idrīsī's map reproduced in K. Miller's *Mappae*, Band 1/2, fol. v, but the names are spelt as in Idrīsī's text. The lake forming a special basin is placed somewhere between the

Volga and *Nahr al-Rūsīya*!¹ It is interesting that Idrīsī's *Sh.rwī* (according to K. Miller *Sh.lwī*) flows westwards similarly to our Rūtā. I think that the confused idea about the existence of a river between the Volga and Don is common both to our author and Idrīsī, but that the name *Rūtā* (رُوتَا) which our author gives to it is due to some confusion with دُنا, i.e. the Danube.

46. In this passage the usual (western) course of the Lower TIGRIS during the Middle Ages is described. Madhār is mentioned as lying on the river, though according to I.R., 96, this was only the case before Islam. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. ii, and Map II; R. Hartmann, *Diğila*, in *EI*; Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 232-452: an extremely detailed analysis of the descriptions of the Tigris by Kisrawī, Maq., Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Serapion.

48. 'Ukbara, which now lies west of the Tigris, stood first on its eastern bank, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 51, and Map II (Sāmarrā). The Nahr Sābus, Iṣṭ., 87, I.H., 168 (where the variant *Shāsh* is also found), seems to correspond to the 'Aḍaim, though the latter rises, not in Armenia but near Kirkūk, in Southern Kurdistān. By the Nahravān river the Diyālā (Sīrvān) is meant, rising in Persian Kurdistān, cf. I.R., 90.

49. On the EUPHRATES see Le Strange, *o.c.*, 117, &c., R. Hartmann, *Furāt*, in *EI*. Here the western headwater of the Euphrates seems to be regarded as the principal one. The name of the mountain علي is evidently disfigured. I.R., 93, says that the Euphrates rises in the Rūm land from above the locality ابريق Abriq, Greek *Tephrikē* or *Aphrikē*, see *Diwrigi*, in *EI*, but Khuwārizmī, 139, calls the mountain whence the Euphrates comes جبل اوردخس. Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1434, where a Byzantine expedition is said to march من ناحية ابريق قرية قرياس.

50. See Barthold's *Preface*, p. 29, on the confusion of the upper course of the Atrak with that of the Gurgān (§ 32, i.). The H.RAND river bore also the name of Andar-haz, Ṭabarī, ii, 1332, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 73 (for the second element cf. Har-haz-pey, river of Āmul).

51.-3. The RIVERS OF MĀZANDARĀN, now called Tījīn, Bābol, and Harāzpey (Har-haz-pey). See Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*.

54. Grave misunderstanding: the SAFĪD-RŪDH rises, not from the Lesser Ararat (*Huwayrith*) but from Persian Kurdistān. I.Kh., 175, and I.R., 89, rightly state that it comes *min bābi Sīsar*, see Minorsky, *Senna* and *Sīsar*, in *EI*.

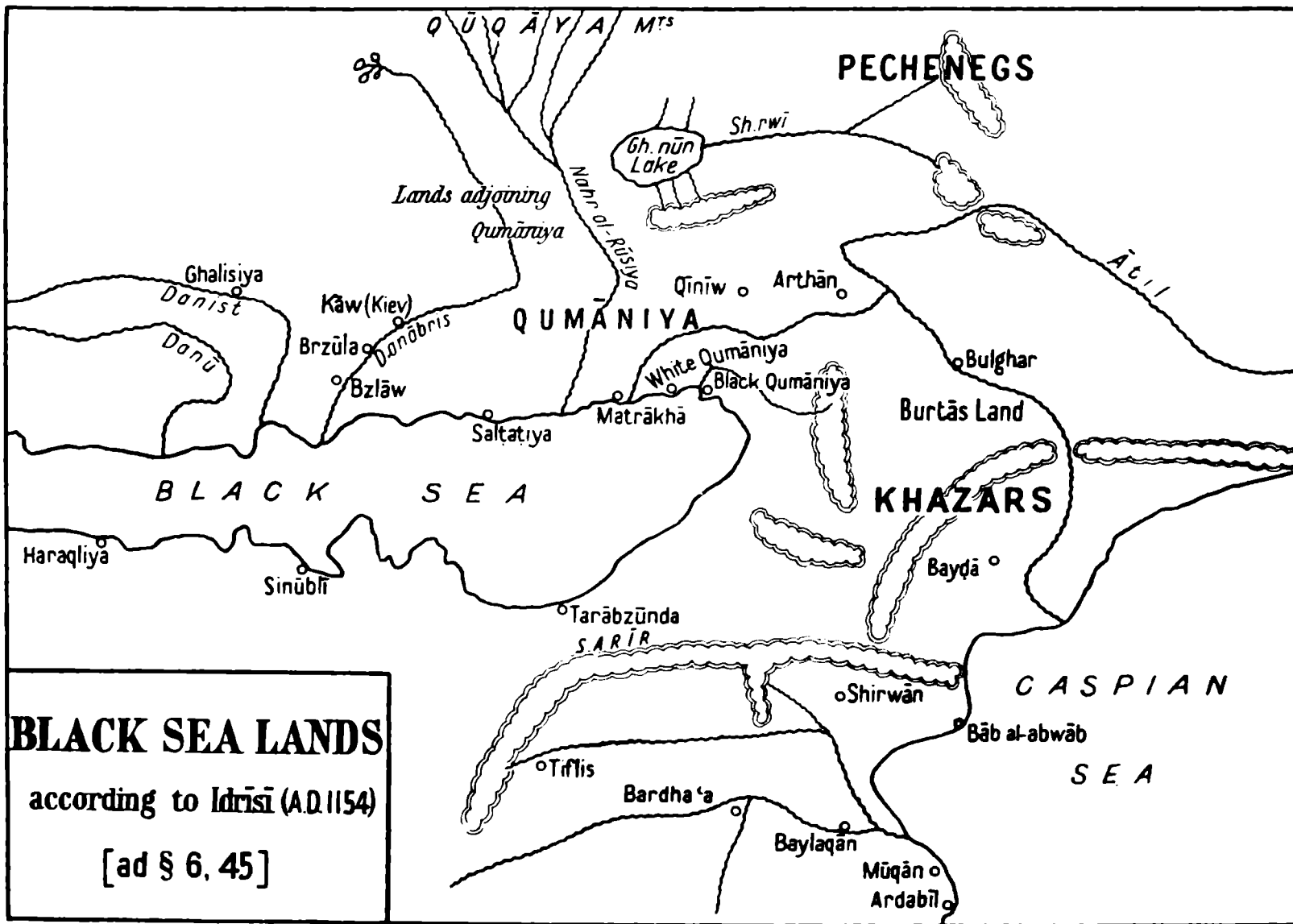
56. The author seems to think that the KURR rises from the main Caucasus range, though he knows that it flows past Tiflis (§ 36, 28.). See a correct description of the upper Kurr in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 74. On Bardij see § 36, 35.

57. On the ḤADRAMŪT river see Schleifer, *Ḥadramaut*, and Grohmann, *Shabwa*, in *EI*.

58.-61.: Rivers in BYZANTINE POSSESSIONS, cf. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*.

¹ The latter is evidently the Don and its course is shown as separate from the imaginary "Volga branch" flowing to the Black sea (v.s. 43 and note to

§ 3, 8.). However, Idrīsī's views cannot be taken as merely traditional and more likely he combines both the earlier sources and his own information, cf. p. 438.



58. *Nahr al-kurūm*, "river of the vineyards". I.Kh., 108, among the towns of Buqallār, names Anqara and Šamāluh (?). This river [which has nothing to do with the place الكرم or الكروم, next station west of Budhandūn = Podandon = Bozanti] is most probably the Halys (Qizil-Irmaq) flowing east of Anqara to the Black Sea. [Šamāluh = Σηματολῶος κάστρον.]¹

59. All depends on the name طنابری. It cannot be I.Kh.'s, 101, سنداری Santabaris, which Ramsay, *o.c.*, 445, places on a source of the Sangarios. If we restore it as *کانگری *Kangrī*, now Kiangri or Changri (Greek Gangra), the river could be one of the left affluents of the Halys, *e.g.*, the Devreschay. [Our author several times gives for the estuary of an affluent that of the principal river, see the Kābul river, § 6, 13.]

60. If 61. is the Sangarios, this river (60.) must be either the Tembris (now Porsuq-su), left affluent of the Sangarios, or some river west of it (cf. Rhyndakos, I.Kh., 103, *Rundhāq*, though this latter flows into the lake Artynias). The solution depends on the phrase بنداقلس و بددون بگذرد. The first element of بنداقلس can be Greek βάνδα "banner, district" (in Arabic usually *band*, plur. *bunūd*, I.Kh., 109₁₉, but the form *bandā* could survive in *status constructus*) and the sentence would mean "skirts the town of the district قلس". This last element [usual confusion of final س with یه] could then stand for Kotyaeion (now Kütahye), a well-known fortress on the Tembris, I.Kh., 103. As regards بددون it seems to have been copied from Budhandūn² which is out of place on the Tembris. The most celebrated place on the latter was Dorylaion, in Arabic درولة *Darawliya*, now Eski-Shehir, cf. the detailed account of it and its river in I.Kh., 109, and it is most likely that our text refers to Darawliya which in Arabic script has been confused with Badhandūn, better known to the Muslims as the place of death of the caliph Ma'mūn. In I.Kh., 109, *in fine*, the name of the Darawliya stands with the preposition *bi-* and so بدرولة could be more easily confused in script with بددون.

61. This river is Sangarios which exactly flows north of Amorion ('Amūriya, placed by I.Kh., 107, in Nātulūs) and west of Anqara (placed by I.Kh., 108, in Buqallār). I.Kh., 110, calls the river Šāghari and makes it flow into the Black Sea (*Bahr al-a'ẓam?*), while our author wrongly makes it empty itself into the lake of Nicaea. The mysterious خاک is *khāk* "earth"; it is a Persian translation of Arabic, غرام for I.Kh., 102, precisely mentions an "Earthen Fort" حصن الغرام and adds that it stands opposite Nicaea (ونبة بازار الغرام). Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 214.

62. The direct source of this description of the NILE may be Jayhānī. Maq., 20, says: "The Nile comes out from the Nūba country. . . . Jayhānī says that the Nile rises from the Qamar mountain, flows to form two lakes beyond the Equator and turns towards the Nūba land; he also says other things of which the origin is unknown, and no one knows on what authority he puts them forward."³ Jayhānī himself could have borrowed his account

¹ Vasiliev, *Byz. et les Arabes*, i, 234. *Minor*, p. 348.

² Podandos, nowadays Bozanti, near the Cilician Gate, see Ramsay, *Asia* ³ Maq. himself, 21, tells fantastic stories about the sources of the Nile.

from Khuwārizmī, 106 (see also plate IV), or from the complete version of I.Kh.'s work, now lost. In the abridged version, I.Kh., 176, says only that the Nile forms two lakes beyond the Equator. Idrīsī's map, reproduced in Reinaud's *Introduction*, strictly follows the same tradition (10 rivers, 2 lakes, then again 6 rivers).¹ As regards Sukar I.H., 103, mentions Askar between Fayyūm and Fustāt; Yāqūt, iii, 107, says: "Sukar . . . to the east of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'id); between it and Cairo (Miṣr) two days' distance."

63. The river is more likely the Blue Nile than the 'Atbara (Ptolemy, iv, 7, Ἀσταβόρας). Kābīl is the title of the king of Nubia, see § 59. His capital lay most probably in the province of 'Alwa, near Khartūm (ruins of Sōba). The town of Berber situated at the junction of the Nile with the 'Atbara does not seem to have played a role in Nubian history.

64. The western branch of the Nile, called after the town Tarnūṭ.

66. The river must be the Maritsa erroneously combined with the aqueduct supplying water to the capital, as suggested by Barthold, *v.s.* p. 41, note 1. I.R., 126, says: "Constantinople possesses a water-conduit which enters it from the town of Bulghar. This water flows for a distance of 20 days and on entering Constantinople is divided into 3 parts." The town Bulghar stands here for the locality *Belgrad* situated only a few miles north of Constantinople. Cf. § 42, 16. and 18.

67. Hār.da, as suggested by Barthold in his Index, is Mārīda (Merida) which lies on the Guadiana, but the name on the original map could easily occupy the space between the Guadiana and the Tagus and so give place to an error. On Shantarīn (Santarem) cf. § 41, 14.

68. Perhaps the Barka flowing northwards in Eritrea, or the Okwa.

§ 7. The Deserts and Sands

The terms *biyābān* and *rīg* correspond respectively to Arabic *ṣaḥrā* and *raml*. The first term does not naturally mean a waterless and uninhabited land. As the text shows, *biyābān*, as opposed to *rīg*, must be often interpreted as "plain, steppe, or depression". *V.i.* 8. and 10. where the two terms are clearly distinguished.

1. This desert (plain?), generally speaking, covers a *terra incognita* in the east, but its situation south of the Huang-Ho may point to the depression between the lower course of the Huang-Ho and the Yang-tze (the province Kiang-su). The author evidently opposes this southern "desert" to the northern one described under 2. According to the *China Year Book* some gold is produced in Shantung.

2. This is the Great Mongolian desert. The "Kuchchā river" must be the Huang-ho, cf. § 6, 3.

3. As the swamp formed by the "Kuchā river" (*sic*) is the Lob-nor, these sands must be those separating Turfan from Kan-su. The distance indicated is too short. Between Qumūl and Sha-chou Gardīzī counts seven days. On the two towns see § 9, 20. and 21.

¹ On the sources of the Nile see in great detail Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 219-36.

4. The Tarim depression is meant here, but the bearings are evidently displaced, as if the author was facing E. or NE. instead of N.

	<i>Our author</i>	<i>Real bearings</i>
Tibet	E.	S.
Indian lands	S.	SW.
Transoxiana	W.	NW.
Khallukh	N.	N.

5. Here, evidently, the lowlands of the Carnatic are meant, which stretch along the east coast up to the Godaverī beyond which the Eastern Ghats approach the coast.

6. This desert is Makrān.

7. Kargas-kūh "the Vulture mountain" is the name of a mountain near Kāshān, Le Strange, *o.l.*, 208. It is unexpected to see the name applied to the whole of the Central Persian desert (Kavīr, Lūt) but Maq., 487, 490, also describes the Kargas-kūh as the highest point of the desert. On the bearings *v.s.* note to 4.

8. The Transcaspiān desert. On the bearings of the Caspiān Sea and Volga, *v.s.* 4.

9. Jand and J.vāra (Khwāra?) are situated on the Jaxartes, § 26, 27. The situation of the steppe depends on the identification of the river beyond which lived the Kimāk (cf. §§ 6, 42. and 18). [Qara-qum? Cf. p. 309.]

10. The description of Arabia is sufficiently exact. On the southern [read: *south-western*] border, the Red Sea (*daryā-yi 'Arab*) must be followed by the Barbarī Gulf (§ 3, 3*a.*) instead of which the Ayla has been named, whereas in the following sentence the latter is rightly mentioned west of Arabia (cf. § 3, 3*b.*). The sands within the *bādiya* are clearly distinguished from the latter. The pilgrims from 'Irāq had to cross these Habīr sands. The term Habīr is not found in Iṣṭ. or Maq., but I.Ḥ., 30 and 104, in his detailed account of the deserts mentions *al-raml al-ma'rūf bil-Habīr*. His text is not very clear but seems to indicate that on one side these sands stretch towards Egypt, and on the other extend "from the two Ṭayy mountains to the Persian Gulf and are adjacent to the sands of Baḥrayn, of Baṣra, and of 'Omān, down to Shiḥr and Mahra . . .". Originally al-Habīr must designate the desert al-Dahnā "the red one", uniting Great Nufūd with al-Rub' al-khāli, see Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, Map. I.Ḥ. mentions yellow, red, blue, black, and white sands but does not say anything of the use of the red sand for smithing purposes.

11. The term *aḥqāf* in Southern Arabia is a synonym of the northern *nufūd*; cf. de Goeje, *Arabia*, in *EI*.

12. The [Arabian] desert between the lower course of the Nile and the Red Sea, cf. §§ 53 and 59. The bearings are evidently displaced and the combination of the Gulfs of "Barbar" and Ayla is a result of some confusion (*v.s.* 10. and note to § 3, 3*a.*).

13. The Nubian desert following 12. immediately to the south. According

to 12. its name appears to be "the Buja Desert", while the "country of Buja" lay south of it. Under *Ḥabasha* seems to be understood the coastal line (Eritrea, &c.) considerably to the north of the present-day Abyssinia.

15. The Ṣaḥārā. Sijilmāsa in Southern Morocco is usually mentioned as the limit of the cultivated zone, cf. Iṣṭ., 37.

§ 8. On the countries

For the commentary on the order of enumeration see Barthold's *Preface*, p. 34. This second part of the book (§§ 8-60) can be divided into the following groups of chapters:

- (a) §§ 9-11. China, India, Tibet.
- (b) §§ 12-17. South-eastern Turks.
- (c) §§ 18-22. North-western Turks.
- (d) §§ 23-26. Khorāsān and Transoxiana.
- (e) §§ 27-36. Middle zone of Islām (Sind-Persia-Jazīra).
- (f) §§ 37-41. Southern zone of Islām (Arabia-Spain),
- (g) §§ 42-53. Byzantium, Northern Europe, Caucasus.
- (h) §§ 54-60. Southern countries.

§ 9. Chīnistān

Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*; Reinaud, *Introduction*, pp. ccclii-ccclxxvii; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866 (2nd edition by Cordier, Hakluyt Society, 4 vols., 1913-16)—a complete survey of the early travellers to China; V. Grigoriev, *O puteshestvennike Abu-Dulefe*, in *Zhurnal Minist. Narod. Prosv.*, 1872, part 163, pp. 1-45; Sprenger, *Posttrouten*, 80-8; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 74-95 (analysis of Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil's report, cf. Barthold, *Sandābil*, in *EI*); Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, SPb. 1903; Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, série II, v, 1904, pp. 1-110; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, L. 1910, 2 vols.; F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua, his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, SPb., 1911 (cf. Barthold's review *Zap.*, 1913, xxi/4, pp. 0161-0169); M. Hartmann, *China*, and Barthold, *Kan-su*, both in *EI*. Very complete materials on the historical cartography of Western China are found in A. Herrmann's extensive contributions to S. Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, Stockholm 1922, vol. viii, pp. 91-456.

[Ch. Schefer, *Notice sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois depuis l'extension de l'Islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle*, in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1793-1893*, pp. 1-43 (quotes 'Aufī on a colony of Shī'ī Muslims who in Omayyad times settled near the capital of China); Hādī Ḥasan, *A History of Persian Navigation*, London, 1928, pp. 95 ff. (Islamic epoch). J. Kuwabara, *On P'u Shou-kēng . . . with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Era*, in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, Tokyo 1928, No. 2, pp. 1-70. On the twelve Chinese provinces under the Yüan dynasty see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, pp. 484-97; cf. Bretschneider, *o.c.*, passim. For

Timurid times, see the well-known report of Ghiyāth al-dīn Naqqāsh, one of the members of Baysunqur's embassy to China in A.D. 1421-2, edited by Quatremère, in *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, part 1, pp. 308-41 and 387-426, after the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn* (a more complete text found in Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, Oxford MS., fol. 383b-412a, ed. by K. M. Maitra, Lahore, 1934); in the annex of his edition Quatremère quotes (pp. 474-89) an interesting account of the Tarim basin translated from *Amīn Aḥmad [sic] Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* (towards the end of the sixth clime); Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China 1500*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1934, xii/2, pp. 91-110.]

As early as A.D. 300 the Arabs are supposed to have had a settlement in Canton. Islam is said to have been brought there even in Muḥammad's lifetime. In A.D. 738 the Muslims in Canton were numerous enough to plunder the town, cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 4, 14-15.¹

Here we are only concerned with the actual geographical description of China by the Muslims. As was natural, the exploration of the maritime zone was carried on quite independently from that of northern China. Sulaymān the Merchant (before A.D. 851) is the earliest Arab authority on the situation obtaining in خانفو *Khan-fu* < *Kuang-(chou)-fu* = Canton.² Already I.Kh., whose work was finally completed towards A.D. 885, v.s. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 12, gives a detailed description, pp. 62-72, of the sea-routes to the Far East. Several Muslims are even said to have reached from the southern Chinese ports the capital of the T'ang dynasty (Ch'ang-an-fu, Hsi-an-fu, Khumdān). Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 307-12, mentions a merchant from Samarqand who travelled from Sirāf to Canton (خانفو), and from there visited the capital called Anmwā (?): انموا و هي دار الملك (variants: انموا ايمو).³ A rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, a descendant of Habbār b. Aswad, went from Canton to see the king of China "who at that time (i.e. shortly after A.D. 870) resided at the city of Khumdān", *Murūj*, i, 312-21. Abū-Zayd Muḥammad Sirāfī, the editor of Sulaymān's report (p. 77), interrogated Ibn al-Wahhāb when the latter was an old man, and left a record of this conversation, cf. Reinaud, *Introduction*, p. lxxiii. Later Mas'ūdī, who in 303/915 met Abū Zayd in Baṣra, wrote down the same record, *Murūj*, i, 321-4.

¹ [Much more cautiously O. Franke writes in *Zur Geschichte d. Exterritorialität in China*, in *Sitz. Berl. Ak.*, 1935, p. 897: "Die genaue Zeit, wann die Araber zuerst in China gelandet sind, wann sie angefangen haben, ihre Niederlassungen zu gründen . . . wissen wir nicht." An indirect indication can be inferred from the fact that "an inspector of the oversea trade" in Canton is mentioned already in A.D. 712. Moreover, according to the *T'ang-shu*, already in A.D. 651 an envoy of *Han-mi mo-mo-ni* (*amīr al-mu'minīn) visited the Chinese court, see O. Franke, *Ge-*

schichte des Chinesischen Reichs, ii, 1936, p. 369.]

² Cf. Pelliot, quoted p. 172.

³ I now see that انموا several times occurring in Mas'ūdī's text is but a misreading of خمدان. Cf. the parallel passages in the *Murūj*, i, 309, and Sulaymān, 103; the latter has: *Khumdān wa huwa balad al-mulk al-kabīr*. In *Murūj*, ii, 131, *Anmwā* is identified with the legendary *Kang-diz which Kay-Khusrau built in China. انموا < *خمدان is entirely distinct from مذ (*Murūj*, i, 305) = مذر (Sulaymān, 64), cf. note to § 11, 9.

The northern overland routes to China used by the silk-traders were known from very early times (at least from 114 B.C.), see Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, 1910. The Soghdian settlements, all the way from Transoxania to China, undoubtedly possessed a detailed knowledge of the roads; and the probably Iranian (Soghdian?) appellations of Chinese towns (v.i. 1., 2., 22.) indicate the channels through which, later on, the Muslims received their information on China. From the first century of Islam the Muslims in Central Asia were in close touch with the Chinese in military engagements, as well as in more peaceful activities. Enough to say that between the years A.D. 716 and 759, nineteen Arab embassies are mentioned in Chinese sources, see Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles*, of which the relevant passages have been separately studied by H. A. R. Gibb, *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, vol. ii/4, 619-22.

This state of things is very insufficiently reflected in early Muslim geographers whose allusions to the north-western China and the roads leading thereto are extremely few and vague. I.Kh.'s routes, pp. 29-31, stop at the capital of the Toghuzghuz. Qudāma, 264, in a legendary report on Alexander the Great's campaign, only mentions Khumdān and شول; the latter name has been restored as شرك, *Sharag* = Kāshghar, or better as سرك *Sarag* = the eastern capital of the T'ang dynasty Lo-yang which appears as *Saragh* in the old Soghdian letters of the second century and in the Nestorian inscription of A.D. 781. See Yule, *o.c.*; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 90, 502; Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, July 1927, pp. 138-41, and *T'oung-Pao*, xxv, 1928, pp. 91-2; Schaeder, *Iranica*, 1934, pp. 47-9. [It appears strange that an early Arab writer used ك to render the sound *g* or *gh*!] The interpreter Sallām's account of his trip to the wall of Gog and Magog under the orders of the caliph Wāthiq (A.D. 842-7) is a wonder-tale interspersed with three or four geographical names, I.Kh., 162-70, cf. de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, 1888.¹ Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil's pretended journey to China in the company of a Chinese embassy returning from Bukhārā in 331/941 is a series of disconnected notices, of which some are genuine, and some imaginary, see Yāqūt, iii, 445, cf. Grigoriev, *o.c.*, and Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 74, 95. [The complete text of Abū Dulaf's *Risāla* is contained in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqih, first described by A. Z. Validi, *v.s.*, p. 215 and Appendix B.]

Mas'ūdī, i, 347-9, says that he met at Balkh an old man who had several times travelled to China overland and that he knew some other persons in Khorasan who went to Tibet and China *via* Soghdiana and saw on the road the mountains producing ammoniac salt (*jibāl al-nūshādir*). Mas'ūdī himself (?) saw these mountains from a distance of 100 farsakhs: fires were seen over them at night and smoke during the day-time. Reinaud, *o.c.*, p. clxiii, thought that these details might apply to the ammoniac mines

¹ Cf. C. E. Wilson, *The Wall of Alexander*, in *Asia Major*, introductory (Hirth Anniversary) volume, London 1923, pp. 575-612; Comte E. Zichy, *Le*

voyage de Sallām, in *K. Csoma Archivum*, 1922, i/3, 190-204, is certainly wrong in placing Sallām's supposed peregrinations between the Caucasus and the Ural.

in the T'ien-shan, north of Kuchā.¹ However, Mas'ūdī's account of the road is fantastic and does not contain a single geographical name.

The earliest systematic description of the lands to the south of the T'ien-shan was perhaps contained in Jayhānī's lost work, but even I.R., who seems to have been the first to utilize that work, did not transcribe these data. The H.-'A and Gardīzī are the first to speak of China and Tibet. Their lists of places have striking resemblances but do not entirely coincide, and each author adds numerous details of his own. In Gardīzī the places are arranged into itineraries; our author simply enumerates them but the order of enumeration closely follows Gardīzī's system which certainly belongs to the original source (Jayhānī?).

The information contained in the present chapter and in those on the mountains (§ 5, 1.-6.), rivers (§ 6, 1.-4.), and deserts (§ 7, 1.-3.) has certainly been borrowed from several sources (cf. 6. Khālb.k). Parts of it may even refer to the earlier part of the ninth century, *v.s.*, p. 28, and *v.i.*, p. 227, line 8. The capital of China is still placed at Khumdān (Ch'ang-an, Hsi-an-fu), though after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 907 it was transferred first to Lo-yang and then to K'ai-fêng (A.D. 936). Likewise there is no hint in our author at the formation in China of numerous local dynasties after the fall of the T'ang, whereas Gardīzī, 92, speaks of "many kings in China, of whom the greatest is the Faghfūr", referring probably to the post-T'ang times. More than this, the statement concerning the majority of the people professing Manichaeism could hardly be true after A.D. 843 when, following the collapse of the Uyghur empire on the Orkhon, the Chinese government took energetic measures against the Manichaeans, cf. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, in *Jour. As.*, 1913, i, 295-305. We might eventually admit that our author has in view the special conditions obtaining in the Kan-su province which he knows best. According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88, in A.D. 844 (one year after the events on the Orkhon) Long-tegin, the chief of the south-western branch of the Uyghurs which occupied the region between Sha-chou and Kan-chou,² proclaimed himself khāqān. In A.D. 924 an Uyghur khāqān was

¹ The *Wei-shu*, quoted by S. Lévi, *Jour. As.*, Sept. 1913, p. 346, mentions "l'arsenic vert" among the products of Kuchā. A Chinese source, written before A.D. 527, *ibid.*, p. 347, says: "Au nord de Koutcha, à 200 li, il y a une montagne; la nuit, elle a l'éclat du feu; le jour c'est tout fumée. Les gens recueillent le charbon de terre de cette montagne pour fondre les métaux; le fer de cette montagne est le plus généralement employé dans les trente-six royaumes." Cf. also the *T'ang-shu* in Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 115, on the "montagne A-kie-t'ien [Aq-tagh?] . . . appelée aussi la montagne blanche; il y a là

constamment du feu".

² See notes to § 12. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii, 25-7, whom Marquart quotes, spells the name of the chief Long-te-le, whereas Bichurin (*v.i.*, § 12) reads it (in Russian transcription) Pang-de-le (*P'ang-t'ê-lê?). The characters p'ang and *lung differ only by one stroke. In principle no Turkish name would begin with an l. As regards the second elements Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 225, note 3, and p. 367, confirms that "le titre turc de tegin est constamment écrit en chinois t'e-le" [the characters le (*lê) and k'in (*ch'in) being easily confused].

still residing in Kan-chou. The king "of China", called Qalīn b. Sh.khīr (**Chakhīr*?), to whose court the Sāmānid embassy went in 381/941 must have been the ruler of the same branch of the Uyghurs. But as our source is silent on the presence of the Uyghurs in the province of Kan-su and only mentions the struggle going on in Kan-chou (7.) between the Chinese and the Tibetans, the impression is that it has in view the state of things before the arrival of the Uyghurs in that province in A.D. 843-4. Under 10. it is said that the Toghuzghuz are attacking Kuchā but it is possible that the question is not of the T'ien-shan Uyghurs but still of the Western Tu-ch'üeh, *v.i.*, p. 267, because Kuchā (*v.i.* 10.) and Khotan (*v.i.* 18.) [cf. also Kāshghar, § 13, 1.] are still reckoned to China, though entirely encircled by Turkish and Tibetan dominions. The above-mentioned towns, with the addition of Sui-shih on the Chu river (or, from 719, of Qarashar), constituted precisely "the Four Garrisons" on which the Chinese power rested in the west. In A.D. 670 the Four Garrisons were taken by the Tibetans, but in 692 the Chinese reoccupied them. In 760 the Tibetans became masters of the whole country to the west of the Huang-ho, but the garrisons of Pei-t'ing (= Bish-baliq) and An-hsi (= Kuchā) still held out till 787, see Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 113-14. Our author's statements must reflect China's incessant struggle for political influence and the possession of the strategic positions in the present-day Hsin-Chiang province. [With regard to Khotan, the author may have in view the re-establishment of connexions with China after A.D. 938 (*v.i.* 18.).]

The statement that the emperor of China was descended from Farīdhūn is certainly explainable by the tradition according to which Farīdhūn's son Tūr became the master of the Turk and Chīn and was accordingly called Tūrān-shāh or Shāh-i Chīn, see *Shāh-nāma*, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. More directly our author's source may be I.Kh., p. 16, who says that **baghpūr* is a descendant of Afarīdhūn. The same geographer also, p. 70, gives a list of the products of China, though more complete and not entirely coinciding in details with that of our author.

In the *H.-'Ā.* China is called *Chīnistān* and *Chīn*. The first form which appears in the Soghdian letters of the second century, *o.c.*, 15,¹ and in Middle Persian and Armenian, is not usual in Modern Persian which prefers the form *Chīn*.²

The description of China consists of very distinct parts: 1., 23., 24. belong to the southern seas; 2. these provinces are said to lie on the south coast of China; 3 5.-6., 13., 15. lay on the road from Ch'ang-an-fu to Kan-su, while 4. is the only town mentioned on the Yangtze; 10. is situated north of the Tarim; 16., 17. are to be sought in the neighbourhood of Tibet, and

¹ *V.i.*, p. 300.

² Persian *Chīn* is derived from the name of the dynasty Ch'in which ruled in China 221-206 B.C.

³ It is curious not to find mentioned in the *H.-'Ā.* the well-known ports of

Khānfū (= Canton, *v.s.*) and *Zaytūn* (Ts'üan-chou, near Amoy). About the 9th cent. a portion of the sea trade was diverted to the latter, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17. Abul-Fidā, 363, calls it "*Shinjū*, known in our time as *Zaytūn*".

18.-21., as well perhaps as 11. and 22. (?)—south of the Tarim; of 12. nothing can be said. This analysis shows that the source utilized by our author was chiefly acquainted with the Tarim basin and Kan-su, inclusive of the road leading to the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an-fu.

1. Muslim information on Wāqwāq is utterly confused. It has been exhaustively analysed by Ferrand in his articles *Wāk-Wāk* in *EI* and especially *Le Wāk-wāk est-il le Japon?*, in *Jour. As.*, avril 1932, pp. 193-243. Ferrand comes to the conclusion that two Wāqwāqs must be distinguished, of which the one lying in Africa in the Zanj country corresponds to Madagascar, *o.c.*, 211, 238, whereas the other, belonging to China, is identical with Sumatra, *o.c.*, 237 (and not with Japan as de Goeje had supposed). The confusion is increased by the fact that several other names are applied to Sumatra and its localities (see Zābaj, Fanṣūr, Bālūs). In our text (§ 4, B 3.) the Gold-island (= Sumatra) is inhabited by the Wāq-wāqians, and the latter are confused with the homonymous Wāqwāq of the Zanj country. This entails a further complication: the Wāqwāq disappear from the immediate neighbourhood of Zangistān but the latter (§ 55) becomes a neighbour of Zābaj (= Sumatra = Chinese Wāqwāq = Gold-island, § 4, 3.). The detail about gold collars used in Wāqwāq is also found in I.Kh., 69. The town مقس is unknown.

2. The names of the Nine Provinces are unknown and most of them have a non-Chinese appearance. None of them correspond to the names of provinces in Qubilay's empire as quoted in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, GMS, pp. 484-98. *Ir.sh* (ايرش) and *Khūr.sh* (خورش) are the provinces between which the Yangtze-kiang passes before disemboguing into the sea (§ 6, 2.). On the other hand, the localities similarly divided by the Huang-ho are *Kūr.sh* (کورش) and *F.r.jākli* (فرجاکلی) (§ 6, 3.). The absence of کورش in the present enumeration could be best explained by the identity of کورش and خورش. In this case, *Kūr.sh/Khūr.sh* would be located between the Yangtze and Huang-ho, *Ir.sh* south-west of the Yangtze, and *F.r.jākli* north of the Huang-ho, in Pei Chih-li. According to our text all the Nine Provinces lay on the shore of the Ocean and following the order of enumeration (from S. to N.?) the last six mentioned provinces should be situated in the extreme Far East. Consequently (*d*) Thay can hardly refer to the former T'ai kingdom in Yün-nan (Nan-chao), destroyed by Qubilay khan in 1253.¹ To take (*f*) تنکوی for *Tangut* (Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, p. 22: تنک; Rashīd al-dīn, 492: تنکفوت) would be an anachronism. (*h*) قوری can hardly stand for Corea: in earlier sources (I.Kh., 70, I.R., 82) this country is called Shilā or Shilā² whereas Rashīd al-dīn, p. 486, gives a different transcription: کولی. As on principle we must prefer the explanations consistent with the attested Muslim tradition it is more probable that قوری

¹ Nor does *Tai* in Shansi [Dr. P. Fitzgerald] suit our case.

² *Shilā* < **Sin-lo*, the native kingdom comprising the central and eastern part of Corea. The Corea proper (Ko-kū-

rye) lay in the north. In 904 Ko-ku-rye rose in arms against the Sin-lo rulers and in 935 Corea became united under the national Wang dynasty, R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 1929, p. 290.

refers to the people mentioned under § 14, 1., for the Khirkhīz were supposed to extend to the coast; in this case تاي might also be considered as a mis-spelling for تاي (usually coupled with قرن, see note to § 14, 1.). Khasāni, Būnūghnī and انفسه (perhaps انفسه) are obscure.

3.-9., 13.-15. are to be located along the following itinerary found in Gardīzī, 92: from Chīnānjkat in the Toghuzghuz territory (§ 12, 9.) *via* B.gh-shūrā (where a river is crossed in a boat) to Qomūl (§ 12, 9.)—8 days; from Qomūl, across a steppe with springs and grass, to the Chinese town Shā-chū—7 days; thence to Sang-lākh—3 days; thence to S.kh-chū—7 days; thence to Kham-chū—3 days; thence to K.jā—8 days; thence 15 days to the river Qiyān (Yangtze-kiang); from B.gh-shūrā to Khumdān, by a road of *ribāts* (fortified stations) and *manzils* (stations) 1 month. As the last-mentioned distance does not sum up the distances previously quoted, we must conclude that Gardīzī's text is out of order. Indeed the first mention of B.gh-shūrā (between Turfan and Qomūl, where no such place is known and no such important river exists!) is only a misplaced part of the second passage where B.gh-shūrā comes in the enumeration immediately after the Yangtze. This correction is fully confirmed by our author, who says (§ 6, 2.) that the river Kīsau, after it has entered the limits of Bughshūr, is known under the name **Ghiyān* (<*kiang*). Consequently it seems that Gardīzī's itinerary first follows a southerly direction, from Turfan down to the Yangtze, and then from the important place where the river is usually crossed (Bughshūr?) turns back northwards to Khumdān (Ch'ang-an-fu). See Map iii.

Another important point is that in Gardīzī, 91-2, the name spelt كجا stands for two totally different places: (a) the well-known town Kuchā, north of the Tarim, and (b) a place lying between the Kan-su province and the Yangtze. Our text to some extent distinguishes between the two names (*v.i.* 10. and 5.).

Our author follows Gardīzī's itinerary in the opposite direction.

3. Khumdān is Ch'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu. The name is already quoted [from some Nestorian source?] in Theophylactus Simokatta [*circa* A.D. 582-602], vii, 9, Χουμαδάν (or Χουβδάν), see Coedès, *o.c.*, 141. Marquart, *Komanen*, 60, considers the name as Iranian (Soghdian?) and explains it as "potter's kiln".¹ Our author is very vague on the situation of Khumdān. The town is said to lie on the Khumdān river apparently confused with the Huang-ho (? 6, 1.). A lake is mentioned "in the region of Khumdān" (§ 3, 35.), and finally (§ 2, 4.) Khumdān is placed on the shore of the Green Sea!

¹ See now some doubts on this interpretation in Schaefer, *Iranica*, 2. *Fu-lin*, Berlin 1934, p. 48, who suggests that the name might belong to the Wei dynasty. The latter is reckoned to the Sien-pi race which, according to Pelliot, was Turkish. In any case Marquart's inter-

pretation receives an indirect confirmation from the fact that Fakhr al-dīn (see note to § 12) calls a Buddhist stupa *tanūra* "funnel" semantically very close to *Khumdān*. Could not the capital of China be called "stupa [town]"? On another Khumdān see the Index.

4. *Baghshūr (spelt: *Bughshūr* and *B.ghsūz*) is very probably an Iranian name. A homonymous place (§ 23, 33.) lay between Herat and the Murghāb, *Iṣṭ.*, 269. The name is explained in the *Burhān-i Qāṭi* as “a pool of salt water”. Baghshūr is said to be an important commercial town, and as such could be known to the Soghdian merchants who probably renamed it in their language. All the indications point to its being situated on, or near, the Yangtze. As it is impossible to imagine a road connecting Khumdān with the north through a place lying on that river, the distance between Baghshūr and Khumdān must represent a special route, not directly belonging to the road Chīnānjkat–Khumdān. According to the *China Year Book* the Yangtze receives the name of Kiang in the neighbourhood of Yang-chou, in the Hu-peh province; but one would rather look for Bughshūr much higher upstream, in the region of Ch’ung-ch’ing where the highroad from the north approaches the river. [With regard to the meaning of “a pool of salt water” Dr. P. Fitzgerald kindly tells me that the celebrated salt wells in the Yangtze basin are situated at Tzū-liu-ch’ing.]¹

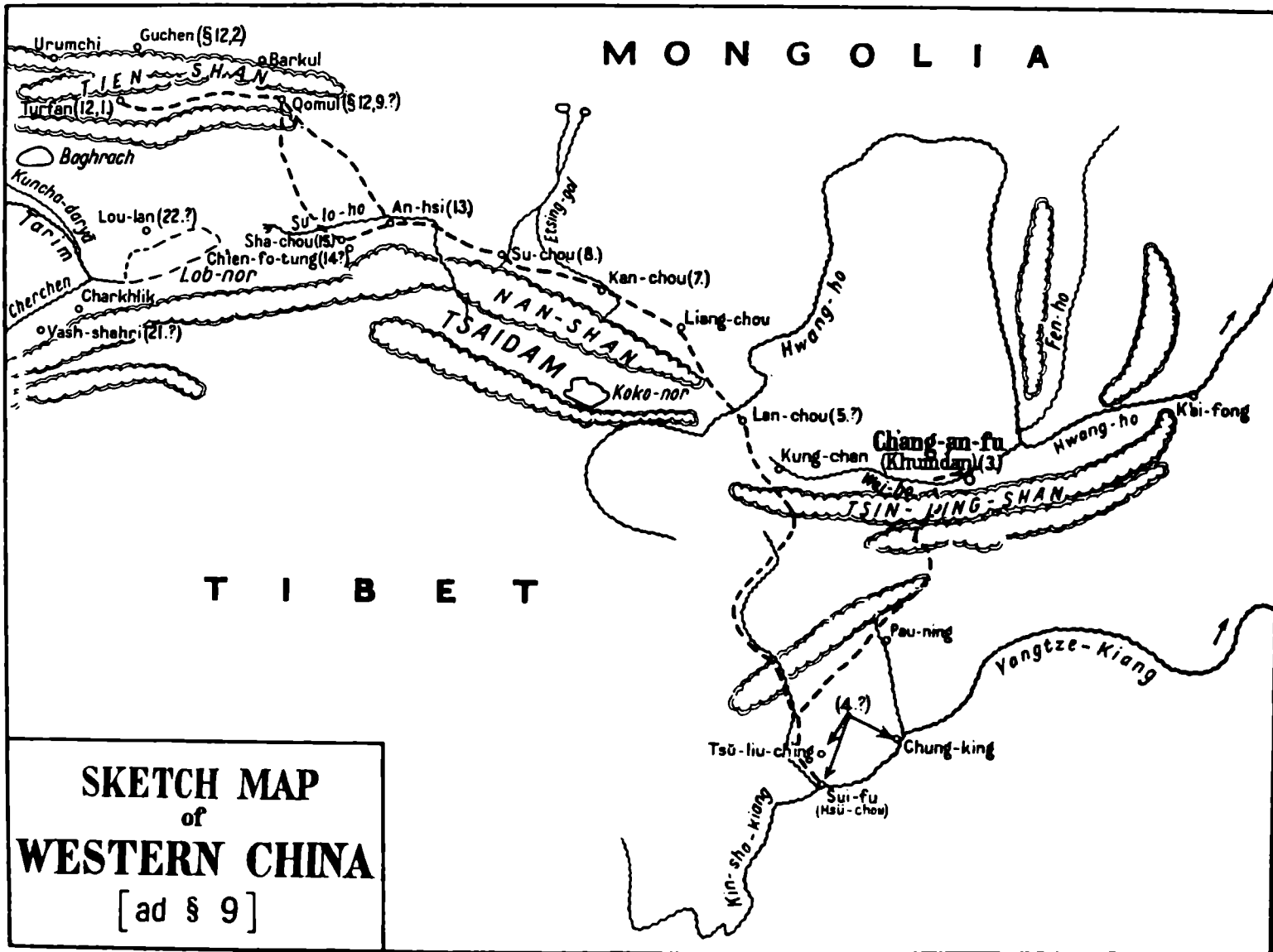
5. Kuchān (کچان) is said to be a small town where both Chinese and Tibetan merchants were found. The latter detail points to the western part of Kansu, or Ssū-ch’uan. The mention under § 6, 2. of the Yangtze as flowing towards “the limits of Kujān (*sic*) and Bughshūr” is rather vague and means perhaps only that the river approaches the road leading from Kuchan to Bughshūr. Gardizī calls the place کچا Kuchā and places it at 8 days south of Kan-chou, and at 15 days north of the Yangtze. Following these distances it is difficult to identify Kuchān with Kung-chang in southern Kan-su and one should rather place it in the region of Lan-chou. In the confused § 6, 3., the Tarim is represented as continued by the Huang-ho. Beyond the swamp the imaginary watercourse is said “to flow down to the limits of Kuchchā”. This latter form کچا very probably stands for Kuchān کچان. Were this hypothesis correct, we should have an additional argument for placing Kuchān in the region of Lan-chou through which the Huang-ho flows. On Kāshgharī’s Map, south of the Tarim, the following places stretch W. to E. in one line: Yārkand, Khotan, Jarjān (Cherchen), then behind a mountain شانجو (*Shan-chou*, probably **Sha-chou*) and towards the south-east کوشان and ارض کلیم (*sic*).² This Kūshān may be another spelling for our Kuchān (or for 16. K.sān).³

¹ Cf. L. Richard, *Comprehensive geography of the Chinese Empire*, Engl. transl., Shanghai 1908, p. 114: Ch’ung-ch’ing—principal trading centre of Ssū-Ch’uan; Tzū-liu-ch’ing—a great industrial centre with 1,000 salt-wells (it lies at circa 200 Km. to the west of Ch’ung-ch’ing in the basin of the Lu-ho tributary of the Yangtze).

² ارض, if restored as ارجو, may stand for Er(i)-chou, a Mongol name for

Liang-chou, cf. Zhamtsarano in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg* (in Russian), Leningrad 1934, p. 194.

³ In the old Soghdian letters ed. by Reichelt, *o.c.*, pp. 13, 15, &c., the name of a town *Kč’n* or *Kč’n* (read: *K. chān*) is found several times. Reichelt, *o.c.*, 5, tentatively identifies it with Kao-ch’ang (see note to § 12, 1.), and this looks probable on account of the cold winds said to blow from its direction (*i.e.* from



6. Khālb.k looks non-Chinese. In Arabic cursive خالك (see especially its three last letters) has some likeness to سندابل as Mis'ar b. Muhalhil (*v.s.*, p. 225) calls the capital of the "king of China". A curious point is that Khālb.k is mentioned precisely before Kan-chou with which Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 86–8, identifies Sandābil, see also *EI* under this name. As Khālb.k (said to be a large town) is not mentioned in Gardīzī it must have passed into the *H.-'Ā.* from some additional source, perhaps Mis'ar b. Muhalhil.

7. Khāmchū is Kan-chou, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, 497, "قنچو", one of the towns of Tangqūt".

8. سوکجو, wrongly vocalized *Saukjū* is Su-chou, old pronunciation *Suk-chou*. Turkish Yögurs of this region still pronounce Suk-chū, see Potanin, *Tangut.-tibet. okraina*, 1893, ii, 435. The Mongols say *Tsugchi*.

9. S.khchū (?), ditto in Gardīzī, at three days' distance from 7. Khāmchū. As Gardīzī does not mention سوکجو and as, on the other hand, Su-chou could scarcely be omitted in the itinerary from Sha-chou to Kan-chou, one cannot dismiss the possibility of both 8. سوکجو and 9. سنجو **Sukh-chou* (?) equally referring to Su-chou. It is true that our author distinguishes *Sūk-chou* from *S.kh-chou* but he connects them administratively. [In the Turkish document written in Orkhon script *Suyčū-baliq* seems to refer to Su-chou, see Thomsen in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 186.]

10.–12. seem to disturb the order of enumeration.

10. Kuchā (كچا) is the well-known town lying north of the Tarim (in Chinese *Küei-tzū* or *Ch'ü-tzū*, French trans. *K'ieou-tse* or *K'üe-tse*). On the long history of this Aryan (later Turkicized) principality see S. Lévi, *Le 'tokharien B', langue de Koutcha*, in *Jour. As.*, Sept. 1913, pp. 323–80. The T'ang annals stop in their description of the city at A.D. 730, and between A.D. 787 and 1001 Chinese sources are altogether silent on the great revolutions in the region brought about by the arrival of the Tibetans, the Uyghurs, and the K'i-tan. Our source (*v.s.*, p. 227) still reckons Kuchā to China, and leaves it out in the enumeration of the Toghuzghuz possessions (§ 12) though the Toghuzghuz are said to raid it constantly (*v.s.*, p. 227). In Kāshgharī i, 332, Kusan (کن) is given as "the name of a town called Kujā (کچا) which is the frontier of the Uyghurs". The form *Kūsān* is also found in the "Secret history of the Mongols", cf. Pelliot, *Notes sur les noms anciens de Kučā* 𐰽𐰺𐰍, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1926, p. 126.

11. Kūghm.r کوغمر is a puzzle. It is true that on the right bank of the Qara-qash river, *circa* 16 miles south-west of Khotan, there is a sanctuary on the Kōhmārī hill which Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, pp. 185–90, and *Serindia*, 1921, i, 93–5, identifies with Hsüan-tsang's Mount *Gośrṅga* "Cow's horn". However, the passage of کوغمر into کوهمارى [so according to Sir A. Stein's transcription!] is not at all obvious, to say nothing of the mention of Kūghm.r in our text after Kuchā and before the "Stone-tower".

the eastern T'ien-shan?). [I now see that A. Herrmann in his commentary on Kāshgharī's map (1935) tentatively

identifies *Kūshān* with Kuei-shun, Ning-hsia. Phonetically this identification presents some difficulty.]

12. It is difficult to say which of the "Stone Towers" this *Burj-i Sangin* represents. Is it Tash-qurghan in Sarikol (east of the Pamir), or simply a reminiscence of Ptolemy's λίθινος πύργος, as supposed by Barthold, *Preface*, v.s., p. 26. Bīrūnī, by popular etymology, identified the "Stone Tower" with Tashkent, cf. § 25, 80., but judging by the description of the silk-route in Ptolemy, i, 12, 7-9, the tower must be placed at Daraut-qurghan at the western end of the Alai plain, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, 63, and Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, ii, 849, and *On Ancient Tracks past the Pamirs*, in *The Himalayan Journal*, iv, 1932, p. 22. [Perhaps some tower of the Chinese Limes, near An-hsi, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, Maps 78 and 81.]

13.-15. again in Kan-su. The mention of Manichaeans in 13. and 15. agrees with the reports on their safe existence in Kan-su, even during the persecution following the collapse of the Uyghur empire on the Orkhon, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88. Cf. also the general remarks on the time to which our source refers, v.s., p. 227.

13. Khājū = Kua-chou, i.e. the present day An-hsi oasis on the Su-lo-ho river and on the road from Su-chou to Sha-chou, see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1040.

15. ساجو **Sha-chou*, "Town of the sands", mentioned in Gardīzī as the first Chinese town on the road from Qomūl, is the name of the Tun-huang oasis near which the celebrated Ch'ien-fo-tung "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" are situated. It would be tempting to identify with the latter place our 14. Sanglākh with its Buddhist (?) associations. It is true that Gardīzī places Sanglākh at 3 days from Sha-chou and at 7 days from S.kh-chou whereas in fact the caves "are carved into the precipitous conglomerate cliffs overlooking from the west the mouth of a barren valley some 12 miles south-east of the oasis", Sir A. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, 1933, p. 193. Though the distance does not suit that given by Gardīzī, the place of Sanglākh (14.) before 15. Sha-chou would be easy to understand in our enumeration which goes from south to north (resp. NW.), and its Iranian name Sanglākh, "The Stony Place", would accord with the natural characteristics of the Ch'ien-fo-tung. However, Sanglākh may be a mere popular etymology of some Chinese name compounded with *sang-*, cf. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, 1879, Nos. 6062-71. In the Tibetan documents edited by Prof. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, April 1930, p. 294, *Sen-ge-lag*, closely resembling our *Sang(a)lakh*, occurs as a personal name in the Khotan region.

16. All we can say of K.sān is that it lay in the direction of Tibet, probably west of the Nan-shan, or south of the K'un-lun.¹ See also note to 5.

17. Kādākh? The Tibetan documents from the Lob region (8th century) frequently mention the city named Ka-dag, which must be sought somewhere near Charkhlik, cf. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Documents*, iii: The Lob Region, *JRAS*, July 1928, pp. 555 and 565. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 67, in connexion with the same region, says: "The khan used

¹ A town called *Kushai* or *Gushai* lies to the west of Lan-chou between the Yellow river and the Hsi-ning-ho,

cf. Potanin, *Tangut.-tibetskaya okraina*, 1893, i, 196-8, 332. In Arabic characters the name would look كسانى.

to go hunting wild camels in the country round Turfān, Tārim, Lob, and Katak". Even now the memory of a *Shar-i-Katak* lives in the region, cf. Barthold, *Tarim* in *EI*.

18. Though surrounded by Tibetan possessions (see note to § 11, 10.) Khotan is not included in Tibet, and, on the contrary, reckoned to China. Its king, styled 'aẓīm (which is not a very high title), appears as an autonomous ruler over a population consisting of 'Turks and Tibetans.' This situation is well in keeping with what is known of the history of Khotan, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, London 1907, ch. vii, section iv, pp. 172-84: "the T'ang period". The Tibetan attacks on Khotan began in A.D. 714, and in 790 all connexion with China by the road south of the Tarim was suspended. However, "there is nothing to indicate that Khotan had lost its local dynasty during the period of Tibetan ascendancy", the latter being checked by the Turkish tribes of the T'ien-shan. Only in A.D. 938 the Khotanese succeeded in sending an embassy to China which was followed by those of 942, 947, 948, 961, 965, 966. It is probable that the 'aẓīm mentioned in our text is the king Li Shêng-t'ien in whose long reign most of the above-mentioned embassies visited China. The embassy of 971 brought the news of a war between Khotan and Kāshghar, and, some thirty years after, Khotan succumbed in the struggle and was occupied by the Muslim Qara-khānid Turks of Kāshghar, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 281, and notes to § 13. Gardīzī, p. 94, gives a detailed description of Khotan. Our source accurately records the items on the two rivers, silk and jade.

19. As a name similar to Kh.za may be mentioned that of Khada-lik, lying east of Khotan, between the Chira and Keriya rivers. In the ruins of its sanctuary Sir A. Stein found coins of A.D. 780-8, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912, i, 245.

20. 21. Under § 7, 8. our *Hutm* and *Sāvnīk* are spelt *Khuthum* (*sic*) and *Sārnik* (perhaps: *Vasārnik*). These were two Chinese towns in the neighbourhood of the Lob-nor, between which a sand desert stretched for a distance of 3 days. Of the two towns the southern one must be sought in the region of the present-day Charkhlik and the northern one in that of the ancient Lou-lan (the city of Lob). **Vasārnik* (of which the initial *v* could have been misconstrued into the conjunction "and") has an outward likeness to Vash-shahri, the westernmost oasis of the Charkhlik district, where T'ang and Sung coins have been found, Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, 332-3. In this case *Hutm*/*Khuthum* could lie in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lob-nor swamp. Vash-shahri is situated half-way between Charkhlik and Charchan of which the latter must have been reckoned to Tibet (cf. § 11, 8.). [*V.i.*, p. 485: *B.rwān*.]

22. The meaning of *bar karān-i daryā* is dubious. Perhaps the mention of Būrkhīmū and Navījkath just before 23. Sarandīb is accounted for by the interpretation of *daryā* as "the sea". But Navījkath looks distinctly Iranian (Soghdian): "the New Town". Therefore the two localities seem

¹ The *Mujmal al-tawārikh* also calls this king 'aẓīm al-Khotan, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20.

to have lain still in the Tarim basin where the Chinese could most likely have Soghdian subjects. Since the second quarter of the 7th century there existed, in the Lou-lan region, a Soghdian settlement Tien-ho ch'êng. In 675 the whole region was included in the Sha-chou administration, see Pelliot, *La Colonie sogdienne de la région du Lob-nor*, in *Jour. As.*, 1916/17, pp. 111-23 (after a document written in A.D. 885). Consequently one would have reasons to translate *bar karān-i daryā* as "on the bank of the river", or perhaps "in the riverine region", i.e. of the Tarim. Less probably N.vijkath "the New Village" could be compared with Yangi-baliq ("the New Town") which Kāshgharī, i, 103, mentions among the Uyghur settlements near the Eastern T'ien-shan, see note to § 12, 2.

23. 24. have been added from some totally different source. Sarandīb (Ceylon), left out under India, is treated as a mountain under § 5, where it is somehow brought into connexion with the continental system of mountains (cf. § 6, 1. and § 9, introduction), and it is possible that it was sometimes looked upon as a continuation of Indo-China.¹ Under the name of Taprobana (Ṭabarnā), and perhaps (?) of Nāra, it is described as an island (§ 4, 4. and 13.). 24. Gh.z.r (?) is unknown. Being a small town it cannot be identical with Muvas, mentioned under § 4, 4. No such name is found in Ptolemy, vii, ed. by Renou, in *Khuwārizmī*, 97-8, in the *Mohīt*, and on the Portuguese maps, *Mohīt*, Maps XVII and XVIII.

§ 10. India

Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* [1866], re-edited by Cordier, 1913-16 (Hakluyt Society); Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India*; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886; [Turkish Admiral Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs], *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohīt*,² übersetzt von Dr. M. Bittner, mit einer Einleitung sowie mit 30 Tafeln versehen von Dr. W. Tomaschek, Wien 1897; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1909 (Atlas in vol. xxvi); Ferrand, *Relations*; V. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th ed., Oxford 1924; Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (2nd ed.), as Annex to *The Indian Antiquary*, xlviii (1919)-liii (1924) (last name Śrāvastī); H. Ch. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India, Early Mediaeval Period*, i, Calcutta 1931. See also below under respective paragraphs.

Some important additional information on India will be found under § 5, 2. 4.-8. (mountains), § 6, 13.-16. (rivers) and § 7, 5. (deserts).

In his *Preface*, p. 27, Prof. Barthold suggests that as regards India "the original source (*pervoistochnik*) of I.Kh. and other early Arab geographers was Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq". However, even for I.R., p. 132, who alone names this authority, the latter does not exhaust the

¹ Ceylon may have been confused with Sumatra. On Kāshgharī's map Sarandīb and the "Sarandīb mountain" are shown on the dry land! [Cf. § 4, 4.]

² On the Arabic sources of the *Mohīt*

see G. Ferrand's detailed articles *Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥjīd* (Vasco de Gama's pilote) and *Sulaimān al-Mahri* in *EI* and his edition of these two pilots' works, Paris, 1921-2 and 1921-3.

sources on India. Abū 'Abdillāh, who [probably before the beginning of the 9th cent.] spent two years in Khmer (Qimār), could hardly know much about northern India. I.R. himself, 135₂₀, 136₁₄, distinctly quotes some other sources of information on India. Finally, Sulaymān the Merchant's report is still extant: it was completed in 237/851 and could have been known if not to I.Kh., at least to I.R., as it was known to Mas'ūdī. [*V.s.*, p. 172.]

For the maritime part of India our author pretty closely follows I.Kh. and I.R., but gives some entirely new information on Central India and the sub-Himalayan region for which after him we find fuller data only in Bīrūnī. The present chapter contains numerous points not otherwise known, but their interpretation is rendered difficult by confusions inherent to Arabic script, by the absence of indications regarding the epoch to which these data belong, and by a very inconvenient system of enumeration of the localities, partly based on some unknown itineraries (cf. 38., 48.) and partly on an arbitrary division of the map into a number of zones, running in various directions, without much consideration for political and geographical divisions (see Qinnauj and its dependencies treated under 29., 38., 39., 46., and 53.).

The Kings of India.

All Arab travellers pay much attention to the political organization of India and to the mutual relations of the Indian kings (cf. Yule-Cordier, i, 241-4). The system described by them is recognizable also in our author.

In the EXTREME EAST three kings are mentioned: that of Assam (Qāmarūn), represented as master of Ṣanf and Mandal, that of Faṣūr (Sumatra) called *S. tūhā*(?), and that of Qimār (Khmer), see 1.-6. To the same group belong the three countries 8.-10. lying on the Chinese frontier, (evidently west of Yün-nan).

On the east coast of India proper is named the king DAHUM (*sic*), lord of a mighty army of 300,000. Roughly speaking, his possessions comprised the country between Carnatic in the south (cf. § 7, 5.) and the Ganges basin in the north. Dahum's kingdom marched in the north (north-west?) with that of the "Indian rāy" (the raja of Qinnauj?) along the Vindhya Range and the Lesser Mihrān (Narbadā), evidently in their more easterly parts.¹ Dahum's name has numerous variants in Muslim sources. Sulaymān the Merchant, p. 29 (Ferrand's tr., p. 50), has رُهمي. He places him in the immediate neighbourhood of the Ballah-rā (*v.i.*) and the kings of Gujra and Ṭāqin (*v.i.*), adding that he is at war with both the Ballah-rā and the king of Gujra. Though not of noble extraction Ruhmī was a powerful monarch.² I.Kh., 67 (whose relation to Sulaymān is not quite

¹ For in the west was the kingdom of the Ballah-rā.

² He had 50,000 elephants and 10,000-15,000 fullers and washermen in the army, and in his country were found

gold, silver, aloes, *sm.r* (chowries, yak-tails), cowrie-money, and spotted rhinoceroses. [H. A. R. Gibb suggests that the sentence ويقال ان نصارى عسكره نحو من وعشرة الف الى خمس عشر الفا must mean:

clear), says: "and after [the Ballah-rā] (comes) the king Jurz who has *tāṭrī*-dirhams; after him Ghāba; after him R.hmī (رهمى variant: رهمى), between whose (possessions) and (those of) the other (kings) is a distance of a year, and he is said to possess 50,000 elephants as well as cotton and velvet garments and Indian aloes. Then after him (comes) the king of Qāmarūn, whose kingdom adjoins China. . . ." Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 106, mentions رهم between Dānq (دانق, perhaps: جز*) and the Ballah-rā and considers him the most important of the kings ruling over a most extensive country which lay by some sea and produced gold. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 384, says that R.hmay's territory is conterminous with those of Jurz and the Ballah-ray; he possesses 50,000 elephants and some people pretend with exaggeration that in his army there are 10-15 thousand fullers and washermen; R.hmay's possessions comprise both land and sea.¹ Beyond him lives the king of الكامن in whose possession there is no sea and whose people are white and have pierced ears. The latter kingdom evidently corresponds to الارمن, which I.R., 133, mentions after Qimār (good-looking people, boys married at a tender age).²

Yule-Cordier, i, 243, suggested the identification of **Ruhmī*, &c., with Pegu, called in Burma *Rahmaniya* [Ssk. *Rāmaṇya-deśa*], but with a noteworthy reservation: "I should be sorry", says he, "to define more particularly the limits of the region intended by the Arab writer [*i.e.* Mas'ūdī]." This cautious suggestion³ becomes still less alluring in view of our text which attributes to Dahum the whole of the east coast of India.

Our analysis of the Arab sources enables us to infer the identity of the forms رهمى رهمى رهم, but it is still to be seen whether our author has not transferred to the original *Ruhmī*/*Dahum* some traits of a king whose name was very celebrated in the second half of the 10th century, namely of Dhaṅga (A.D. 950-99) who was the best-known king of the Chandēl family which ruled in the province of Jejākabhukti, *i.e.* the present-day Bundelkhand lying between the Jumna and Narbadā. The Chandēls, who first came into notice about A.D. 831, had gradually advanced from the south until the Jumna became their frontier with the rajas of Kanauj in whose affairs they intervened on several occasions. In 989-90 Dhaṅga joined the league formed against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī by Jaypāl of Vayhind (explicitly mentioned by our author under 56.). See V. Smith, *o.c.*, 405-7. If,

"[others] say that the utmost limit of his regular army is from 10,000 to 15,000 [men]." However, *Murūj*, i, 384, shows that already Mas'ūdī had imagined that the passage referred to [القصارين والفسالين].

¹ The source of this and several other details in Mas'ūdī is Sulaymān who is evidently to be understood by "the informer" (*al-mukhbir*), *l.c.*, i, 393.

² Perhaps the Burmese are meant by

**al-Arman*. In a Mon inscription (A.D. 1101) the Burmese are called *Mirmā*; in later Burmese their name is *Mranmā*, see G. H. Luce, *Note on the Peoples of Burma* (quoted under 8.-10.).

³ For Tomaschek's identifications, *v.i.* under 8.-10.

⁴ Ibn Iyās in Arnold's *Chrest. Arabica*, 1853, pp. 66-73, invoking the authority of Mas'ūdī says that رهم (*sic*) is the name of the king of ماري (?).

however, *d* in *Dahum* and a common frontier¹ between Dahum and Kanauj may refer to Dhaṅga, the mention of the great part of the east coast of India as belonging to Dahum does not apply to this king. The basic characteristics of *Ruhmī/Dahum* point back to the times before A.D. 850 and it must be left to the specialists in Indian history to decide to which dynasty of north-eastern or eastern India they may refer (Orissa, Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi who ruled A.D. 815–960, &c.).

The SOUTHERNMOST part of India (Madura?) is described as the realm of a queen (*rāṇīya*) [12. and perhaps 11.].

On the west coast the king Balharay, or better BALLAH-RĀ [in our text several times **Ballahrāy*; Persian *rāy* = *raja*], is represented as paramount. His name probably reproduces the Indian title *Vallabha-rāja*, which several times occurs in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 577, and Sir T. W. Arnold's article *Balhara*, in *EI*. Even apart from the title of Ballah-rā, the kings so called who, according to the Arabs, were powerful opponents (from the south) of the rulers of Qinnauj, can only be the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (A.D. 743–974). Sulaymān, p. 28, says that the Ballah-rā's kingdom starts² from the coast called **al-Kumkam*, *i.e.* Konkan, the region stretching along the sea between Bombay and Goa.³ Mas'ūdī, i, 162, 177, and Iṣṭ., 173, definitely mention, as the Ballah-rā's residence, Mānkīr, *i.e.* *Manyakheta*, now Malkhed, south of Gulbarga (Haydarābād). The Muslims living in great numbers in the Ballah-rā's possessions sided with him against the raja of Qinnauj, and consequently were likely to exaggerate his power. Sulaymān calls him "the king of the kings of Hind", cf. I.Kh., 67. The same tendency accounts perhaps for the inclusion of Malabār by our author in the dominions of the Ballah-rā. In the north 15. Qāmuhul (*v.i.*), situated at 4 days' distance from Kanbāya, belonged to the Ballah-rā. Cf. also Idrīsī (Jaubert), pp. 176–7: "la ville de Nahrvara [Bīrūnī: *Anhilwāra* < *Anhalwāṭa*, now Pattan in the northern Baroda] est gouvernée par un grand prince qui prend le titre de Balhara."

Another great king was the RAJA OF QINNAUJ (such is the Arabic spelling, in Indian *Kanyākubja* > *Kanauj*) whose army is mentioned under 29. as consisting of 150,000 horse and 600 elephants, and under 38. as being 100,000 horse strong. His other title seems to be "Raja of the Indians", (§§ 5, 9. and 6, 16.). Our author includes in his possessions 38. Jālhandar (though this latter had princes of its own, Ray, *o.c.*, 138) and even considers as his vassals the Shāhī kings of Gandhāra (56. Vayhind) and those of 75. Qashmīr (but *v.i.* 57.).

Sulaymān does not mention Qinnauj but speaks, p. 28, trans. Ferrand, 48, of the JURZ king who possessed the best cavalry in India, was at war both with Ballah-rā and the king of Ruhmī, hated Islam and the Arabs

¹ § 5, 9.: "a mountain", perhaps "a watershed"?

² I.Kh., 67, I.R., 134, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 383, have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān in saying that *Kum-*

kam was the name of Ballah-rā's country.

³ Bīrūnī, *India*, 99: "the province of Kunkan, and its capital Tāna [Thāna, near Bombay] on the sea-coast."

and reigned over a "tongue" of territory (*wa huwa 'alā lisānin min al-arḍ*). Yet Sulaymān's continuator Abū Zayd, p. 127 (Ferrand, 123), mentions Qinnauj as "a great city in the Jurz kingdom". Mas'ūdī, on the one hand, speaks of the king of Qinnauj called BA'ŪRA (*v.i.* under 53. *Bīrūza*) who possessed four armies, each seven to nine hundred thousand strong, of which the northern one was directed against the Muslims of Multān, the southern against the Ballah-ray, and the two others against any eventual enemy, see *Murūj*, i, 372-4, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 263-4. On the other hand, he, *o.c.*, i, 383, separately speaks of the king Juzr (*sic*), whose kingdom lay "on a tongue of territory" and who "from one side" attacked the Ballah-ray's possessions.

In fact the kings of Qinnauj belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (8th century—A.D. 1037) and the name **Jurz* (<*Gurz*) stands correctly for Gurjara.¹ Our author's statements with regard to the extent of the Qinnauj dominions may appear somewhat exaggerated (cf. 38., 56., 57.) yet the latest authority (Ray, *o.c.*, Introduction, p. xxxvii) confirms that "the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire embraced the whole of Northern India (excepting Sind), western portions of the Panjāb, Kashmīr, Nepal, Assam and portions of Bengal, Central Provinces and Orissa".

In the SUB-HIMALAYAN region five principalities are mentioned, of which 41. Hytal, 42. Tythāl, and 43. Bytāl (Nepal?) lay in the region of Nepal (*v.i.*), whereas 44. Ṭāqī (Ṭakka-deśa?) and 45. Salūqī (Chambā?) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr. The S.lūqī king was particularly famous for his nobility (*v.i.* 45.).

As regards MUSLIM possessions (see now Ray, *o.c.*, p. 24) Manṣūra belonged to the descendants of 'Omar b. 'Abdil-'Azīz, a native of Bāniya, descended from the Quraishite Habbār b. Aswad, *Iṣṭ.*, 173, cf. § 27, 1. and *v.i.* 16., whereas the ancestor of the amīrs of Multān was the Quraishite Sāma b. Lu'ayy. The dynasty of Manṣūra recognized the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, whereas that of Multān, the Fātimīd caliphs of Egypt, Maq., 485, (*v.i.* 32). The amīrs of Multān were the immediate neighbours and enemies of the raja of Qinnauj and they are said to have had under their sway even the town of 53. Bīrūza (named after the title of the raja of Qinnauj) and Lahore, in which case the communications of Qinnauj with its northern feudatories were of a precarious nature.

Description of India.

We shall now proceed to the identification of single localities mentioned in the text.

The plan of the chapter is the following: 1.-6. localities to the east of India, stretching east of the Bay of Bengal from north to south; 7. localities of the east coast of India enumerated from south to north; 8.-10. localities

¹ The mention of the "tongue of territory" most probably refers to the name to some other branch of the Gurjara tribe. On the Gujrat of the peninsula of Gujarāt which owes its Panjāb, *v.i.* 46.

on the Chinese frontier (west of Yün-nan); 11.-14. localities along the south (?) and west coasts of India (beginning to the south of 7.); 15.-29. localities of a semicircular zone beginning south of the Indus, then following upstream the course of the Narbadā and ending at Qinnauj on the Ganges; 30.-40. localities on the left bank of the Indus (beginning in the north of Sind) and of the Panjāb; 41.-5. sub-Himalayan principalities; 47.-57. northernmost zone going west to east from southern Afghanistan to Kashmīr.

1.-4. and 6. are well-known names but their sequence in our text reflects some confusion in the author's ideas. From Assam he passes to Sumatra (already treated in the chapter on the islands, § 4, 5.-6.) and Indo-China (in the latter, Šanf and Qimār ought to be named side by side but by some mistake Šanf is placed under Assam!).

1. Qāmarūn (*Qāmarūb), I.Kh., 13, is Kāmarūpa, modern Assam. The dynastic history of Assam is little known. From *circa* A.D. 800-*circa* 1000, the Prāmbha dynasty ruled in Assam, Ray, *o.c.*, 241, 268.

2. Šanf is the regular Arabic rendering of Indian *Champa*. The celebrated country of aloes was Champa, southern Annam, on which see Georges Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris 1928 (reprinted from the *T'oung-Pao*, 1911). Cf. I.Kh., 68: Šanf at 3 days' distance from Qimār (*v.i.* 6.). There seems to have existed a Muslim colony in Champa as shown by P. Ravaisse, *Deux inscriptions coufiques du Čampa*, in *Jour. As.*, Oct. 1922, pp. 247-89; one of the documents is a tumular inscription of some Aḥmad b. Abī Ibrāhīm b. 'Arrāda al-rahdār who died in 401/1039, and the other a sort of tariff for Muslim merchants [unfortunately the exact place of the finds is not known]. If our author's report on Šanf being a part of Qāmarūn is not a mere mistake, the name in our case stands for some different place. The names of the type *Chamba*, *Champa*, &c., are frequent in India, see the state *Chambā*, south-east of Kashmīr, *Champa* east of Bilaspur, Central Provinces, and curiously enough a *Champa* is situated near the source of the river Manās, which rises in Bhutan and falls into the Brahmaputra; this Manās formed the western frontier of Kāmarūpa.¹

3. Mandal by its meaning (*maṇḍal* "province") is a vague term, Elliot, i, 390. I.Kh., 51, mentions a Mandal in Sind. Ferrand, 315, tentatively locates the celebrated place producing aloes at Mandarī (*v.i.* 12.), on the continent opposite Ceylon, which is doubtful. In our text Mandal belongs to Assam (!) and in this case ought to be sought in its neighbourhood (cf. *Vyāghrataṭi Maṇḍala* in the Ganges Delta?). [But Mandalay is a late name.]

4. 5. Fanšūr < Panchūr, celebrated camphor port, lay on the western

¹ In modern Persian *chompā*, or *champa*, is applied to (1) a white flower resembling a *zambaq* (and also called *gul-i champī*) and (2) a kind of rice; according to the *Burhān-i qāṭi* both "came to Irān from Hindūstān". The

name of the flower < Sanskrit *chāmpaka*, is already attested in Pahlavī *chambak*; the name of the rice *birinj-i chompā* may reflect a geographical name, but which exactly?

coast of Sumatra immediately south of Baros (§ 4, B 8.), see I.R., 138, and *Mohit*, Maps XXV–XXVI. Cf. Ferrand, *Çrividjaya*, pp. 55, 95, who, moreover, p. 72, admits the existence of a second **Panchūr*, an island off the eastern coast of Sumatra. The town *H.dd.njira* (?) and the king *S.tūhā* are unknown unless *سلوا* stands either for Śailendra, “lord of the mountains”, title of the Śrīvijaya dynasty, or for the later (15th–16th century) *شمطرة* or *سمطرى*, Sumatra, cf. Ferrand, *ibid.*, pp. 80 and 86.¹ The mention of a port of Sumatra is out of place in the present chapter and ought to come under § 4, B (5.–8.).

6. Qimār = Khmer, i.e. Cambodia on the Me-kong. The Khmer empire formed in A.D. 802 lasted till the middle of the thirteenth century, Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 1929, pp. 559, 568, 587. I.Kh., 68, counts from Qimār to Šanf 3 days following the coast. Prohibition of adultery is also mentioned in I.Kh., 47, and I.R., 132 (who names as the original author of this report Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq, *v.s.*, p. 27).²

7. I.Kh., 63–4, gives an itinerary along the eastern coast of India (going northwards): from the estuary of the Kūdāfarīd (Godavari) 2 days to Kaylkān (Portuguese: Calingam?), al-Lavā (?) and K.nja (= Ganjam); thence to Samundar < Samudra (north of Ganjam, south of the Rio de Paluro = Baruva, *Mohit*, Map I), 10 farsakhs; thence to *Ūrishīn (spelt: اورشین = Orissa) 12 farsakhs; thence to ابنة 4 days. Our Ūr.shīn and S.m.nd.r are the firm points of comparison. According to the order of enumeration Andrās would lie south of Orissa, somewhere towards the Godavari. The name اندراس *Andrās* (or perhaps *Andrā’iya*, *Andrāniya*, *Andrāliya*?) recalls Āndhra, as the region between the Godavari and Kistna is called. H.rk.nd and N.myās must be sought north of Orissa. In the Preface to the second edition (1906) of *Maq.*, de Goeje quotes Marquart’s emendation: *Harkand* < **Harikel* (هرکند < هرکند or هرکیل). Indeed, Harikela is the name of Eastern Bengal. An inscription of the end of the tenth century mentions the conquest by the king of Harikela of Chandradvīpa (which is still the administrative name of the districts of Bakergunj, Khulna, and Faridpur, on the western bank of the Ganges near its estuary), see Ray, *o.c.*, i, 322. This Harikel excellently fits our case, but some difficulty persists with regard to the general use of the term هرکند which seems to stand for several similar but different local names (*v.s.*, note to § 4, 11.). In Sulaymān, pp. 5–9 (and Abū-Zayd, *ibid.*, 123), the Harkand sea comprises the waters between the Laccadives and Malabār, as well as those round Ceylon, and stretches even as far as Ramnī, i.e. Sumatra (§ 4, 5.)! Our N.myās, according to its place in the enumeration, seems to lie still farther east. It must be identical with N.yars which Ibn Iyās, Arnold’s *Chrestomathia Arabica*, p. 71, mentions in the neighbourhood of China (before [= east of?] Orissa). As regards the produce of the region, I.Kh., 64, mentions both the elephants and the aloes “carried in fresh water” to

¹ The state of *Shumutra* (?) on the NE. coast of the island is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 230.

² Chau Ju-kua (A.D. 1225), p. 61, says that adultery was severely punished in San-fo-ts’i (Palembang in Sumatra).

S.m.nd.r from places 15–20 days distant from there. I.Kh. evidently means that the aloes wood was floated on rivers, such as Godavari. Cf. Idrīsī, trans. Jaubert, p. 180: “On apporte [à Samundar] du bois d’aloès du pays de Kārmūt, distant de 15 jours, par un fleuve dont les eaux sont douces.” I.Kh. confirms the high rank of the king of this region (cf. our Dahum?). سَنَك (read: شَنَك *shank) is Ssk. *śaṅkha*. The text suggests perhaps that the *śaṅkha* is the peculiar trait of this country, but these conchs were usually employed as insignia of the kings, cf. Sulaymān, p. 7, Ray, *o.c.*, i, 456 and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), p. 184b: *chank*, *chunk*.

8.–10., located on the frontier of China, come as an intermezzo in the description of the Indian coast.

H.-'Ā.	طوسول	موسه	مانك
Ya'qūbī	طرسول	موشه	مايد
Sulaymān	[قبرنج]	موجه	مابد
Mas'ūdī	[فرنج or فتح]	موجه	ماند

Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 106, also places them near China with which they were at war. Sulaymān, p. 32 (Ferrand, 52), says that the Mūja have a white complexion and dress like Chinamen; good musk is found in their country, through which stretch long ranges of white mountains; Māb.d is a larger country, and the inhabitants, of whom many live in China, have still more resemblance to Chinamen.

The three countries must be sought in the neighbourhood of Burma (west of Yün-nan). Prof. G. H. Luce of the Rangoon University, to whom I submitted my passage, has most kindly communicated to me (21.v.1933) a series of very valuable materials¹ and personal suggestions. As regards Ṭ.sūl (Ya'qūbī: *Ṭ.rsūl*; absent elsewhere), Prof. Luce quotes as a parallel the name *Tirchul* found in the old Mon inscription (*circa* A.D. 1101) edited by Dr. C. O. Blagden. On the other hand, in the New T'ang History (ch. 222) it is said that “the P'iao call themselves *T'u-lo-chu*. The Javanese call them *T'u-li-ch'ü*”. Consequently the Tirchul may be the people known in Burman history as Pyū (P'iao) who together with the Mons were in occupation of the plains of Burma during the ninth century. Later on the Mons probably pushed back the Pyū into the central and upper Burma. By A.D. 1060 both had yielded to the domination of the Mranma (Burmans).²

The *Man-shu* composed by Fan-ch'o after A.D. 863, in the enumeration of the barbarian kingdoms bordering on the T'ai kingdom of Nan-chao (Yün-nan), mentions at the first place the Mi-no (*myie-nāk) and Mi-ch'ên

¹ Cf. Luce, *Note on the peoples of Burma in the 12th–13th century A.D.* in *Census of India 1931*, vol. xi. Burma, part i, Rangoon 1933, pp. 296–306.

² Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī give here a name which looks entirely different from our *Ṭirsūl: Sulaymān, p. 32,

says that *Qīr.nj* lies beyond the kingdom الكاشبين by the sea which deposits much amber; the country also produces much ivory and a small quantity of pepper. According to Mas'ūdī, *Muriij*, i, 388, *F.r.nj* lay on a peninsula.

(**myie-siēn*). The former apparently lived on the river Mi-no = Chindwin (one of the head-waters of the Irawaddy); the latter, according to P. Pelliot, lived near the mouth of the Irawaddy. Prof. Luce compares the names of these peoples with those of the Mānak and Mūja¹ though he does not conceal some difficulties for such an identification: according to the Chinese sources the people of Mi-ch'ên had "black short faces" (not "a white complexion"!); likewise doubtful are the points on musk and "strong fortresses". One may remark that the "white" mountains do not necessarily refer to snowy peaks; Dr. Blagden tells me that many of the mountains in Burma are of calcareous formation.²

11.-14. continue the description of the coast towards the south (in opposite direction to the enumeration under 7.).

11. بابين corresponds to I.Kh., 63, بابین "from which the inhabitants of Sarandīb receive their provisions". De Goeje, following Yule, reads Bāpattan (?). Whatever the proper reading of the first element of this name, the place certainly lay south of the Coromandel coast.

12. اورشفين corresponds to اورفین which I.R., 134, places in the *bilād al-aghbāb* adding that its queen is called Rābiya and that the tallest elephants are found there. De Goeje took اورفین for ارشین in I.Kh. (v.s. 7.), but this is surely a confusion. Our author clearly discriminates between the two localities respectively belonging to the queen Rāniya (**rānī*) and Dahum. He describes اورشفين as a sort of peninsula and mentions pepper among its products which points to a southern situation. He follows I.R. in saying that the sea near Ūr.shfīn is *baḥr al-aghbāb*. This name, omitted in § 3, is usually applied to the sea near the southern extremity of India. Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, p. 123) says: "opposite (Sarandīb) vast *aghbāb* are found. The meaning of *ghubb* is a huge river [or valley, *wādī*] extremely long and wide which disembogues (*maṣabb*) into the sea".³ On the strength of our passage S. Lévi (d. 6.xi.1935) suggested for Urshfīn the Mandam peninsula continued towards Ceylon by the Rameśvāram island. Instead of our اورشفين I.Kh., 63, mentions بلین, where the maritime route for eastbound ships bifurcated: one branch followed the east coast of India while the other went to Ceylon and China.⁴ Mas'ūdī, i, 394, has an interesting

¹ The name موشه resembles that of the Mo-so tribes in south-western China, but its alternative موجه suggests that their common original contained a *ch* sound: **Mūcha*, or **Mocha*.

² On Tomaschek's Map I, *Mohit*, the kingdom "Ruhmī" occupies the estuary of the Ganges; al-Mūja occupies the coastal region of Burma; al-Arman is located in Pegu (near Rangoon) and al-Māyad (compared with *Moi*) is shown round the Bay of Tonkin.

³ Dozy, *Supplément aux dict. arabes*: "golfe, appartient au dialecte de

Yémen, Edrisi, *Climat I*, sect. 6, Jaubert, i, 54: "ومعنى الغب البحر".

⁴ Dr. Barnett suggests for B.llīn "Baliapatam, more correctly Valapat-tanam, a few miles NW. of Cannanore in Cirakkal Taluk, Malabar District, which is Ptolemy's Βαλαιπάτνα" [ed. Renou, 1925, vii, ch. i, § 6: Βαληπάτνα]. This would indicate for B.llīn a much more westerly position than Ūrsh.fīn. However, it must be remembered that I.Kh. places B.llīn at 2 days' distance to the south (or SE.) of Malay (Malabār) and at 1 day's distance from Ceylon.

passage in which immediately after the king of Sarandīb is mentioned the king of مندورین (variants مندوری and منصور بن بی) “which is a country opposite the Sarandīb island, as well as opposite Qimār . . . [text out of order] . . . and every king¹ ruling the country of M.ndūrfīn is called القايدى al-Qayday” [the last element perhaps *-ray* instead of *-day*].² Bīrūnī, *Canon*, describes مندري س (*Mandurī-pattan) as “the harbour and embarkation point (*ma'bar* “ferry”) for Sarandīb, lying in the *ghubb*”.³ Idrīsī (Jaubert), pp. 185–7, describes اورشین as a small town on the sea-coast near which lies a celebrated island of the same name where elephants are caught. This island is also known for its rhubarb, iron-mines, and a tree called شهکیر. From اورشین to لوقین (in the direction of China) the distance is of 3 days.⁴ Abul-Fidā, p. 355, mentions a town Manifattan on the Ma'bar coast, identified by Yule with Malipatan which the Jesuit traveller Bouchet places “on the shore of Palk's bay, a little north of where our maps show Devipattan”, see Yule's remarks in Elliot-Dowson, viii, Index, p. xl, [though probably Manifattan is only a mis-spelling of *Mandurī-fattan, found by Abul-Fidā in some other source of his]. The *Mohīt*, Map XVII, mentions in the same region a locality ادلائق as the first place which the boats coming from Indo-China find on the east coast of India [on Portuguese maps *Beadala*, *Bedala*?].

If the first elements of these names are still doubtful, the second part of the compounds can be safely restored as *-battan* [v.s. 11.], or *-fattan*, rendering Indian *paṭṭan*. The names all refer to the same important locality in the southernmost part of India from which the roads of the east-bound ships bifurcated, but it is possible that in the course of time several different harbours were used by the navigators, or even that the site of the principal port was moved.

13. Malay = Malayabār, “Malabar coast” (Abul-Fidā, p. 353: الميبار) could hardly be under the direct rule of the Ballah-rāy. In I.Kh., 64, whose enumeration runs from west to east, Malay comes immediately before B.llīn, v.s. 12.

14. Iṣṭ. (whom our author follows in the opposite direction) gives the distances, pp. 172, 179: Kanbāya to Sūbāra 4 marḥalas; thence to Sindān 5 marḥalas; thence to Ṣaymūr 5 marḥalas; thence to Sarandīb 15 marḥalas. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 330, who visited the Ballah-rāy's possessions in 303/915, gives a somewhat different enumeration: Ṣaymūr, Sūbāra, Tāna, Sindān,

Generally speaking a place on the west coast of India is hardly suitable for bifurcation of roads leading farther east.

¹ *King*, not *queen*, as in I.R. and the *H.-'Ā*. In Sulaymān, p. 6, a queen is mentioned in the *Dibājāt*, i.e. the Laccadive, &c., islands.

² Ferrand, *Çrividjaya*, p. 62, explains the name as “Mandūrapatan, la capitale de Madura”, but the city of Madura lies far inland.

³ Abul-Fidā, p. 353, in his quotation from the *Canon* seems to have misread بين *-pattan* into بين “between”.

⁴ Idrīsī is certainly wrong for I.Kh., 69, counts 100 farsakhs from Ṣanf (v.s. 2. Annam) to Lūqīn, “the first of the ports of China” (*awwalu marāqī al-Ṣīn*). O. Franke, *Zur Geschichte der Exterritorialität in China*, p. 894 (13) identifies Arabic *Lukim* (read: *Luqīn*) with Lung-pien in Tonking, south-east of Hanoi.

and Kanbāya; like our author he, too, praises the sandals of Kanbāya. صرور in our text¹ is a mis-spelling for Iṣṭ., 170, Maq., 477: صبور and Bīrūnī, *India*, 102, جبور, both transcriptions standing for **Chaymūr* which was identified by Yule with Ptolemy's, vii, i, 6, Σημίλα, modern Chaul in the Kolaba district of Bombay. Sindān, *Sanjam* of Portuguese maps and *St. John* of English ones, lay south of Daman in the Thana district of Bombay; Sūbāra = Σουππάρα (cf. Mas'ūdī, i, 253, Sufāra) also in Thana; Kanbāya = Cambay in Gujarat. On the *Kūlī* of Cambay *v.s.*, § 6, 16.

15. Iṣṭ., 176, 179, places Qāmuhul at 4 marḥalas from Kanbāya at the beginning of the frontier of Hind (*i.e.* the frontier of the Ballah-ray's possessions with Sind).

16. Iṣṭ., 175, spells *Bāniya* adding that the said 'Omar was the grandfather (*jadd*) of the conquerors of Maṣṣūra.

17. This Qandāhar (Indian *Ghandhār*) is totally different from its Muslim namesakes in Afghānistān and the Panjab, *v.i.* 56. Some light on its position is thrown by § 6, 16. Idrīsī counts from it to Naharvāra (Anhilvara) 5 days in a cart. It stood in the eastern corner of the gulf of Cambay, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 58, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 266–8. Both the *Mohīt*, Map XIII (Bandar-i Ghandārī), and Portuguese maps, *ibid.* (Bandel Guandari), show it between Cambay and Broach (evidently in the bay of Amod, SW. of Baroda).²

18.–24. were situated in the neighbourhood (more or less immediate) of the Narbadā, for in the description of that river (§ 6, 16.) our 21., 23., 24. (with the addition of Nu'nīn) are mentioned in the opposite direction, *i.e.* following the course of the river, whereas the enumeration in § 10 starts with 17. Qandāhar, situated near the estuary of the river, and then goes eastwards up the Narbadā river. This must be the clue for the future identification of the localities, of which the names are disfigured. The additional نونین must correspond to one of the towns 18., 19., 20., or 22., and more probably to کونسر which not only is mentioned immediately before Nūnūn (cf. the order in § 6, 16.) but in Arabic cursive has some resemblance to نونین. It would be tempting further to consider both these forms as corruptions of اوجین, *i.e.* Ujjain, a place of great fame, through which Indian geographers drew their 0° of longitude, *v.s.* note to § 4, 13.; Greek 'Οζήνη; I.R., 22: اذن; Bīrūnī, *Canon*: اوذين بجبال قة الارض و عليه حسابات الهند; Bīrūnī, *India*, p. 159: اوجين or ازين. Ujjain does not lie on the Narbadā, but the terms of § 6, 16. cannot be interpreted too strictly. As regards the important Nūnūn (نون) one would tentatively identify it with the capital of Mālwā: *Mandū* (*مندو or perhaps ماندو in Arabic script) situated to the north of the Narbadā on the top of an offshoot of the Vindhya range and possessing unique natural defences: it could hardly be overlooked in

¹ Perhaps this form has been influenced by the name mentioned under § 5, 9. which seems to stand for a different place.

² For earlier identifications of Qanda-

hār with Khandār (60 miles inland of Kathiawar) and Kanthkot, or Kanthgar, in Kachh (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 243: كنده), see Burgess in Elliot-Dowson, *o.c.*, viii, Geogr. Index, p. xl.

enumeration. The Paramāra dynasty ruled in Mandū in the 8th–13th centuries, G. Yazdani, *Mandū, The City of Joy*, Oxford, 1929, p. 6.

24. It is not known whether B.lhāri has anything to do with the king Ballah-ray whose capital Mankīr = Mānyakheta lay some 350 miles south of the Narbadā. Bīrūnī, *India*, 102, mentions a locality called Vallabha, but places it south of Jymwr (**Chaymur* > Chaul, *v.s.* 14.), *i.e.* probably in Konkan, *v.s.*, p. 239, line 18.

25. and 26.–8. are obscure but in view of the closing sentence of 25. seem to lie in Central India in the direction of Qinnauj.

29. Qinnauj (so in Arabic, for *Kanyākubja* > *Kanauj*) on the Ganges, seat of the powerful Gurjara-Pratihāra kings (A.D. 836–1037), Ray, *o.c.*, 570–611, *v.s.*, p. 239, and *v.i.* 38.–39., 46., and 53.

30.–44. Muslim possessions on the Indus forming a digression in the middle of the enumeration of the Qinnauj dependencies. Our author, who takes the Indus for the geographical frontier between Sind and Hind, describes here also some towns of the left bank of this river which Iṣṭ., 171, does not separate from the rest of Sind (§ 27).

30. Iṣṭ., 171, 175, places Qallārī, Annarī, Bulrī, and Rūr in Sind. The two first lay far to the east of the Indus on the road from Manṣūra to Multān. The situation of Annarī is uncertain. Bulrī lay to the west of the Indus, where a branch (*khalīj*) separated from the river beyond Manṣūra. A Bulrī is shown on Cousens's map [cf. § 27], 40 miles south of Ḥaydarābād. Rūr, encircled by a double wall, was not second in size to Multān, and formed the limit of [the possessions of] Manṣūra. The ruins of al-Rūr (Arūr, Alor), the ancient capital of Sind, are situated near Rohri, see H. Cousens, *o.l.*, 76–9, and Minorsky, *Les Tsiganes Lūlī*, in *Jour. As.*, April 1931, p. 286.

31. Iṣṭ., 175, places Basmad at 1 farsakh to the east of the river, at 2 marḥālas from Multān, and at 3 marḥālas from Rūr.

32. I.R., 135–7, Iṣṭ., 173–5. According to I.R., 135, the amīr of Multān did not obey the lord of Manṣūra, but read the *khutba* in the name of the caliph (*amīr al-mu'minīn*). By his term “Maghribī” our author means¹ that the *khutba* in Multān was read for the Fāṭimid caliph, and this fact is confirmed by Maq., 485: *وَأَمَّا بِالْمُلْتَانِ فَيُخْطَبُونَ بِالْفَاطِمِيّ*. The term *maghribī* is found in Maq., 195b (Cod. Constantinopolitanus), where it is said of Crete that *واستجدها الغربي منهم* “the Western One (*i.e.* the Fāṭimid caliph) delivered it from (the Byzantines)”.

33. According to Iṣṭ., 175, *چندراور* **Chandror* was the military camp of the amīr.

34. Jab.rs.rī unknown. 35. Bahrāyij. The amīr of Multān could not possibly control the town and district of Bahraich, situated north of Gogra, some 125 miles to the north-east of Qinnauj; consequently some different place is meant here.

36. *لاهور* must be Lahore on the Rāvī (Ssk. *Lavapura*, modern *Lāhaur*),

¹ Contrary to Barthold, *v.s.*, p. 27.

though its name is spelt in Bīrūnī, *India*, 102: لوهار Lōhāvar, and in Idrīsī, transl. by Jaubert, 170: *Lahāvar*. In Bīrūnī, *India*, 102, 163, لهور (or لوهور) stands for an entirely different place, the fortress Lohara on the western approaches of Kashmīr. Cf. M. A. Stein, *Memoir on Maps . . . of Kashmīr*, in *JASB*, lxviii, part i, extra No. 2, 1889, p. 20.

37. **Rāmayān* راميان must correspond to راماذان which Maq., 478, mentions among the dependencies of Multān. It lay at a distance of 5 days from 38. and evidently to the west of it, seeing that 38. belonged to Qinnauj and 37. to Multān.

38. 39. Qinnauj (Kanauj) itself was quoted under 29. as the last in that series of localities. With 38. and 39. we come back to the possessions of the raja of Qinnauj, this time approaching the basin of the Ganges from the Panjab (N. to SE.).

38. Jālhandar = Jālandhara, now Jullundur in the Panjab, between the Bias and Sutlej. Cf. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), i, 175.

39. No parallel could be found for *S.lābūr*, unless it is related to **Siṃhapura* (*Seng-ha-pu-lo*) which Hsüan-Tsang, *Life*, St. Julien, p. 89, Beal, p. 67, and *Si-yu-ki*, St. Julien, i, 172, Beal, i, 143, mentions on the way from Takshaśila to Kashmīr (and further to Jālandhara, *v.s.* 38.). *Seng-ha-pu-lo* lay at 700 li = *circa* 403 Km. to the south-east of Takshaśila,¹ had no king, was a dependency of Kashmīr and possessed a natural fortress. The location of *Seng-ha-pu-lo* cannot be regarded as finally settled. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, re-edited by S. M. Sastri, Calcutta 1924, p. 145, identified *Siṃhapura* with Ketās (*Kaṭās*, *Kaṭāksha*), lying on the northern side of the Salt Range (which stretches along the right bank of the Jhelam), but Watters in his commentary on Hsüen-Tsang, i, 248, ii, 263, thinks that the Chinese traveller, rightly or wrongly, thought of *Siṃhapura* as lying *north* (or north-east) of Takshaśila, not *south-east* of it! In our text both *S.lābūr* and Kashmīr (*v.i.* 57.) are dependencies of Qinnauj. To judge by the variety of currency² in *S.lābūr* it was a busy commercial town but it is noteworthy that salt is not mentioned among its products.

40. برهمن (or برهمن) must be identical with برهرو which Maq., 478, mentions as a dependency of Qinnauj. The detail about the sacred water makes one think of Benares (*Vārāṇasi*, Bīrūnī, *Canon: Bānārsī*) which was a part of the dominions of the rajas of Qinnauj, Ray, *o.c.*, 579, but "5 days to Tibet" is evidently too short a distance for Benares, even if by Tibet some of the principalities 41.-3. are meant. The name, apparently disfigured, has some outward resemblance to Budā'un (بدائون) but it is still to be seen whether the latter fulfils the conditions of our text.

41.-3. undoubtedly situated in the sub-Himalayan region. 41. About هیتال (or هیتال, § 5, 9 B.) we know that it was the nearest of the three to Qinnauj from which it was separated by a high mountain. Beyond Hītāl

¹ This detail is repeated in the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *Documents*, 167.

² The names of the coins were un-

known to the specialists whom I have had the advantage of consulting.

(H.btāl) the range of mountains crossing India from west to east split into two branches. Hītāl possessed a ruler who was hostile to the raja of Qinnauj. 42. Tīthāl is the wild mountainous country separating Hītāl from 43. Baytāl (Nītāl) described as a commercial centre from which (Tibetan?) musk was imported. Two of our names also occur in Bīrūnī's *Canon* at the end of the third climate (the text unfortunately without dots):

the region سال which is the observation point between (?) . . . (المرصد): long. $104^{\circ} 35'$, lat. $30^{\circ} 10'$.

the region سال which is the observation point between Hind and Inner Tibet:¹ long. $120^{\circ} 5'$, lat. $32^{\circ} 5'$.

The second country lying to the north (?) -east of the first, according to the explanatory sentence, seems to be Nepal and to correspond to our 43. which, by moving the dots, easily becomes *نيال *Naypāl*, i.e. Nepal. It is, however, much more difficult to identify the two other names. 41. follows on 40. which, with regard to Qinnauj, lay evidently in the direction of "Tibet" (Himalaya). If 40. is Budā'ūn (?) the continuation of the line Qinnauj-Budā'ūn may indicate the direction in which Hītāl ought to be sought, but the identity of 40. is not certain. Hītāl was evidently an important valley considered as "splitting" the Himalaya range: the valleys of Sarda, or Gogra in westernmost Nepal would serve that purpose. As a name resembling our Hītāl هيتال (Bīrūnī: سال) one may quote Nainītāl (نينيتال*) to the west of the Sarda river though as an administrative term it seems to be of a later origin, *The Imperial Gazetteer*, xviii, 322-32.² As regards 42. طيال it must be sought in the neighbourhood of Dhaulagiri, to the west of the central part of Nepal.

The route from Qinnauj to Nepal quoted in Bīrūnī's *India*, 98 (transl., 201) ran eastwards along the foot of the mountains and did not touch our 41. and 42. From Qinnauj to Bārī, 10 farsakhs; thence to Dūgum, 45 fars.; thence to the Sh.lhat kingdom (ملکة شلهت), 10 fars.; thence to the town of *Bh.t* or *B.h.t*, 12 fars. "Farther on the country to the right is called T.lwt (تلوت) and the inhabitants Tarū, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Qāmrū, which stretch away as far as the sea. To the left [i.e. to the north of T.lwt] is the realm of Naypāl." Some informer of Bīrūnī's travelled that way: "when in T.nwt (تنوت), he left the easterly direction and turned to the left. He marched to Naypāl, a distance of 20 farsakhs, most of which was up-hill country."³

¹ Perhaps "Outer Tibet" is here meant for Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, places Inner Tibet in the fourth climate at long. $94^{\circ} 0'$ lat. $36^{\circ} 0'$ [perhaps $37^{\circ} 0'$]. For comparison's sake one may quote the position of

Yārkaṇḍ long. $95^{\circ} 35'$ lat. $43^{\circ} 40'$

Sikāshim long. $96^{\circ} 20'$ lat. $37^{\circ} 0'$

Abul-Fidā, 361 (quoting Ibn Sa'id and

al-Atwāl), mentions among the towns (*mudun* "lands"?) of Qinnauj Outer and Inner Tibet, of which the latter lay at 7 marḥalas from Qinnauj. On the Outer Tibet cf. § 11, 9.

² In the region of Nainītāl there are several names ending in *tāl* "lake" (< Ssk. *talla*).

³ The identification of the route must

44.-6.: These kings must undoubtedly be sought in the direction of Kashmīr. Of them Sulaymān, pp. 28-9, mentions *malik al-ḡurz* and *malik *al-Ṭāqin*; I.Kh., p. 16: *ḡāba*, *malik al-Ṭāqin*, *malik al-ḡurz*, **ḡāba*, and p. 67: *al-Ṭāqin*, *ḡāba*, *al-ḡurz*, **ḡāba*; I.R., p. 135: *malik al-Ṭāqin*, *N.jāba*, *al-ḡurz*. I.Kh.'s عابة * غابة, is perhaps a dittography for جابة (*ḡāba/Gāba*); in any case it cannot be confronted with I.R.'s العابدی (Mas'ūdī, i, 394: القایدی) which belongs to the southern group of rulers enumerated by I.R., p. 133 (as it seems, on the authority of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq).

44. On *Ṭāqī* (or *Ṭāqin*) see Sulaymān, 27, I.Kh., 13, I.R., 130. It is the country *Ṭakka-deśa*, or *Ṭakka-viṣaya* mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*, ed. by M. A. Stein, 1900, i, 205 *et passim*. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), i, 165, calls it Tseh-kia and describes it as bordering in the east on the Vipāsa (Biās) and in the west on the Indus. Its capital lay *circa* 15 li (= 8.6 kilometres) to the north-east of Shê-kie-lo (Śākala, Sialkot). Cf. S. Lévi, *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, in *BEFEO*, v, 1905, p. 300, and Ray, *o.c.*, 119, and Map 3, where *Ṭakka-deśa* is shown south of Kashmīr and east of Sialkot, between the upper courses of the Chenāb and Rāwī. The Arab authors all speak of the beauty of the *Ṭāqin* women. In the immediate vicinity of Kashmīr Bīrūnī, *India*, 102 and 206, mentions jointly ناکشرو لوہاور, of which **Lohāwar* is certainly *Lohāra*, valley of the Upper Tohi on the western approaches of Kashmīr (and not the town of Lahore!) while *Tākēshar* (*Ṭakka-deśa*) stands for *Ṭāqin* of the earlier geographers.

45. This name undoubtedly applies to the ruling dynasty and not to the country itself. The form *S.lūqiyīn* (Arabic *gen. plur.*) shows that the name *S.lūqī* has been found in an Arabic source. I.R., 135, says: "and after [the king of *Ṭāqin*], (comes) a king called *N.jāba* (**ḡāba*) who enjoys an honourable position among (the kings), and the king Ballah-rā takes wives from among them, and they are *S.lūqī*, and on account of their pride (*sharaf*) take wives only from among themselves. The well-known *S.lūqī*-hounds [wind-hounds, *Saluki*] are said to have been brought from their country. In their country and its forests (*ghiyād*) red sandal wood is found." Instead of *N.jāba* I.Kh., 16 and 67, has *ḡāba*, and clearly distinguishes this جابة from his namesake *Jāba* (see § 4, 9.) whom he calls "Jāba the Indian" جابة الهندی. Our author furnishes a further proof of the homonymous character of the two names, for at another place (§ 5, 9 B.) he calls the *S.lūqī* king جابة خشك "the Jāba of the dry land, continental Jāba", as Barthold has suggested. In the same passage the inner range of the Himalaya (in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr) separates Jāba's country from that of *Lḡrz* (*v.i.* 46.). It would

be left to the specialists. Bārī, later capital of the rajas of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, lay east of the Ganges; then the road would cross the distance between the Gogra and Great Gandak rivers (ancient Northern Kosala) and on the left bank of the latter reach Battiah (our بہت?). The country *T.lwt* would

be the region between Nepal and Mithila inhabited by the forest people *Ṭhāru* (our ترو *Tarū*). Going farther east towards the Jamuna the road would enter Assam (Kāmarūpa, our قامرو). *T.lwt* and *T.nwt* evidently represent the same name corresponding to modern Tirhut < *Tira-bhukti*).

be tempting to identify Jāba's kingdom with Chambā, on the head-waters of the Rāvi, north-east of the Ṭakka-deśa, see J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, in *Archeological Survey of India*, N.S., vol. xxxvi, Calcutta 1911. This small but ancient principality is well known in the history of Kashmīr, whose kings, under the Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1003–1171) [and probably earlier?], intermarried with the rulers of Chambā [took wives from them?], cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 107, &c. According to Prof. Vogel, *o.c.*, 97, the founder of the Chambā dynasty towards A.D. 700¹ was “a Rajput chief of the Solar race, Meru-varman by name, who not only assumed the proud title of ‘King of Kings’ but actually must have been the liege-lord of feudatory chiefs”. Our S.lūqī may somehow reflect this Solar.² Prof. Vogel himself (letter of 4.iii.1935) would rather compare our Jāba with another hill state Jammū (<**Jambū*) lying on the Chenāb and now united with Kashmīr. However, the most ancient name by which this territory seems to have been known is *Durgara* (mentioned in two title-deeds of the eleventh century); the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* does not know either *Durgara* or *Jammū* and only mentions the old capital *Babbapura* > *Babor*; in the town of Jammū (which alone interests us from the point of view of the name) there are no ancient remains, or evidences of antiquity, see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *o.c.*, ii, 515–16. Therefore Chambā still seems to me the most suitable correspondence for Jāba (<**Chāba*).³

46. In I.Kh., 16 and 67, and I.R., 135, الجرز follows immediately on Jāba and there is no doubt that our لجرز (bearing the trace of an Arabic source!) stands for it. The item on the justice of this king corresponds to what I.R. says about him. The Jurz are the Gurjara (Gurjara-Pratihāra) kings of Qinnauj; their identity with the rajas of Qinnauj (29., 38.–40.) has been overlooked by our author, who this time comes back to Qinnauj from another direction. As Jālhandar is reckoned to Qinnauj, the inner range⁴ of the Himalaya can really be said to divide al-Jurz (= Qinnauj) from

¹ In the latest work by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Lahore, 1933 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Panjab), i, 268–339, Chambā is described as “one of the oldest Native States founded not later than A.D. 600 and perhaps as early as A.D. 550”.

² From a purely phonetical point of view S.lūqī corresponds best to Chaulukya. Moreover, according to V. Smith, *o.c.* 440, “there is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch”. This combination of *Chaulukya* with *Chāpa* would be a curious parallel to our pair of *S.lūqī* and *Jāba* (<**Chāpa*)! However, I hear from Dr. Barnett that Chalukya and

Chaulukya must be distinguished and that the Solanki-Chaulukya dynasty of Rājput origin could not as yet be traced much farther north than 25°.

³ As in Sumatra Jāba has a Chinese parallel *chan-pei* (note to § 4, 9.), it appears that the original nasal element of the name was dropped in Arabic rendering. The same method may have been applied in arabicizing the name of the sub-Himalayan Jāba (<Chambā?). The variations of length may be due to a different timbre of the long vowels.

⁴ Our author (§ 5, 9 b.) may be wrong in calling this range *Q.s.k* which name, according to the story of § 6, 15., ought to belong to the region of the passes between the Indus basin and the Oxus, say between Gilgit and Andamin, see Map iv.

Jāba's possessions (Chambā?). I.R. distinctly says that al-Jurz was at war with the Ballah-rā, the king of Tāqin, and N.jāba (*Jāba). [It must be remembered that a locality Gujrāt (reflecting the name of Gurjara) exists in the Panjab, north of the Chenab and south of Naoshera, at the very threshold of Kashmīr.] See Map iv.

47.-57.: Places of the northernmost zone of India (beyond the Indus), enumerated in the order from west to north-east.

47.-50. and 54.-5. lie near the southern frontier of Afghānistān. 47. Gardīz (Gardēz), the birthplace of the well-known author of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, is situated 34 miles to the east of Ghaznī (§ 24, 19.), in the plain of Zurmat. Maq., 349, gives an itinerary: Ghaznī to Gardīz, 1 marḥala, thence to Ūgh, *ditto*; thence to L.jān (?), *ditto*; thence to Vayhind—the whole stretch being of 17 stages (*manzil*). Apparently this road was a short cut from Ghaznī, across the mountainous region of the Pathan tribes, to the Indus, of which it then followed the right bank upstream to Gandhāra (region of Pēshāwar). Our author distinctly speaks of a road from 48. Saul (lying in a very mountainous and turbulent region) to 49. Ḥusaynān (lying near the plain). Therefore our 48. and 49. following immediately on 47. Gardīz, may respectively correspond to Maqdisī's Ūgh and L.jān. Bīrūnī in his *Canon*, mentions on the road "from Ghaznī to Multān" (immediately after Gardīz) *ومل* i.e. *Farmul, or Parmul. This district, named after the [Tājīk?] tribe inhabiting it, lies precisely on the road from Ghaznī to Bannū, i.e. towards the Indus region.¹ South-east of Ghaznī the road crosses a pass 8,000 feet high to penetrate into the basin of the Tochi, the right affluent of the Kurram on which Bannū is situated. In the upper part of the Tochi valley the first stage on the road is Urgūn, which is the centre of the Parmul district (23 kurohs to the south-east of Ghaznī). According to the order of enumeration in our sources it is probable that *سول*, *اورغ*,² and *ومل* refer to the same locality, i.e. Farmul. The direct road from Ghaznī to Farmul seems to leave Gardīz to the north; but in the 10th-11th century travellers from Ghaznī could have reasons for making a circuit in order to pass through Gardīz, situated at the junction of the roads from Ghaznī, Kābul, and Bannū. Cf. Raverty's description of the route in *Notes of Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 85.

Geographically 54. and 55. ought to come between Kābul (mentioned unexpectedly under the Marches of Khorāsān, § 24, 20.) and 50. *Ninhār. The exact situation of the town of 54. Lamghān (Laghmān), Ptolemy, vii, 1, 42, *Λαμβάγαι* (Ssk. *Lampāka*, Bīrūnī, *Canon*, لښک) is not indicated on the maps, but as regards the district of Lamghān (Lamghānāt) the Emperor Bābur says that originally it consisted of Alangār, 'Alī-shang, and Mandrāvar, situated on the left side affluent of the Kābul river, which flows from Kāfiristān (to the NW. of the Kunār basin). Alangār is the eastern valley and 'Alī-shang the western one; their waters join below Mandrāvar and form the

¹ The *Bābur-nāma*, GMS, fol. 128a, mentions south of Kābul: Farmul, Naghar, Bannū, and the Afghān coun-

try. [I. Athīr, xi, 108, کرمان = *فومل?]]

² Indistinctly written in the MSS. Could it echo the name of Urgūn?

Bārān river falling into the Kābul river, cf. *The Bābur-nāma*, trans. by A. S. Beveridge, 1922, i, 207–13. *Bar miyāna* has been translated “on the middle course” in view of § 6, 58.; an alternative would be “a middle sized” town, cf. § 12, 1.

55. دینور (§ 6, 13. دینور) according to the description lay over against Lamghān, consequently on the right bank of the Kābul river.¹ Bīrūnī in his *Canon* gives the positions:

	long.	lat.
Lamghān	96° 10'	33° 50'
Dynwr	96° 25'	33° 45'

the latter being placed to the south-east (*south-west?) of the former (corrected latitude in Bīrūnī, *India*, 167). Anyway, *Dynwr* must correspond to دینور mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 161, GMS., fol. 131b; Mrs. Beveridge’s translation, pp. 207–9: “in the east of the country of Kābul are the Lamghānāt [of which 5 tumans and 2 buluks are enumerated]. . . . The largest of these is Nīngnahār [in the wider sense of the term] . . . its darogha’s residence is in Adīnapūr, some 13 yighaches [*i.e.* farsakhs] east of Kābul² by a very bad road. . . . Surkh-rūd flows along south of Adīnapūr. The fort stands on a height having a straight fall to the river of some 40–50 *qārī* [130 feet] and isolated from the mountain behind it on the north. . . . That mountain runs between Nīngnahār and Lamghān.” Consequently Adīnapūr, as also suggested by our text, was situated north of the Surkh-rūd, which is the right-side affluent of the Kābul river and falls into the latter downstream from the estuary of the Bārān, *v.s.* 54., and upstream from the present-day Jalālābād. The name *دینور > دینور is said to reflect Ssk. *Udyānapūra*³ which would confirm the pronunciation of our name as being *Dunpūr*.

The Afghans are mentioned under 48. (and 50.) *i.e.* only in the southernmost part of the present Afghānistān. As Barthold, *Preface*, p. 30, remarks, this seems to be the earliest contemporary record of the name, although Ibn al-Athīr (13th cent.) mentions the Afghāns under the year 366/976–7.

50. The name is spelt better under § 6, 13. (*Nīnhār?), where it is explained that the place lies downstream from Lamghān, on the northern (?) bank of the latter’s river. The name certainly refers to the Jalālābād district of which a detailed description is found in G. H. MacGregor’s article in *JASB*, 1844, xiii/2, pp. 867–80: “the country which is subject to the control of the governor of Jullalabad is the valley of the Cabul river, but it is generally termed Ningrahar, or Nungnihar, the former being a corruption of the latter word, which signifies in the Afghan language nine

¹ In the *Shāh-nāma* the name has the form دینر; see the passage describing the extent of the fief granted to Zāl by Minūchichr, ed. Vullers, i, 144: “The whole of Kābul and D.n.b.r and Māy-Hind, from the China sea to that of Sind, from Zābulistān to the lake of Bust.” On Māy-hind *v.i.* 56.

² The distance is confirmed by Bīrūnī’s route, *India*, p. 101: Vayhind-Purshāvur 14 farsakhs; thence to Dunpūr 15 f.; thence to Kābul 12 f.; thence to Ghazna 17 f.

³ See Mrs. Beveridge’s notes in her translation of the *Bābur-nāma*, Appendix, p. xxi.

rivers, or rivulets, and has reference to those by which the valley is intersected." The *Bābur-nāma* (Ilminsky), p. 161, gives both ننگہار (Ningnahār) and the more correct نگہار (Nagarahār), cf. also A. S. Beveridge's translation, ii, Appendix, pp. xvii-xxviii. The mention in our text of the three idols of *Nīnhār is curious, as this locality (Hsüan-Tsang's *Na-ka-lo-ho*, i.e. **Nagarahāra*, cf. Watters, pp. 182-90) was a famous centre of Buddhist cult. However, the chief ruins of the *stupas*, indicating the situation of the ancient town, lie, contrary to our text, on the southern bank of the Kābul river, some 8 Km. south of the town of Jalālābād. See J. Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Haḍḍa*, i, 1933, pp. 1-12 (geographical account).

51.-3. according to § 6, 17., are situated on one of the Panjāb rivers, perhaps the Sutlej. Light on 53. Bīrūza is obtained from Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 206-7, who says: "The king of Qinnauj, one of the kings of Sind, is (called) B.rūza (بروزہ, &c.). This is the title of the king of Qinnauj, and here (too) stands a town called B.rūza (named) after the title of the king. It is now the territory of Islām forming a district of Multān. From the town comes one of the rivers which form the Mihrān of Sind." The spelling Bīrūza (perhaps influenced by a popular etymology) is very near بروزہ which Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 264, has restored after the Leiden codex. [Less satisfactory seems to be a later surmise by Marquart, *Komanen*, 100, according to which Mas'ūdī erroneously made a title of the king of Qinnauj out of the name of his town برودہ which should be interpreted as *Mahodaya*?] If we keep to our texts, Bīrūza lay in Panjāb, and Ray, *o.c.*, p. 16 and Map I, places it, with some probability, in the neighbourhood of the Sutlej, for the Panjāb river flowing past Bīrūza is likely to be the one nearest to the system of the Ganges, where the kings of Qinnauj were at home. However, certainty will be acquired only when Hīvān, B.lwt (بلوت) and J.lwt (جلوت) lying upstream from Bīrūza have been identified. The reading of the two last names is uncertain. Under § 6, 15. they are spelt *B.l.vv.t* and *J.l.vv.t*, but they may possibly be *B.lūt*, *B.lv.t*, *J.lūt*, *J.lv.t*, &c. A fort of Bilwat is mentioned in Ni'matullāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, Elliot-Dowson, *o.c.*, v, 107, as the place against which Bābur marched from Lahore. Elliot thinks that it is identical with Milwat found in the *Tuzūk-i Bāburi*, *ibid.*, v, 248: moving from Kalanūr (situated half-way between the Rāvī and Biyāh) Bābur crossed the Biyāh (opposite Kamvahīn). Thence three marches brought him to the valley in which lay the fort of Milwat. These indications suggest for Milwat (Bilwat?) a position between the Bias (Biyāh) and Sutlej, which is an argument in favour of our supposition. [On the other hand, the Bilwa-ferry mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, GMS, 364 (Mrs. Beveridge's translation, p. 688) situated on the Ganges, downstream of Benares, has nothing to do with Bilwat/Milwat; equally T.lwt (تلوت) mentioned in Bīrūnī, *v.s.* 43., is an entirely different place.]

54.-5. *v.s.* after 47.-50.

56. Vayhind,¹ Indian *Udabhāṇḍa* > *Ohind*, lay between the Indus and

¹ Firdausī's مای هند, *Shāh-nāma* (Vullers), i, 144, and 154 seems to refer to Vayhind, *v.s.*, p. 252, note 1.

the Kābul river, just above their confluence. Maq., 477, 479, mentions Vayhind as a provincial capital (*qaṣaba*) and enumerates its towns: V.dhḥān, Bīt.r, Nūj, L.vār, S.mān, Qūj. Vayhind was the capital of the kingdoms of Gandhāra (Bīrūnī, *India*, 101: *Qandahār*, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 271), which was ruled by the Hindūshāhī dynasty. The latter was founded in the second half of the ninth century by the Brahman Lalliya, who had deposed his former master, the Turkish ruler of Kābul. According to Muḥammad Nāẓim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, p. 194, the possessions of the masters of Vayhind stretched from Lamghān to the Chenāb, and from southern Kashmīr to the frontier of the principality of Multān. The name of the town may belong to an earlier source, but the mention of the king Jaypāl (Jayapāla) must have been added by our author. Jaypāl, who reigned A.D. 965-1001, was the gallant, but unfortunate, opponent of Sultān Maḥmūd, cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 78, 103. Jaypāl's feudatory ties with the raja of Qinnauj are rather unexpected.

57. The fact that the name is spelt here *Qashmīr*, while under § 26, 19.-20. it appears as *Kashmīr*, shows that our author depended on several sources. § 26 suggests the existence of a road linking Kashmīr with Transoxiana and running through Bolor and Vakhān. More detail on Kashmīr is found in Bīrūnī, who personally visited the country, see his *India*, p. 101, and *Canon*, where he calls Srinagar *Addishtān* < Ssk. *Adhiṣṭhāna* "the residence".¹ From 855 to 939 (and even down to A.D. 1003) the Utpala dynasty reigned in Kashmīr, Ray, *o.c.*, 181. It is true that the tenth century was a time of considerable weakness of these kings, but nothing seems to confirm their vassal dependence on Qinnauj.² Nor can Dimashqī's late and indirect evidence be understood in the sense that Qinnauj and Kashmīr had formed one territorial unit. This author (who died in A.D. 1327) speaks of the Inner and Outer Kashmīr, the former with 70,000 villages and the latter with more than 100,000; the two provinces are divided by a high mountain in which lie the passes (*abwāb*) leading to China. In the middle of this description of Kashmīr a paragraph on Qinnauj is found saying that it was "the residence of the kings of Hind" and that, according to Mas'ūdī, it possessed 108,000 villages. This looks like an interpolation in the text which is obviously out of order, and Mehren, in his French translation of Dimashqī, Copenhagen 1874, p. 246, was wrong in placing Qinnauj in the Inner Kashmīr. On the other hand, the term "Inner" Kashmīr can be traced up to the *Bundahishn* where *Kashmīr-e andarōn* is mentioned, see Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, 1932, p. 53. See Map iv.

§ 11. Tibet³

I am greatly obliged to Prof. F. W. Thomas, M. Bacot, and Dr. W. A. Unkrig for valuable suggestions on matters concerning this chapter.

¹ A complete survey of the early exploration of Kashmīr is given in Sir A. Stein's *Memoir* quoted under 36.

² Only the western marches of Kashmīr could depend on Qinnauj, *v.s.*, p. 239.

³ The text of this chapter (without translation) was published by Barthold in *Comptes rendus [Doklady] de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, pp. 72-4.

Mirzā Haydar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. by E. D. Ross and commented by Ney Elias, 1895, contains a mass of important data on Tibet and the neighbouring countries, but more than five centuries separate it from the period interesting us, and our author has in view an entirely different situation near the K'un-lun. It is a pity that Minchul Khutukhtu's *Geography of Tibet*, written circa A.D. 1830-9 and translated into Russian by the late Prof. V. Vasilyev, SPb., 1895, is not accompanied by a commentary and is therefore difficult to use for a layman. A new translation of it by Dr. Unkrig is in the press. [See Barthold, *Tibet*, in *EI.*]

The present curious chapter on Tibet has no parallel in the known works of Arab geographers. On the other hand, its data are chiefly derived from a source (Jayhānī?) common with that used by Gardīzī, 88-9, 94. Gardīzī described three routes leading to Tibet:

(a) from Kāshghar a road passes between two mountains and follows an easterly direction until it reaches the province of Ādh.r (آذر)¹ which is 40 farsangs long and consists of mountains, plains (read: سهل instead of سجده), and barren hills (*kauristān*); the text, which is out of order, seems to indicate that Ādh.r formerly belonged to the khāqān of Tibet, but at the time to which the source refers was under Kāshghar. From the "province of Kāshghar" the road goes to Sār.msābkath and then to Alishūr (الشور) after which it follows the stream of K.jā (كجا) on which, in the direction of the desert, lies the village of حمجان (or حمباب) where Tibetans are found; then a river is crossed in a boat and the travellers reach the frontier of Tibet;²

(b) from Kāshghar to Khotan by the places enumerated in the note to 10. down to رستويه which is the first village of Khotan; "and at this stretch (*andar in miyān*) comes the river Y.ra (ره)"; thence [from *R.stūya* or *Y.ra*?] to the village of S.mywb.m, then to the "barren hills belonging to the Muslims" (کورستان مسلمانان),³ then to a stream (جوى) coming from China (چین, or *Khotan ختن?), then to the town of Khotan; at 15 days' journey from Khotan lies the large town of Kay (كي, perhaps *كجا K.jā) which is within the limits of China but is occupied by the Toghuzghuz;⁴

(c) from Khotan on, the road (b) is continued to the south: it goes to الشان *Al.shān*, then to a bridge built by the Khotanese between two mountains and finally across the mountainous tract (*Kūh-i zahr* "Poisonous

¹ In Turkestan (e.g. in the Samarqand region) the word *adīr* means "low foot-hills", cf. *Tajikistan* (by several authors), Tashkent 1925, p. 47. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, quotes *adīr* (in Qirghiz and Qara-Qirghiz dialects) in the sense of "broken, mountainous country". Very probably the Persian correspondence of *adīr* is *kauristān* standing in our text.

² This road seems to stretch north of the Tarim down to the region of Kuchā

and then turn southwards, across the lower Tarim, to some place near Cherchen. [Alternatively it would run along the southern bank of the Tarim and then the river finally crossed would be the Cherchen?]

³ Barthold read: *gūristān* "cemetery".

⁴ The final portion of the itinerary seems to describe a short cut across the Tarim from Khotan to Kuchā, cf. § 9, 10., where similar particulars on Kuchā are given.

mountain") where the travellers suffer from mountain sickness, to the "Gate (*dar*) of the khāqān of Tibet".¹

Our author says nothing on the first two roads but incorporates the names of the road (*b*) down to R.stūya (see notes to 10.-20.). The rest of the places of the present chapter is not in Gardīzī; of them 1., 3., 9., 21., 22. (K.lbānk) are also mentioned in the chapters on the mountains and rivers (§§ 5, 3. and 6, 3.); one rare name (9.) is also found in Bīrūnī; one name 23.) has a parallel in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*; the names 5., 6., 7., 8., and 22. (Binā) occur only once in our text.

The order of enumeration of the places is quite fanciful and reflects the compilative character of our author's work: after 1. Rāng-rong which seems to lie in the south-east of Tibet, comes 2. at the north-western extremity of the country, then 3. which is a north-eastern march, and, after a doubtful 4., follows unexpectedly Lhasa (5.), described for a second time under 23.

Both our author and Gardīzī refer to the times of Tibetan expansion in the heyday of which the Tibetan influence was felt even in the neighbourhood of the T'ien-shan where the Tibetans came into contact with the Arabs.² It is for the Tibetan scholars to see whether our chapter contains any details³ permitting a more exact definition of the epoch of the original source. Our author seems to have used several different sources: in the chapter on China (§ 9, 7. and 8.) no mention is found of the [Sarī]-Uyghurs who occupied Kan-su (§ 9, 7. and 8.) towards the middle of the ninth century and whose advent meant a considerable check to Tibetan power. On the other hand, the whole region north of the Tarim is represented as free from Tibetans⁴ and the presumed connexion of Khotan with China (see § 9, 15.) may even indicate the situation towards A.D. 937. [Cf. also 20. as interpreted on p. 280, l. 14.] [P. 92, l. 23, and p. 97, l. 17, may refer to p. 96, l. 9.]

According to our text, the home of the kings of Tibet (*Tubbat-khāqān*) was

¹ This road, also mentioned in Bīrūnī, *v.s.*, p. 24, evidently led across the K'un-lun range to the Tibet proper. From Khotan it must have followed one of the head-waters of the Khotan river. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 324, 327, mentions a bridge on the Aq-tash river in the Qaranghu-tagħ valley. See now on this valley Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, 193, 207 (with photographs of such dangerous bridges), and *ibid.*, 58, on the "poisonous air" as supposed by the natives to cause mountain sickness.

² The Arabs are twice mentioned in Chinese annals as co-operating in the T'ien-shan region with the Tibetans against the Chinese, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 148, n. 3 (year A.D. 715), p. 289,

n. 2 (year 717). Later they were engaged in a long struggle, see a penetrating analysis of these data in H. A. R. Gibb's articles, *The Arab Invasion of Kashghar in 715*, in *Bull. S.O.S.*, ii/3, pp. 472-3, and *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, *ibid.*, ii/4, pp. 616-18. The situation in the 8th-9th cent. is reflected in such notices as Qudāma, 208: Aṭbāsh (in the Narin basin) "situated between Farghāna, Tibet, and Barskhān", cf. also our § 25, 58.

³ On the frontier of China see § 9, 5., 7.-8., 18. On the frontier between the Tibetans and their northern neighbours see §§ 12 and 15.

⁴ Cf. Gardīzī's remark on Ādh.r, *v.s.*, p. 255, line 18.

in the north-east of Tibet. Dr. W. A. Unkrig, whom I consulted on the matter, very ingeniously suggests to me (letter of 25.ii.1935) that the name of the tribe to which the kings belonged, *Ma-yul*, meaning in Tibetan "mother country, or the mother's country", may reflect the matriarchal habits of the Tibetans, whereas *اچايل*, among whom the chiefs (vice-roys) were recruited, may be explained as **Akhā-yul* "the land of elder brothers" with a possible hint at the paternal connexions of the candidate.¹

Our text does not indicate the seat of the king of Tibet (*Tubbat-khāqān*) whose troops occupied 9. Tūsmat (evidently lying in the neighbourhood of Khotan), and whose treasure was kept in a fortress, south of the road leading from Kāshghar to Khotan. [It cannot be identical with the fortress mentioned in the confused § 6, 4. which lay to the south of the K'un-lun as it was situated on a river flowing down towards Lhasa.] Separately from the Tubbat-khāqān is mentioned the Lord of Khotan (§ 9, 18.) whose subjects were both Tibetans and Turks.

The record on the cheerfulness of the residents in Tibet is found in I.Kh., 170, and I.R., 82. This feature is confirmed by modern travellers, cf. G. Roerich, *Trails in Inmost Asia*, 1931, p. 459: "The village street is blocked on either side by heaps of refuse forming veritable ramparts in front of each house from behind which peep curious crowds, dirty beyond description but quite content [! V. M.] and eager to see foreigners."

1. The second element of رانك رانك has been tentatively transcribed as *rong*, in Tibetan "defile, valley". The first element too must be some Tibetan name like *Rang*, *Zang* (*Tsang*), &c. The province, as adjacent to Hindūstān and Chīnistān; must be looked for in the south-east and east of Tibet, cf. the description of the Mānisā range (§ 5, 3.) which crosses Rāng-rong from the neighbourhood of India to a northern point where Tibet borders only on China (perhaps in Ssū Ch'uan, see note to § 5, 3c.). Prof. F. W. Thomas suggests the possibility of Rāng-rong standing for "*Sgañ-Roñ*, i.e. the Sgañ and the Roñ, the two different kinds of territory which make up south-east Tibet towards China", whereas Dr. W. A. Unkrig's restoration would be **gTsang-rong* with the suitable meaning of "defile of the great river" [perhaps of the Brahmaputra]. Gold is found principally in western Tibet, but also in the Nan-Shan; cf. Sir A. Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks*, 1933, p. 241, on the gold pits worked by the people "from the side of Hsi-ning in the north-eastern border of Tibet".

¹ *Akha* in Mongol "elder brother, elderly, respectable person" + *yul* in Tibetan "country, land". If the possibility of such compounds be admitted, cf. *dalai* + *lama*, the first element *اچا* < **اچا* may eventually be interpreted as *ächä* [with Arabic *imāla*: *ā* for *ä* > *e*] and explained as Mongol *eche* "father". In the region now occupied by the Sari-Yögurs a word *aja* is quoted for "father", with

the difference that in G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya*, SPb., 1893, ii, 435, it is attributed to the Turkish-speaking part of the federation, whereas in Mannerheim, *Jour. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxvii, 1911, p. 630, it figures as *acha* in the speech of the group mentioned, and as *aja* in that of the Mongol-speaking group. This *acha* may be a local form of Mongol *eche*.

2. The "Bolorian Tibet" corresponds to the Great Bolor (*Pu-lu* of the Chinese sources, Chavannes, *Documents*, 149), *i.e.* Baltistān, as opposed to the Lesser Bolor (*Gilgit*, &c.) on which see § 26, 19. See Map iv.

3. N.zvān (*T.rvān*, *T.ṣdān*?) is placed by the Mānisā range at the point where the latter bends to the north-west (§ 5, 3.). Geographically it may be identified with the Koko-nor and Tsaidam, and the name may be Tibetan. On the interpretation of *Mayūl* as "mother country" or "the mother's country", *v.s.*, p. 257. It apparently has nothing to do with *Mar-yul* "the low country" which in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 410, 456, is applied to Ladak.

4. برخان may correspond to Gardizī's حرخان which (*v.s.*, p. 255) seems to have been situated north of a river. This latter detail makes it difficult to identify the two names with Cherchen (Kāshgharī: جرچان) on which *v.i.*, 8.

5. It is extraordinary to find the name of Lhasa so perfectly transcribed in Arabic characters لہاسا. The report about a mosque in Lhasa is quite unexpected and M. Bacot doubts its truth. *V.i.* 23. K.rsāng.

The localities 6.-22. seem all to belong to the northern possessions of the Tibetans which at the epoch of the original report extended beyond the K'un-lun range into Chinese Turkestan.

6. On Zava see under 9.

7. احایل admits of very different readings. M. Bacot suggests **Ajā-yul*, "the Ajā Country". The name transcribed in Tibetan characters *Ha-ṣa* [French transcription 'A-ṣa] belongs to the people whom the Chinese call T'u-yü-hun and of which the original form is restored as **Tu'u-γun*, or **Tuyuy-γun*. This people, in the beginning of the fourth century A.D., founded a kingdom in the region of the Koko-nor among the Tibetan K'iang, with a capital lying 15 li = 8.6 Km. west of the Koko-nor. The kingdom was destroyed by the Tibetans in A.D. 663, but the name 'A-ṣa still survived as shown by the Tun-huang documents. According to the Chinese sources (*Sung-shu*) "the T'u-yü-hun or Barbarian A-ch'ai [Tibetan: *Ha-ṣa*] were the Sien-pi of Liao-tung"; as regards the name *A-ch'ai* it was that given to the T'u-yü-hun by the "mixed tribes of the North-West", and was consequently a popular, local name. Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the nationality of the **Tuyuy-γun*; some scholars took them for the Tunguz, others for the Mongols. The last opinion has been lately supported in the light of fresh evidence by P. Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xx, 1920, pp. 323-31. Prof. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Documents*, v, in *JRAS*, Oct. 1931, p. 831, states that "the Tibetans (who speak of a *Ha-ṣa* kingdom long after the overthrow of Tu-yü-hun) understood by the term *Ha-ṣa* the people of the Shan-shan [*i.e.* Lob-nor] area and knew the Tu-yü-hun, who had long dominated the Shan-shan kingdom as Drug-cun". In this case our **Ajā-yul* has a chance of being located to the south of the Lob-nor. On the other hand, Dr. Unkrig's suggestion of a curious popular etymology (*v.s.*, p. 257), supported by his interpretation of the name Ma-yūl, is very

interesting. Muslim sources on far-away countries could readily draw on popular lore as explained to them by interpreters and intermediaries.

8. J.rm.ngān, quoted between *احال* and *Tūsmat*, has a twofold outward likeness. On the one hand, "to the south of the (Khotan) oasis and not far from the left bank of the Yurung-qash" two ancient sites are found, now called Jamada and *Chalmakazan*. At the latter place, situated 13 miles south-south-east of the ancient Khotan, coins were found dating from c. A.D. 713–83 and c. 1102–6, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, 233, and Map. On the other hand, 600 li = 346 Km. to the east of Niya, and 1,000 li = 576 Km. to the south-west of Lou-lan, Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (St. Julien), ii, 247, and *ditto* (Beal), ii, 325, mentions a *Chê-mo-t'o-na* "which is the same as the country called Ni-mo". Sir A. Stein, *o.c.* i, 311, note 7, identifies it with *Chalmadana* mentioned in Kharoṣṭhi documents, and states that "it manifestly corresponds to the present Charchan". The situation of our J.rm.ngān "on the edge of the desert" better fits the region of Cherchen, and in this case the occupation of the inhabitants —*ṣayyādī*—was perhaps "fishery" in the swamps of the lower course of the Tarim and Cherchen. Cf. Kozlov, *Lob-Nor*, in *Izv. Russ. Geogr. Obsh.*, 1898, xxxiv.

9. *Twsmt*, vocalized *Tūsmat*, according to § 5, 3., must have lain somewhere to the south of Khotan. As a dependency of *Tūsmat* our author mentions 6. *Zava*. A place of this name is found immediately north of Khotan on the western bank of the Qara-qash (western river of Khotan) and eventually such an extension of *Tūsmat* would indicate that Khotan, too, was practically comprised in it. However, our author places Khotan under China (§ 9, 18.) and says that a range of mountains separates *Tūsmat* from China (Khotan? § 5, 3.). It is curious that in the enumeration of the places lying between Kāshghar and Khotan (*v.i.* 10.–20.) our author at the last place mentions some *مت* instead of Gardizī's *Khotan*. This name looks like a trace of the indistinctly written *تومت*, in which case our author (who would contradict himself if he mentioned under *Tibet* a road leading up to Khotan which latter is described under *China*), wanted perhaps to connect the road with the neighbouring *Tūsmat*. This may be the reason, too, why he leaves out one or two localities mentioned by Gardizī immediately before Khotan. Prof. F. W. Thomas draws my attention to the likeness of the name *Tūsmat* to Tibetan 'Mdo-smat "Lower Mdo", south of the Koko-nor region.¹ Has our author misunderstood the situation of *Tūsmat*? In Bīrūnī's *Canon* (the fifth climate) I now read *تومت* (indistinctly written without dots); it is placed in "Outer

¹ Abū Zayd (= Sulaymān, 64) in the story of the revolt of Huang-Ch'ao says that the emperor fled to مدينة بعدو متاخمة لبلاد التبت. *Ibid.*, p. 109, a locality of M.dū (*al-mauḍī' al-ma'rūf bi-M.dū*) is mentioned on the Tibetan frontier, and it is said that its inhabitants are constantly at war with the Tibetans. In

the parallel passage Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 305 and 297, gives مد. Already Reinaud, note 134 to Sulaymān's text, compared *M.dhau* with *Mdo* (*Amdo*). In any case, the tradition of *Twsmt* in the *H.-'A* and Bīrūnī is different from Sulaymān-Mas'ūdī's **Amdo*.

Tibet" and mentioned along with Chīnānjath (§ 12, 1.):

Tūsmat long. 110° 0' lat. 39° 10'

Chīnānjath long. 111° 20' lat. 42° 0'

This position of Tūsmat is certainly very remote from Khotan of which the centre (*qaṣaba*) according to Bīrūnī was

احمه (?) long. 100° 40' lat. 43° 30'

10.-20. As the author says, the places quoted here belonged formerly to China but "now" are held by the Tibetans. They exactly correspond to the places which Gardīzī, 94, enumerates along the road from Kāshghar to Khotan. The mention of a fortress "to the right of Kūnkrā and Rāy-kūtiya"¹ seems to be a trace of the original arrangement of the places along an itinerary. Our author, with his usual care about elaborate geographical and political "areas", mentions Kāshghar under Yaghmā (§ 13, 1.) and Khotan under China (§ 9, 18.). Consequently in the present paragraph Gardīzī's itinerary is quoted without its initial and terminal points. One would think that in the author's opinion the Tibetan territory began immediately south of Kāshghar, and Khotan was a sort of enclave in Tibetan dominions retaining some connexion with China (cf. § 9, 18.). On the Toghuzghuz Turks said to live in large numbers at the intermediary stages between Kāshghar and Khotan, see § 13. Here is Gardīzī's itinerary with the corresponding names of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*:

<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>H.-'Ā.</i>
Kāshghar	see § 13, 1.
پایش	بالس 10.
کرمان	کریان 11.
خجمان	وجخان 12.
غزا	[غزا 21.]
یونجه (یونجه)	بریخه 13.
خجکک	جنجکک 14.
کدملور	کونکرا 15.
رایکونند	رایکوتیه 16.
[یره ؟]	بریه 17.
ندروف	ندروف 18.
رستویه	دستویه 19.
سمیوم	مٹ 20.
کورستان مسلمانان	
ختن	

¹ The fortress would have a sense in protecting some road across the K'un-

lun. The road to the Qaraqoram pass runs through Sanju, the latter lying to



The comparison of the two columns is instructive as it indicates the extent of the alterations which foreign names underwent in Arabic script. Even this double set of names does not facilitate identification. The road from Kāshghar to Khotan must have followed, as at present, the belt of cultivated lands on the border of the mountains. Our author excludes from Gardīzi's series 21. Ghazā (*v.i.*), which he evidently places lower down on the Khotan river (§ 5, 3.). But is then Gardīzi's enumeration in a straight line? Our 11. might be Kilian, though in this case it would be strange that, contrary to the actual distances, only one name would be found between it and Kāshghar, whereas some eight names would separate it from Khotan lying nearer. 13. B.rīkha looks like the name quoted at the upper course of the Khotan river (§ 6, 3.), in which case our identification of the latter with Brinjak becomes less probable. There is some graphical likeness between our 18. and the Tiznaf river but the latter flows too far west (immediately east of the Yārkaṇd-daryā). Perhaps only 19. could stand a comparison with Zanguya (*زنگوہ) situated between the Sanju and Qara-qash rivers, nearer to the former. Its situation would suit Gardīzi's remark that it was the first village on the road belonging to Khotan. In this case 15. might be *Gundalik* or *Gundaluk* (*گندلوك), now Gunduluk-Langar. In a Chinese itinerary quoted by I. Bichurin, *Opisaniye . . . Vost. Turkestana*, SPb., 1829, i, 236, the distances are: Ilchi (= Khotan) to Kialma (Pialma), 110 *li* (circa 68 Km.); from Kialma to Gundalik, 90 *li* (circa 52 Km.). According to P'evtsov, *Putesh. po Vost. Turkestanu*, SPb., 1892, p. 107, Gunduluk lies among reeds at some 10 Km. to the north-west of Zangūya, and near it great masses of shards are found. On the fortress *v.s.*, p. 260, note 1.

21. 23. According to § 6, 3. the three tributaries of the Khotan river joined the latter between Ghazā and K.l.bāṅk. The first name recalls the names of *Ghaz-daryā* and *Ghaz-qum*, which lie on the Khotan river just above its junction with the Aq-su after the latter has received the joined waters of the Yārkaṇd and Kāshghar rivers. However, the particulars on Ghazā contained in the present paragraph do not facilitate this identification (cf. note to § 6, 3.). K.l.bāṅk is obscure and Bīnā is not found elsewhere.

23. Barthold, *v.s.*, p. 25, has recognized the identity of our كسانك with ارسانك (*اوسانك *Ūsāṅ?*), which name in Mīrzā Haydar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* refers to Lhasa. Haydar, p. 130, calls *Ursāṅ* "the Qibla of Khitay and Tibet", and p. 48, gives an account of an unsuccessful expedition which in the summer of 939/1533 he led with the object of destroying the idol-temples of *Ursāṅ*. Elias in his commentary on the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 136, explains that *Ursāṅ* is a probable corruption of the names of the two central provinces of Tibet, *Wu* and *Tsang*, which in speech are usually coupled together. Vasilyev, p. 32, transcribes the name of this "Middle Country" *Vuy-Tsang* (= *dVus-gTsang*). The name of the province (comprising Lhasa and Shigatse) was consequently used by the Muslims for the south of the road from Kāshghar to Khotan. Zangūya is the turning point for the travellers going from Khotan to Sanju.

its capital. The form كرسانك in our author may have arisen from the vowel sign (*damma*) أُرسانك.¹ The second name of the place, "Great Farkhār", i.e., in usual interpretation, "Great Vihāra", suits Lhasa quite well.² A vague report on Farkhār is found in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 260, where it is said that it is a country (*mamlakat*) of the 6th (?) climate with numerous provinces and possessing a population renowned for beauty.

§§ 12-17. The South-Eastern Turks

Additional authorities for §§ 12-17: Radloff's Introduction to *Das Kudatku Bilik*, part i, SPb., 1891, pp. i-lxxxiii (contains a survey of the sources on the "Toghuzghur" and Uyghurs known at that time; the Introduction is now out of date, except for the Persian texts of the Mongol epoch quoted in the original); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 236-63; Chavannes, *Documents*; the following are the editions and translations of the Orkhon inscriptions to which reference is made in the text: V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1896 (tumular inscriptions for Kül-tegin and Bilgä-qaghan) and his later translation (1922)³ into Danish (inclusive of Tonyuquq's inscription) rendered into German by H. H. Schaeder, *ZDMG*, 1924, pp. 121-75; Radloff (fourth version) in *Die alttürkisch. Inschriften*, Neue Folge (Kül-tegin, Bilgä), SPb., 1897 and *ditto*, Zweite Folge (Tonyuquq), SPb., 1899; P. Melioransky, *Pamiatnik v chest' Kül-Tegina*, in *Zap.*, xii (1899), 1-144. See also Marquart, *Historische Glossen zu d. alttürkischen Inschriften* [quoted: *Glossen*], in *WZKM*, xii, 1898, pp. 157-200; *Die Chronologie d. alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1898; *Streifzüge*, see Index; *Komanen*, see Index; Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung d. alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1897; *Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen*, 1899; *Erforschung d. Geschichte d. Türkischen Völker*, in *ZDMG*, 1929, p. 130; *Ghuzz*, *Tarim*, *Toghuzghuz*, *Turfān*, and *Türk* in *EI*; *Vorlesungen*, pp. 48-9. [O. Franke's, *Gesch. d. Chines. Reiches*, ii, 1936, contains numerous data on the Turks, but it comes too late to be utilized in this commentary.]

§ 12. The Toghuzghuz

Even though the reading تَغُزُغُز *Toghuzghuz* (and not *Toghuzghur* as formerly supposed) and its interpretation as *Toquz-Oghuz*, i.e. "the Nine (tribes of the) Oghuz", are now generally accepted there remains still some obscurity with regard to the origin and use of the term in Muslim literature.

¹ As another possibility Dr. Unkrig suggests in Tibetan *mK'ar bZar* (> *K'arzung* and even *K'arsang*) with a meaning of "Fine Castle" ("schöner Herrensitz", "prächtige Burg"). Could such a name apply to the Lhasan *potala*?

² Etymologically Soghdian *farkhār*

(*βaryār*) is not connected with Indian *vihāra*, and is an Iranian word < **paru-χ* "vāθra", "full of happiness", cf. Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1928, xxi, 7-8.

³ There seems to exist a still unpublished final translation by Thomsen.

Before the sixth century A.D. the peoples now called "Turkish" were known under various tribal and political names. In the first half of the sixth century a group of Turks living in the Altai began a movement to regroup the neighbouring peoples and in a short time succeeded in organizing a great empire which from Mongolia spread its influence down to the neighbourhood of the Black sea.¹ The founders of this new empire for the first time assumed the name *Türk* (or *Türük* "strength") which the Chinese rendered as *T'u-chüeh*, and in order to avoid confusion with other occasional uses of the term *Türk* we shall adopt this conventional Chinese term² in speaking of the first Turkish empire. From the very beginning³ the T'u-chüeh dominions split into an Eastern and a Western part. The administrative centres of the former lay on the Orkhon in Mongolia, and those of the latter in the present-day Semirechye.⁴ Both kingdoms at different times had to recognize Chinese sovereignty. In A.D. 742 a coalition of the Uyghur, Qarluq (Khallukh), and Basmil destroyed the Eastern T'u-chüeh kingdom and in 745 the Uyghurs, former associates of the T'u-chüeh, took the leadership on the Orkhon. Cf. Bichurin, *Sobr. sled.*, i, 338.

The rule of the Western qaghans (*khāqān*) of the original T'u-chüeh dynasty lasted till A.D. 657, when the Chinese subjugated them. From A.D. 685 to 688 the territories of the Western T'u-chüeh were constantly invaded by the tribes of the Eastern qaghans. The Indian summer of the Western T'u-chüeh is connected with the rise of the Türgish clan (*v.i.*, § 17) whose leaders with some interruptions ruled from the end of the seventh century till A.D. 739. At this latter date begins the decline: the Arabs press the Türgish from the west; the Chinese interfere with their affairs from the south; in A.D. 751 the Chinese are defeated by the Arabs near Talas; the "Black" and "Yellow" clans of the Türgish exhaust themselves in internal struggles until finally towards A.D. 776 the Qarluq (§ 15) as a *tertius gaudens* come to occupy the Chu and Talas valleys, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 4, 43, 79, 85, and *passim*. Such was the end of the two original T'u-chüeh kingdoms.

The Uyghurs remained on the Orkhon till A.D. 840, when in their turn they were defeated and decimated by the Qirghiz (§ 14). The remnants scattered in various directions; the chief group seems to have gone to Kan-su where the Uyghurs founded a new kingdom which survived till the times of the Tangut supremacy, *i.e.* circa A.D. 1020.⁵ Towards A.D. 860 a second

¹ Soon after A.D. 572 Turkish troops cooperated with the Utigurs during the siege of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (= Kerch, at the entrance of the Azov Sea). In Hsüan-tsang's time the dominions of the western qaghan reached the Indus, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 241, 256.

² To the English transcription *T'u-chüeh* corresponds the French transcription *Tou-kiue*. The Chinese presumably had in view not the singular *Türk*

but its Mongol plural *Türküt* (Pelliot).

³ Officially since A.D. 582, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 219.

⁴ Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 630 found the khan of the Western Turks at his encampment on the Chu river.

⁵ *V.s.*, notes to § 9. According to the *T'ang-shu*, transl. by I. Bichurin, i, 419, after the catastrophe of 840 the minister of the former Uyghur khan called Si-ch'i P'ang-t'ê-lê led 15 aymaqs from

kingdom was founded by the Uyghurs in the eastern T'ien-shan¹ which preserved its independence till Mongol times.

The above-mentioned term *Toghuzghuz* found in Muslim authors applies more usually to the later Uyghur kingdom situated in eastern T'ien-shan, cf. Qudāma, 262, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 288, Iṣṭ., 10, Gardizī, 90-2, as well as our author. Kāshgharī, who personally knew the region, quietly substitutes *Uyghur* for the antiquated *Toghuzghuz* and the latter term occurs no more in the literature of Mongol times. How, then, did it happen that the T'ien-shan Uyghurs were surnamed *Toquz-Oghuz* ("Nine Oghuz")?

In the authentic Orkhon inscriptions of the Eastern T'u-chüeh qaghans the term *Toquz-Oghuz* is well known and seems to be almost a synonym of *Türk*, with the difference that the latter refers more to the political and the former to the tribal side of the organization, cf. Barthold, *Türk* in *EI*, for not always and not all the Oghuz recognized the qaghan's authority.²

On the other hand, the Uyghurs are separately mentioned in the same inscriptions. The account of Bilgä-qaghan's campaign in the Selenga region (ii, E 37 in which a few words are unfortunately missing) is immediately followed by the record of the flight of the Uyghur *eltäbir* with 100 men, cf. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 157. These two passages seem to suggest that the Uyghurs lived separately on the Selenga. For the time of Uyghur supremacy on the Orkhon we possess the inscription of Shine-usu commemorating the deeds of the Uyghur qaghan Moyun [Pelliot: *Bayan?*]-chur who reigned A.D. 756-9. On it the *On-Uyghur* ("Ten Uyghurs") and

Mongolia to the Qarluq country, whereas the rest of the Uyghurs retreated to Tibet and An-hsi. At a later date, *ibid.*, 424, P'ang-t'ê-lê is found in Kan-chou; having proclaimed himself khan (*qaghan?*) he was ruling over the towns "situated to the west of the Sand Desert". The emperor Hsüan Tsung (847-59) confirmed P'ang-t'ê-lê's title. (This passage is not included in Chavannes, *Documents*.) On these Uyghurs *v.s.* note to § 9. Their descendants are the Sari-Yoghur living in north-western Kan-su (near Su-chou). This small colony is now supposed to have played a considerable role in the cultural life of the Mongols. See Potanin, *Tangut.-tibet. okraina Kitaya*, SPb., 1893, i, 440, ii, 410, 435, Mannerheim, *A visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs in Jour. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxvii, 1911, pp. 1-27 [reviewed by S. E. Malov in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1912, pp. 214-20]; S. E. Malov, *Ostatki shamanstva u zholtikh Uyghurov*, 1912, pp. 61-74; W. Kotwicz, *Quelques documents sur les relations entre les Mongols et les Ouigours in Rocznik Orientalistyczny*,

ii, 1925, pp. 240-7, and L. Ligeti, *Les Pérégrinations de Csoma de Kőrös*, in *Revue des études hongroises*, July 1934, pp. 233-53. [On the disruption of the Uyghur empire see now O. Franke, *Gesch. d. Chines. Reiches* ii, 1936, p. 491-4.]

¹ The *T'ang-shu*, *ibid.*, i, 424 sq., says that in the reign of I Tsung (860-73) the chief of the Uyghurs called Pu-ku-ts'un attacked the Tibetans from Pei-t'ing and took from them Si-chou (Yarkhoto) and Lun-t'ai = Urumchi. He also was confirmed by the emperor (though the latter seems to have lost the throne at that very moment). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 390, gives A.D. 866 as the date of the Uyghur occupation of Kao-ch'ang.

² Cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions*: i, N 4 and ii, E 30, translation, pp. 112 and 124 (= *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 154), where Bilgä-qaghan says that the Toquz-Oghuz people was his own people but became his enemy. A similar situation existed between the Seljuks and the Ghuz tribes at the time of Sanjar.

Toquz-Oghuz ("Nine Oghuz") are separately quoted side by side, see G. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*, in *Jour. Soc. Finn.-Ougr.*, xxx/3, p. 12. [Theophylactus Simokatta, book vii, 7-9, definitely speaks of the conquest of 'Oγώρ by the Turkish qaghan.]

As regards Chinese sources the earlier *Chiu T'ang-shu* says that at the time of the Later Wei (A.D. 386-circa 558) the Uyghurs (*Huei-ho*) were called *T'ieh-lê* (usually restored as *Töläs* or *Tölös*, v. *supra*, p. 196.)¹ The nine subdivisions of the Uyghurs are further enumerated and it is added that their number was increased [after 745?] by the Basmil and Qarluq, as respectively the tenth and eleventh divisions.

It must be admitted that the terminology of Chinese, Turkish, and Arabic sources presents still considerable difficulties. The former reading of the name *سعر* as *Toghuzghur* was in favour of its further interpretation as *Toquz-Oghur*, but the solidly established reading *Toghuzghuz* (found in a Middle Persian text!) and the fact that the Uyghur khans called their federation "*On-Uyghur* [and] *Toquz-Oghuz*" makes it difficult to explain the Muslim use of the name *Toghuzghuz* by the supposition that that was the name rightly belonging to the Uyghurs.

The theory of the identity of the *Oghuz* with *Uyghur* was supported by Thomsen, *o.c.*, 147, who, however, in his later work, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 128, says much more cautiously: "Wahrscheinlich ist Uyγur eigentlich der Name für eine Dynastie, die sich nicht lange vor dieser Zeit zum Herrn über eine Anzahl von Stämmen gemacht hat, die ihre Sitze nördlich von den Türken haben, in der Gegend des Selengafflusses. Die meisten dieser Stämme scheinen zu dieser Zeit zu einer anderen grossen Konföderation von Stämmen, die in den Inschriften *Oyuz* heissen, in einem nahen Verhältnis gestanden oder ihr angehört zu haben." The most decided partisan of the identity of *Toquz-Oghuz* and *Uyghur* was Marquart, see *Chronologie*, 23, *Streifzüge*, Index, and finally *Komanen*, 35-6 (and in a modified and very involved form *ibid.*, 199-201).

On the other hand Barthold, who repeatedly insisted on the necessity of discriminating between the original *Toghuz-Oghuz* and the *Uyghurs*, thought that the term *Toghuzghuz* was transferred to the T'ien-shan Uyghurs from the earlier occupants of this region, namely the so-called *Sha-t'o*, i.e. "Sand Desert people", see *Semirechye*, 15, *Toghuzghuz* in *EI*, and *Vorlesungen*, 53-4. According to the *T'ang-shu* (Chavannes, *o.c.*, 96-9) this group, which had separated from Western T'u-chüeh, lived in the seventh century near the Barkul lake (at the eastern extremity of Eastern T'ien-shan) and after 712 near Pei-t'ing (Bish-baliq) from where it was

¹ Chavannes, *o.c.*, 87-94. The later *T'ang-shu* enumerates the 15 tribes of the Ch'ê-lê (> T'ieh-lê), among whom the first place is occupied by the Yüan-ho (Uyghurs). To judge by Chavannes's analysis these tribes occupied by far a more limited territory than what Hirth, *Nachworte z. Inschrift des Tonjukuk*,

p. 37, says of the "Tölös im weiteren Sinn (*sic*) . . . deren Stämme vom Schwarzen Meere ostwärts . . . bis zum Amurgebiet hie und da zerstreut lebten"! Cf. also Chavannes, *o.c.*, 221, and Barthold's critical remarks in *Zap.*, xv, 0172-3. [Is the reading *T'ieh-lê* correct?]

dislodged by the Tibetans in 808.¹ The principal argument in support of this theory is that Abū Zayd, the continuator of Sulaymān's work, pp. 62-6, speaking of the revolt of Huang Ch'ao (هاشوا)² and the expulsion of the emperor Hsi-Tsung (A.D. 881), says that the latter asked for the help of "the king of the Toghuzghuz who live in the land of the Turks. The Chinese and the Toghuzghuz are neighbours and their royal families are allied." So the king of the Toghuzghuz sent his son with an army who restored the emperor to his throne. According to Chinese sources, see Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1905, pp. 1759-61, the emperor was restored by Li K'o-yung and his 10,000 men of Sha-t'o and Ta-tan.³ Although these parallel texts show that the term *Toghuzghuz* could refer to the Sha-t'o, the evidence in favour of the Sha-t'o having been alone responsible for the transmission and perpetuation of the name Toghuzghuz as applied to the inhabitants of Eastern T'ien-shan does not seem very decisive. It is curious that Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 305, speaking of the same events of A.D. 881 calls the emperor's ally "king of the Turks ابرخان", as he also calls, i, 288, the king of Kūshān (v.i. 1.). In both cases the name is undoubtedly to be restored as *ايفرخان *Uyghur-khan*, as both Birūnī, *Canon*, and Kāshgharī, i, 28, spell the name *Uyghur*. This fact would suffice to show that there was no great consistency in Arab terminology regarding such remote regions. Other passages quoted by Barthold in his *Vorlesungen*, 53 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1044; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 117; Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i, 313₃₅) seem to indicate that the name *Toghuzghuz* was often given to the Western *T'u-chüeh* and their successors in general. The case of the Sha-t'o would be only an instance of the application of this rule. More than this, the common origin of Western *T'u-chüeh* and their Eastern cousins could not escape the Arabs, whereas the events of A.D. 745 were most probably regarded as mere internal changes within the same group of tribes, similar to the rise of the Türgish within the Western Turkish federation. If even, as time wore on, the Arabs learnt to discriminate between the single tribes nearer to Transoxiana, the new group arriving from the Orkhon after the events of A.D. 840 could rightly be regarded as a wave having risen from the original home of the Toquz-Oghuz.

It remains to explain the two curious passages from Jāhīz (died *circa* A.D. 868) quoted by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 91-3. Jāhīz ascribes to the effeminating influence of Manichaeism the decline of "the Turkish Toghuzghuz after they had been the champions of them [*i.e.* of the Turks] and were the leaders of the Khallukh although [the latter] were twice as

¹ The town of Bish-baliq does not seem to have belonged to the Sha-t'o, v.i. under 2.

² According to Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao* xxi, 1922, p. 409, the Arabic form must be **Bānshwā* (*Bansho*?) which gives an equivalence of the southern pronunciation of *Huang Čao*, "mot à ancienne gutturale initiale laquelle s'est complète-

ment amuie dans les dialectes modernes de la côte chinoise au sud du Fleuve Bleu". However to render **Wang* as *Bān* the Arabs must have heard it as **Vang* for *b* in Arabic may stand for *v* but not for *w*.

³ Li K'o-yung had previously sought refuge with the Ta-tan.

numerous as they". Even if this passage hints at the catastrophe which befell the Manichæan Uyghurs in A.D. 840, the name *Toghuzghuz* as applied to them would only confirm our point of view on the indiscriminate use of the term by the Arabs who could not very accurately distinguish between the Orkhon tribes and who have not left any record of the role played by the Qirghiz in the events of 840. It is more likely, however, that Jāhīz (with some confusion in the details, cf. p. 290, n. 2) had in mind the subjugation of the Türgish (Western T'u-chüeh) by the Qarluq towards 766.

The earliest visit to the Toghuzghuz country recorded by the Muslims seems to have been the journey of Tamīm b. Baḥr called al-Muṭṭawwi'i (*i.e.* belonging to the class of the volunteer fighters on the marches of the Islamic empire). An abstract of his report has survived in Yāqūt, i, 840, and iv, 823. The following analysis will show to what extent it was utilized by the early geographers. [*D* stands for *ditto* and *A* for *abest.*]¹

Tamīm (Yāqūt)	I.Kh., 31.	Qudāma, 263.	Abū Dulaf
6 months of great cold	A	A	A
journeying 20 days in the steppe and 20 days in the inhabited country	from the Upper Barskhān 3 months among large villages	from the Lower Barskhān 45 days: 20 in the steppe and 25 among large villages	"we travelled among them 20 days"
the inhabitants fire-worshippers and Manichæans	D	D	inhabitants have no places of worship
A	A	the town lies on a lake surrounded by mountains	A
the town has 12 iron gates	D	D	A
distance to China 300 farsakhs	D	A	A
to the right, the country of the Turks	A	A	A
to the left, the Kimāk	D	A	A
straight on, China	D	A	A
before arriving in the town saw a golden tent and 900 men on the top of the castle	D	A	D
the Turks possess a rain stone	tent containing 100 men	A	A
	A	A	A

¹ Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 55, places Tamīm's journey in the period between A.D. 760 and 800. [See Appendix B.]

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, was at first disposed to think that I.Kh.'s distance from the Upper Barskhān to the khāqān's town, viz. 3 months' journey, might refer to the Orkhon capital, but as I.Kh. undoubtedly depends on Tamīm's data the distance of "three months" has been probably calculated from the latter's indication that he was riding day and night at the rate of 3 *sikka* per day. Consequently I.Kh. must have converted Tamīm's 40 [Qudāma: 45] days into more quiet stages.¹ Yāqūt omits to mention the starting-point of Tamīm's journey, but it could certainly not be *Barskhān al-a' lā*, as I.Kh.'s text has it, but (as Qudāma, 262-3, clearly implies) the *Lower* Barskhān which lay in the neighbourhood of Ṭarāz (see note to § 15, 11.). In this case 40-5 days to Bish-baliq would be no great exaggeration. That the terminal point of Tamīm's journey was Bish-baliq is shown by his mention of the "golden tent" which very probably is the Buddhist stupa which had stood there since the times of the Western T'u-chüeh (the *Qaghan-stupa*, in Chinese *K'o-han-fo-t'u*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 12 and 305). The Arabs call it *khaima* "tent" but Fakhr ad-dīn Mubārakshāhī, ed. Sir E. D. Ross, p. 39, uses for it the curious Persian term *tanūra* "funnel" [not = the Arabic *tannūr*.] [See Appendix B.]

The traces of Tamīm's tradition are also found in Idrīsī, i, 491, who says that the capital of the Toghuzghuz تنبع, read *بیشبلغ *Bish-baligh*(?), has twelve iron gates, the inhabitants are Zoroastrians and some are Magians and fire-worshippers. From a different source Idrīsī, i, 502, has the name of the "principal city of the Toghuzghuz" خرخراک separated from the khāqān's town [perhaps Yar-khoto?] by a distance of one light day's march. From it to نضرا lying on the bank of the lake کوارت there is a distance of 4 days. The name of the first town corresponds most probably to چنانجک (*v.i.* 1.).² The second name, mutilated as usual in Idrīsī, could be پنجک *Panjikath* (*v.i.* 2.), i.e. the Iranian name of the same Bish-baliq. The detail about the lake would suit Bish-baliq,³ and the distance of 4 days between the "khāqān's town" and Panjikath would be approximately right in view of Idrīsī's tendency to reckon in heavy stages. According to the Chinese itinerary, Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 11, there were 370 *li* (= 213 Km.) between Chiao-ho (Yar-khoto) and Pei-t'ing (Bish-baliq) which roughly corresponds to 4 days' journey.

There are no indications of a direct dependence of our § 12 on Tamīm's report.⁴ More probably, in common with Gardīzī, the author derives his

¹ It is true that $40 \times 3 = 120$, i.e. 4 months, but I.Kh. with his experience as a postmaster probably made some allowance for Tamīm's exaggeration of his powers of endurance.

² Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, 390.

³ Cf. Qudāma, 262: "to the capital of the Toghuzghuz [namely: Bish-baliq?] belongs a lake round which, close to each other, lie villages and cultivated lands." Cf. the report of the Chinese envoy

Wang Yen-tê, transl. by S. Julien, *Jour. As.*, 1847, ix, 62.

⁴ [Very puzzling, however, is Tamīm's indication (Yāqūt, i, 840) concerning the religion of the Toghuzghuz ("most of them are fire-worshippers of the Magian religion, and among them are found *zindīqs* of Mānī's creed"). What does Tamīm take for the majority's religion? Does he confuse Buddhists with Zoroastrians and use the term '*abadat al-*

principal information from Jayhānī, who certainly had numerous opportunities for completing the data on the Turks from direct sources. The Sāmānids at whose court he lived must have keenly watched the rivalry of the Uyghurs and the Khallukh in the hope that the former might check the rising power of the latter, who as direct neighbours of Transoxiana were more dangerous. Our text contains some traces of this particular interest (§ 12, 10. and § 15, 11.).

The bearings of the Toghuzghuz frontier are displaced as usual: the bulk of the Khallukh lived north-west of the Toghuzghuz (and not south of them). In § 13 the Yaghmā are said to have the Toghuzghuz on the east, but, to say nothing of Kuchā reckoned to China, the Khallukh (§ 15) also intervened between the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz. On some Khirkhīz found to the west of the Toghuzghuz see notes to §§ 14 and 15, 13. The Toghuzghuz (probably in a wider sense) are also said to have been numerous along the road from Kāshghar to Khotan (§ 11, 10.). The real frontier of the Toghuzghuz towards the north-east seems to have lain near the Tarbaghatai (*v.i.* 8.), but under § 3, 1. the Eastern ocean is said to adjoin the extreme eastern limits of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This statement, due to some earlier source and not tallying with § 12, may contain a vague reference to the times of the Orkhon empires.¹ Very curious is also the tradition according to which the Toghuzghuz were once² the kings of the whole "Turkistān", the latter term being of course used in the sense of "territories occupied by Turkish tribes" and not in the later acception of Transoxiana, or even Semirechye. The same ancient recollections may account for the item of the Toghuzghuz-Tātār (*i.e.* Mongol) affinities. In the table of contents (*v.s.*, p. 47) the heading of our § 12 is even formulated as "The country of the Toghuzghuz and Tātār".³ Finally the item on some prosperous "Turks" belonging to the Toghuzghuz may refer to the remnants of the Western T'u-chüeh and their Türgish continuators (see notes to § 12, 10.). Some remains of the Sha-t'o (*v.s.*, p. 266) at the eastern extremity of the T'ien-shan could also be called Turk.⁴

nīrān in the loose sense of "heathens"? A Manichaean minority could certainly exist in Bish-Baliq even in the times of Western T'u-chüeh. Had Tamīm known the real Uyghurs (who according to Marquart occupied this region towards A.D. 866) his presentation of the religious situation would have been quite different. Should we then (contrary to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 390) assign an earlier date to Tamīm's journey, this assumption would be in favour of a further hypothesis that this traveller may be the source of information on the situation in Kan-su as described in our § 9 (*v.s.*, p. 227). Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 26 and p. 268, note 1.]

¹ Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, on a similar statement in Idrīsī, i, 491.

² Even in Mongol times the Uyghurs kept up their national traditions, Juvaynī, i, 39-45.

³ Gardīzī mentions the Tātār (*sic*) only as one of the Kimāk tribes (§ 18). But the item referring to a definite clan has nothing to do with our author's statement about the relationship of the Tātār and Toghuzghuz.

⁴ Tamīm, *v.s.*, p. 268, mentions the Turks to the "right" (*i.e.* to the south) of the Toghuzghuz. If the term *Turks* does not stand here for the Tibetans (considered as Turks) it may refer to the Sha-t'o.

Our author starts (1. and 2.) with the two residences: the winter one south of the T'ien-shan, and the summer one north of the range with its dependencies (to which 9. may also belong?). 3.-5. (and perhaps 6.) lie along the road from Turfan to Kuchā. 7.-8. and 10.-17. are the northern possessions of the Toghuzghuz in the region stretching across the T'ien-shan down into the Ili basin and perhaps farther east. See **Maps III** and **v**.

1. *Chinānj kath*, "the Chinese town",¹ is the well-known place lying circa 45 Km. east of Turfan and called in Chinese: *Kao-ch'ang* (later: *Huochou*) and in Turkish: *Qocho*. In fact Qocho was first a military colony of the Chinese (settled "at the wall of Kao-ch'ang"), cf. Pelliot, *Kao-Tch'ang*, &c., in *Jour. As.*, May 1912, p. 590. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, f. 103a, quotes "Chinānj kath which is قوچو Qocho, the residence of the Uyghur-khān". Kāshgharī, iii, 165, calls the town قوچو Qocho (on his *Kūshān* see note to § 9, 5.; on his *Kusan* see note to § 9, 10.). Juvaynī, i, 32, spells (with a popular etymology) *Qara-Khwāja* and the *Masālik al-abṣār*, transl. by Quatremère, *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 224: *Qarā-Khwājā*. The ruins of Qocho, now known as *Idiqut-shahri*,² were first described by the Russian expedition of 1898, see D. Klemenzen in *Nachrichten über die von der Kaiserl. Akademie d. Wissensch. im Jahre 1898 ausgerüstete Expedition nach Turfan*, i, SPb., 1899. On the remarkable discoveries of the German expeditions see especially A. von Lecocq, *Chotscho*, Berlin, 1913. The latest description is found in Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 566-609.

2. The mountain *Ṭafqān*, separating Chinānj kath from Panjikath, cf. § 5, 6., is certainly Eastern T'ien-shan (Boghdo, highest peak 12,080 f.). The name, otherwise unknown,³ looks like a mis-spelling of *Ṭurfān* (the name of the town *Tturpamni-kamtha* occurs in the Saka document, written probably in the latter part of the eighth century).⁴ See Barthold, *Ṭurfān*, in *EI*.

The "Five Villages" lying behind the mountain did not form one close group. The village called Panjikath was only one of them. The Turkish equivalent of this Iranian (Soghdian?)⁵ name is Bish-baliq, both meaning

¹ The name Chinānj kath "the Chinese town" was also borne by a town of Shāsh, Iṣṭ., 323. The name is distinctly Soghdian, the element *-ānj* being a feminine suffix to suit the word *-kath*, cf. also *Gurgānj* in Khwārazm and perhaps *Kabūdhanj-kath* "the Blue (?) Village" in Soghd, Iṣṭ., 322. Cf. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, ii, 1929, pp. 87-8, and *Jour. As.*, Oct. 1930, p. 292.

² *Idiqut* was the official title of the Uyghur rulers probably inherited by them from their Basmil predecessors.

³ Gardīzī's تفخان is certainly an entirely different name, see note to § 15, 15.

⁴ F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval Documents from Tunhuang*, Oslo, 1929, pp. 130 and 131, line 23.

⁵ I owe to H. W. Bailey the reference that in Middle Persian the form *pnāknδyy kwd'y*, "the lord of Panjkānd", is found together with *čyn'ncknδyy kwd'y*, cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, in *Abh. PAW*, 1913, pp. 45 and 55. In our case *P.njyk.th* (with *y*) is written clearly. In the Saka document quoted above, o.c., p. 131, lines 20-1, stands *misti kamtha Pamji-kamtha* "the great town of P.". On another place called Panjikath see note to § 15, 7.

"Pentapolis", probably in the sense of "administrative centre of the Five Towns". The Chinese called it Pei-t'ing "Northern Court". Bish-baliq is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions (ii, E 28) in connexion with Kül-tegin's expedition of A.D. 713, Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 153. The region first belonged to the tribe Basmil (Chinese *Pa-si-mi*) who helped the Uyghur to overthrow the Eastern T'u-chüeh in 742. But immediately after, the Uyghurs and Khallukhs defeated the Basmil and since 744 the latter had been incorporated in the Uyghur federation, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 94. So towards the middle of the eighth century the Uyghurs already had Bish-baliq under their sway. In 791 the Qarluq (§ 15) occupied "the valley of the stupa which belonged to the Uyghurs", Chavannes, *o.c.*, 305. The town is the one visited by Tamīm b. Baḥr (*v.s.*). In the year of the composition of the *H.-'Ā.* the Uyghur prince Arslan was entertaining at Pei-t'ing the Chinese envoy Wang Yen-tê, see S. Julien in *Jour. As.*, 1847, ix, pp. 50-66; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 11; Barthold, *Bishbaliq* in *EI*, Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, p. 582 sq. On the mention of Bish-baliq in Idrīsī, *v.s.*, p. 269. The ruins of Bish-Baliq lie some 47 Km. west of Guchen near Jimisar. They were first visited in 1908 by B. Dolbezhev and described by him in *Izvestiya Russ. Komiteta dl'a izucheniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii*, No. 9, April 1909, and *Zap.*, xxiii, 1915, pp. 77-121. An archaeological description of the ruins is found in Sir A. Stein, *o.c.*, pp. 554-9.

The other names quoted behind the mountain do not correspond to those given in Kāshgharī's list, i, 103, of the "five towns" composing the Uyghur possessions, namely, Sulmī (founded by Alexander the Great!),¹ Qocho (= our 1. Chīnānjath), Jambaliq, Bish-baliq (= 2. Panjikath), Yangi-baliq. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, 27-33, quoting the *Yüan-shi* mentions under Pei-t'ing the following five places: Qara-khocho (= Chīnānjath); *Taksin (*T'a-ku-sin*) shown on the old Chinese maps between Qumūl and Bish-baliq;² Jambaliq shown west of Bish-baliq and east of Manas; Khutukbai (*Ku-t'a-ba*) west of Jambaliq; and Yāngi-baliq (the Yāngi-balghasun station between Khutukbai and Manas).³ If our author, as is his habit, enumerates the five places east to west, Kūzar.k and J.m.lkath must be placed east of Panjikath (Bish-baliq), and Bārlughand Jāmgh.r west of it.⁴ This surmise is corroborated by the fact that the

¹ Birūnī, *Canon*, mentions *S.lm.n* situated long. 113°0', lat. 43°0', i.e. north-east of Chīnānjath lying long. 111°20', lat. 42°0'. On some other mentions of this town (called *Ūč-Solmī* in an Uyghur colophon) see Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1931, xxviii, 494.

² This does not correspond to the present Toksun lying at some 50 km. to the south-west of Turfan. Birūnī, *Canon*, places a Taksin far down in the south-east at long. 120°15', lat. 32°5'.

³ Many towns of this region are men-

tioned in the Saka document quoted above, *o.c.*, p. 130: apart from *Turfan and *Panjikath, *Yirrūmciṃni kaṃtha* is probably Urumchi and *Cammaidī Ba-daiki nāmma kaṃtha* [read: *Jamīl-baliq?] may stand for our J.m.l-kath = Jam-baliq, or (less probably) for our 10. J.mli-kath.

⁴ كۆزارك has some outward resemblance to the lake of كوارث which according to Idrīsī lay probably near Bish-baliq (cf. p. 269, note 3) though on Idrīsī's map this lake seems to correspond to the Lob-nor.

same Jāmgh.r is for a second time quoted in § 15, 12. at the eastern limit of the Khallukh territory as a place which “in the days of old” belonged to the Khallukh.¹ The name is perhaps to be pronounced **Chāmghar* in view of the similar name belonging to a place on the road from Farghāna to Khujanda spelt in I.Kh., 30, صامغار, and in Maq., 341, صامغر (with Arabic *ṣ* for *č*). On the name of *J.m.lkat* (cf. the present-day Jimisar?), *v.i.*, note to 10.

3.-5. belong to the itinerary given in Gardīzī, 91: Barskhān²—B.nchūl (?)—Kujā—ازل—Sikat—M.k.shmighnāthūr—Chīnānjkat. Our author quotes them in inverted order (reckoning Kuchā to China, and B.nchūl and Barskhān to Khallukh). The same itinerary is mentioned by Raverty in his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 961: Barskhān—سکت—سول—کشیاناور—جکت (read: چنانجکت?). Raverty, with his exasperating vagueness about references, pretends to quote from I.Kh., but all the details of the passage coincide with Gardīzī, of whose work Raverty must have had a defective copy.

3. The strange کشیاناور corresponds to Gardīzī's مکشیاناور and Raverty's کشیاناور in which the element نور is perhaps an additional name or term, for Gardīzī's text runs: “from Sikat to M.k.shmighnāthūr, and from Thūr to Chīnānjkat”. Raverty (on what authority?) places the two (or four?) last-mentioned towns at 1 day's distance from one another, in which case our place would have to be looked for near the present-day Turfan. The only parallel to our name is another very difficult name found in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 100-1, xiii, 237: کوسافوجارکشه with numerous variants. This place lay near the region of کوشان (or کسان) “on the frontiers” of China (or Khotan?) and Kāshghar. Whether *Kūshān (K.sān) refers to Kao-ch'ang (*v.s.* 1.) or to Kuchā (§ 9, 10.)³ the place described by Rashīd al-dīn geographically suits our K.msighiyā. Pelliot, in *Jour. As.*, April 1920, p. 183, quotes a parallel Chinese name: *k'iu-sien-kiu-tch'ö-eul-ko-sseu-man* [in English transcription: *Ch'ü-hsien-ch'ü-ch'ê-êrh-ko-ssü-man*]. The first three syllables seem to run parallel to our *Kamsighiyā* and Rashīd-al-dīn's *Kūsāqū* (?).

4. Gardīzī's *Sikand* < *Sī-kand* or *Shī-kand* is a better name for a group of 3 villages (cf. Soghdian *šy* “three”). It must be also remembered that the Chinese called *Sī* the district of Yar-khoto, situated at 12 km. to the west of Turfan.

5. ازل lying near the Khūland-ghūn river (§ 6, 3.) corresponds to Gardīzī's ازل⁴ and Raverty's ازل. Barthold, *Report*, 116, suggests the reading **Aral* (“island”) though he feels embarrassed by the position of a village

¹ In this case Bārlugh (“wealthy”) cannot be compared with Barkul (< *Barskul* “Tiger lake”) at the north-eastern extremity of the T'ien-shan. Hardly, either, can our Bārlugh have anything to do with the mountain of this name belonging to the Dzungarian Ala-tau range,

north-west of Manas across the plain.

² On the passes south of Barskhān see note to § 15, 15.

³ The latter is the opinion of Tomaszek, *SBWA*, Bd. cxvi, p. 738, and Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, April 1920, p. 180.

⁴ P. 91: بازل *ba-Az.l.*

of this name¹ to the west of K'ichā, whereas Gardizī places *Aral east of the latter town, *i.e.* in the direction of Qarashar and Qurla. The comparative importance of our place is confirmed by the story recorded in Gardizī, 90₁₂: speaking of the strife between a former khāqān of the Toghuzghuz and his brother Kūr [Kūr]-tegin he says that the capital (*ḥaḍrat*) of the Khāqān "was" [at that time?] in Azal (*Aral?). The nearest place of importance to the east of Kuchā is Būgūr (on the western bank of the Qizil river). Kāshgharī, i, 301, says: "Būgūr is a fort (*qal'a*) between Kuchā and Uyghur lying on a height ('*alā shāhiq*) and it is a frontier-post (*thaghr*)". From a palaeographic point of view a confusion of بکور and ارك² is not impossible (cf. note to § 15, 15. on *Azār* < **B.d.l.*).³ Some complication in the way of this identification lies, however, in the fact that it is difficult to take Qizil-su for the important Khūland-ghūn (cf. § 6, 3. and § 13). [The latter probably corresponds to the Muzart river which flows west of the Kuchā-river and before reaching the Tarim turns off eastwards. Its course, parallel to Tarim, can be traced almost down to the Lobnor region. See Map of Kuchā studied by A. Herrmann in S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, 1922, viii, p. 431.]

6. كراخون is obscure. In Idrisī's confused text, i, 495, a mention is found of a middle-sized town دارحون to the east of طنا (var. كنا) and it is probable that the last-named place situated in "Outer China" is *كچا *Kuchā*.

7. These five villages belonging to a *beg-tegin* and inhabited by Soghdians must be distinguished from the village of somewhat similar description mentioned under § 17, 3. Barthold in his article *K voprosu o yazikakh soghdiyskom i tokharskom*, in *Iran*, i, 1906, pp. 29-41, while commenting on our § 12, 7. recalls the finds of exclusively Christian documents made in the villages of Bulaiq east of Turfan. However, Beg-tegin's villages lay in the cold zone, which does not tally with the hot Lukchun depression.

8. Kūmas (*Kūmis*?) -art has some likeness to K.mīz-[art?]⁴ which Gardizī, 86, mentions on the road from Toghuzghuz to Khirkhiz (see note to § 14). The route is very vague and only tentatively would one place K.mīz-art (after which a mountainous tract succeeds to the plains) somewhere to the south of the Tarbaghatai, say near Chuguchak. On the other hand, Kāshgharī, i, 306, and iii, 177, speaks of a كى تلاس *Kūmi-Talas* (or *Talas-yüz*)⁵ forming the frontier (*thaghr*) of the Uyghur; on his Map he shows it between the upper courses of the Ili and Irtish, south of a mountain (Tarbaghatai?). At 1,500 li due north of Yar-khoto the *T'ang-shu* mentions a "To-lo-se valley" which Chavannes, *o.c.*, 32, identifies with that of the Black Irtish. This may be another hint for the location of Kūmi-Talas, though the connexion of the latter with Kūmas-art⁶ is still problematic.

¹ On Grum-Grzhimailo's map this *Aral* lies *circa* 90 Km. west of Kuchā and 11 Km. east of Bai.

² See p. 273, n. 4.

³ [*Ark* may be the generic Persian word "citadel" = Kāshgharī's *qal'a*.]

⁴ Cambridge MS., fol. 182a: *K.mrāz*.

⁵ To be distinguished from the *Ulugh-Talas* (*v.i.*, § 25, 93.).

⁶ In script *Kūm.s* and *Kmy* can be easily confused. Kāshgharī's orthography is different, for he expressed the vowels by *ḥarakāt* while the Persian authors use in Turkish names *matres lectionis*.

Both the name of *Küm.s-art* and the detail about its inhabitants being hunters point to a mountainous locality. The alternative tentative explanation would be to connect the name **Kümās* with that of the river *Künges* (upper course of the Tekes which latter is a left affluent of the Ili) and to place it near some pass leading over the T'ien-shan into its valley (Daghit, Narat, Adun-kur). The fluctuation of *n/m* is not unknown in Turkish (*qoñshu* > *qomshu*).

9. The obvious restoration of *خمود* would be **Khumūdh* for *قۇمۇل* *Qumūl* which Gardizī, 92, places on the road from Chīnānjath to Sha-chou (see note to § 9, 3.). The fluctuation of *δ/l* would not make difficulties in Eastern Iranian; in the Soghdian letters published by Reichelt *Qumūl* is called *K.myδ*. Our author having split the itinerary into political areas could, of course, insert *Qumūl* in his enumeration out of definite order. If, however, in his usual way he followed some system one ought to consider the fact that *Kh.mūd* is mentioned among the places lying in the north-western corner of the Toghuzghuz possessions, immediately before *J.mlikath*, and its description would suit the upper valleys of the Qarashar drainage area (the two Yulduz valleys). [Eventually *خمود* could be improved into **خيدو* *Khaidu*, but this latter name of the Qarashar river seems to be of later Mongol origin!]

10. According to the description *جىلىك* must be different from *جىلىك* mentioned above under 2. but their names have a striking likeness and it is possible that both are composed of the same elements: *jml* or *jmyl*¹ + *kat* or *kath*. As a parallel one would quote the name of the tribe *جمل* *Jumul* to which Kāshgharī, i, 28, assigns the following place in his north-to-south enumeration (*al-qabā'il al-mutawassita bayn al-janūb wal-shimāl*): Chigil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Ighrāq, *Charuq, *Jumul* (Brockelmann reads **Chomul*?), Uyghur, Tangut, Khitay.² If really the *Jumul* were the Uyghurs' neighbours in the direction of the Ili their name could very well account for 2. and 10. An important detail in our text is that the chief of *J.mlykath* bore the title of **yabghū*. That he was distinct from the *Khallukh yabghū* (§ 15) results from the facts that he is mentioned under § 12, evidently as a vassal of the Toghuzghuz, and that his village was exposed to the *Khallukh* raids. Perhaps a passage of the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 86, may give us a clue to the situation. Speaking of the disruption of the Western T'u-chüeh (*i.e.* Türgish) federation towards A.D. 766 (see notes to §§ 15 and 17) it says: "when this people was destroyed there was a certain T'ê-p'ang-lê who settled in the town of Yen-ch'i (= Qarashar) and took the title of *shê-hu* (= *yabghū*)".³ One could then take our *yabghū* for a descendant of T'ê-p'ang-lê and his residence for Qarashar. It would be strange indeed if this

¹ Cf. our Panjy-kath (§ 12, 2.) = Panj-kath in Gardizī, 90, note 8.

² On Kāshgharī's Map the *Jumul* (or a section of them?) appear much farther to the east on the Obi upstream from the Qāy, *v.i.*, p. 285.

³ In the T'ang times Qarashar was usually under the Western T'u-chüeh until A.D. 719 it was included in the number of the "Four Garrisons", occupied by Chinese troops, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 110-14.

important locality had been left out in our author's enumeration. Apart from its historical associations it certainly occupied an important position; cf. Chavannes, *o.c.*, 21 and 5: "une . . . route dont l'existence nous est révélée par les textes historiques est celle qui partait de Harachar [Qarashar], remontait le Khaidou-gol [*v.s.* 9.], suivant la vallée de Youldouz,¹ puis traversant la passe Narat pour arriver sur le Koungès et dans la vallée d'Ili. Mais le *T'ang-chou* ne nous en fournit pas la description." Precisely the existence of this road connecting the territories lying south of the T'ien-shan with the Ili valley could account for the variety of tribes which raided J.mlikath from the north. By his very origins this yabghū must have been opposed to the Khallukh encroachments, and this may explain the state of tension round the neighbouring Barskhān, at which our source hints under § 15, 11. On the *Yabghū*-pass see note to § 15, 5.

11.-17. called "stages" (*manzil*) must belong to the routes in the northern region of the Toghuzghuz possessions, partly in the T'ien-shan and partly in the Ili basin. The order of enumeration is obscure. See **Maps 1** and **v**.

11. تنراغ probably تبراغ* *topragh* "earth" to suit the explanation that the mountain was "earthen". Situation uncertain except that the "stage" lay by a pass.

12. Our مانج situated by a large river very likely corresponds to Kāshgharī's (iii, 277) يفينج *Yafinj*, "a town situated near the Ili". Juvaynī, *GMS*, ii, 88, records the limits of the Qara-Khitay empire as stretching from Tārāz to مامح (or مامح), which must represent the same name. On Kāshgharī's Map the name *Yafinj* is inscribed south of the Ili. However, at another place (i, 58) he says that the town of Iki-Ögüz (*v.i.* 16.) is situated between the rivers Ili and *Yafinj* and the name of this Iki-Ögüz is inscribed north of the Ili. It is not clear whether *Yafinj* is an independent river or an affluent of the Ili but for the reasons quoted below one might take *Yafinj* for the Qara-tal flowing to the Balkhash lake north of the Ili. [On Idrīsī's Map, *Bib. Nat. Paris*, MS. arabe 2221, f. 178v., a مامح is shown on the right bank of the river سرماح (*Sh.rmākh*?) flowing to the lake *B.rwān*.]

14. A name parallel to our سدنك is سدنك كول *Sidink-kul*, as according to Kāshgharī, iii, 99 and 273, a lake was called near Qochingar-bashī (> *Qoch-qar-bashī*) but the latter place, see Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 81, lay on the upper Chu and consequently could not belong to the Toghuzghuz territory as described in our source. [*Sidink* < *siḍ*- "to urinate" may refer to the climate of our 14., *v.s.*, p. 95.]

16. In view of 12. the name ايركوزكوك most probably represents (with adjunction of -*kat* "town") Kāshgharī's frontier place (*baldatun bil-thaghr*) ايكى اوگوز *Iki-ögüz*, *i.e.* "(situated between) the two rivers", namely the Ili and *Yafinj*. Near Iki-ögüz lay the township of Qamlanchu, *ibid.*, 184.

¹ Kāshgharī, iii, 99, mentions a lake Yulduz-kül, situated on the frontier (*thaghr*) between Kuchā, Kyk.t, and

Uyghur. The name *Kyk.t* is suspect and may be identical with *Kingüt* mentioned on the Uyghur frontier, iii, 268.

As mentioned above, Iki-ögüz appears on the Map to the east (north) of the Ili, and to the west (south) of Kümi-Talas (v.s. 8.). Rubruquis (A.D. 1253-5) quotes the name in the amusing Latin disguise of *Equius* (<iki [or eki]-ögüz), see *Recueil de voyages*, iv, 1839, p. 281. After having crossed the Ili, probably near the present-day crossing at Iliysk, Rubruquis entered a valley where a ruined castle could be seen. "Et post hoc invenimus quandam bonam villam qui dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes persicum. Longissime tamen erant a Perside. Sequenti (*sic*) die, transgressis illis alpibus que (*sic*) dependebant a magnis montibus qui erant ad meridiem ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planitiem habentem montes altos a dextris, et quoddam mare a sinistris sive quemdam lacum qui durat XXV dietas in circuitui (*sic*). Et illa planicies tota irrigatur ad libitum aquis descendantibus de montibus que (*sic*) omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In estate redivimus ad latus aquilonare illius maris ubi similiter erant magni montes. . . . Invenimus ibi unam magnam villam nomine Cailac (Coilac) in qua erat forum et frequentabant eam multi mercatores." F. M. Schmidt, *Über Rubruks Reise in Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1885, xx, 203, places Cailac (**Qayaliq*) between Kopal and the Balkhash lake, and Equius to the south-east of it near the mountains (Dzungarian Ala-tau). Barthold, *Report*, 70, locates Equius near Chingildi which is the first stage after the crossing of the Ili (at Iliysk). Perhaps it would be better to take Iki-Ögüz (Equius?) one stage farther east to Altun-Emel which is an important junction of the roads from the south-west (Almata = Verniy), east (Jarkant), and north (Kopal). Altun-Emel lies at the southernmost source of the Qara-tal and (if this river is Yafinj!) can without much exaggeration be said to correspond to Kāshgharī's description of Iki-Ögüz. Another possibility would be to derive the name of the town from the two sources of the Qara-tal between which it lay. This, however, would be contrary to Kāshgharī's text.¹ See Map v.

17. Ighrāj-art occurs several times in our text as the name of the Central T'ien-shan, see note to § 5, 7. At this place evidently only some important pass is meant. The detail about its "never being free from snow" may refer to the Muz-art ("Ice-pass") skirting the Khan-Tengri peak. In Kāshgharī only the name *Ighrāq*, v.s. 10., approaches our Ighrāj. Cf. also the mysterious *عراق* *لابت*, where according to Gardizī, 84₉, the Kimāk used to take their horses in winter. But then the *Ighrāq (instead of 'Irāq) comprised some warm valleys!

§ 13. The Yaghmā

Gardizī, 84, recording some older traditions² says that a party of Toghuzghuz having separated from their tribe joined the Khallukh who by that time had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Haytāl of

¹ I now see that the explanation of *Equius* by *Iki-ögüz* is already found in Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 95.

² Marquart who has commented on

this passage, *Komanen*, 13-15, thinks that their source is Ibn al-Muqaffa' whom Gardizī quotes among his authorities.

Tukharistān.¹ The Turk-khāqān [of the Türgish] felt some uneasiness at this combination and directed the above-mentioned Toghuzghuz to settle between the Khallukh and the Kimāk, where they were reinforced by some other people from among those who lived "to the left of China".² As the Khallukh and the *shad-tutuq* of the Kimāk oppressed the new federation the latter moved to the neighbourhood of the khāqān. The name of the chief of the Toghuzghuz in question was Yaghmā and now the khāqān called him *tutuq* in order to spite the Kimāk chief (who had a similar title).

In the *H.-'A.* we find the Yaghmā (*Yaghmiyā*) living astride of the Ighraj-art (Central and Western T'ien-shan) and occupying both the region south of the Khatlām river, *i.e.* Narin (§ 6, 21.) and the north-western corner of the present-day Chinese Turkestan.³ We do not know how the Yaghmā came to occupy this region.⁴ § 13, 1. suggests a previous struggle between the Chinese, the Khallukh, and the Yaghmā. From the fact that Kāshgharī, i, 85, mentions on the river Ilā (Ili) the tribes of Yaghmā and Tukhsī and a clan of the Chigil, we may infer that the Yaghmā known to Gardīzī's source had split into two. The presence of some Yaghmā near the Ili basin may be inferred from § 12, 10., but the important group of the tribe must have centred round, and north of, Kāshghar. The *Mujmal al-tawārikh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20, definitely says that "the king of the Yaghmā is called *Boghrā-khān*". The title undoubtedly points to the first Turkish Muslim dynasty⁵ which in A.D. 999 put an end to the Samanid rule in Transoxiana and which has been differently designated under the names of *Āl-i Afrāsiyāb*, "khans of Turkestan", Ilāk-khans, Qara-khanids (see Barthold, *Ilek-khans* in *EI*). Our source insists on the esteem enjoyed by

¹ Possibly referring to the infiltration of the Khallukh into Upper Tukharistān (see note to § 23, 69.). Under A.H. 119 Ṭabarī, ii, 1412, line 9, mentions the *jabghūya al-Tukhārī* and *ibid.*, line 16, calls him *jabghūya al-Kharlukhī*.

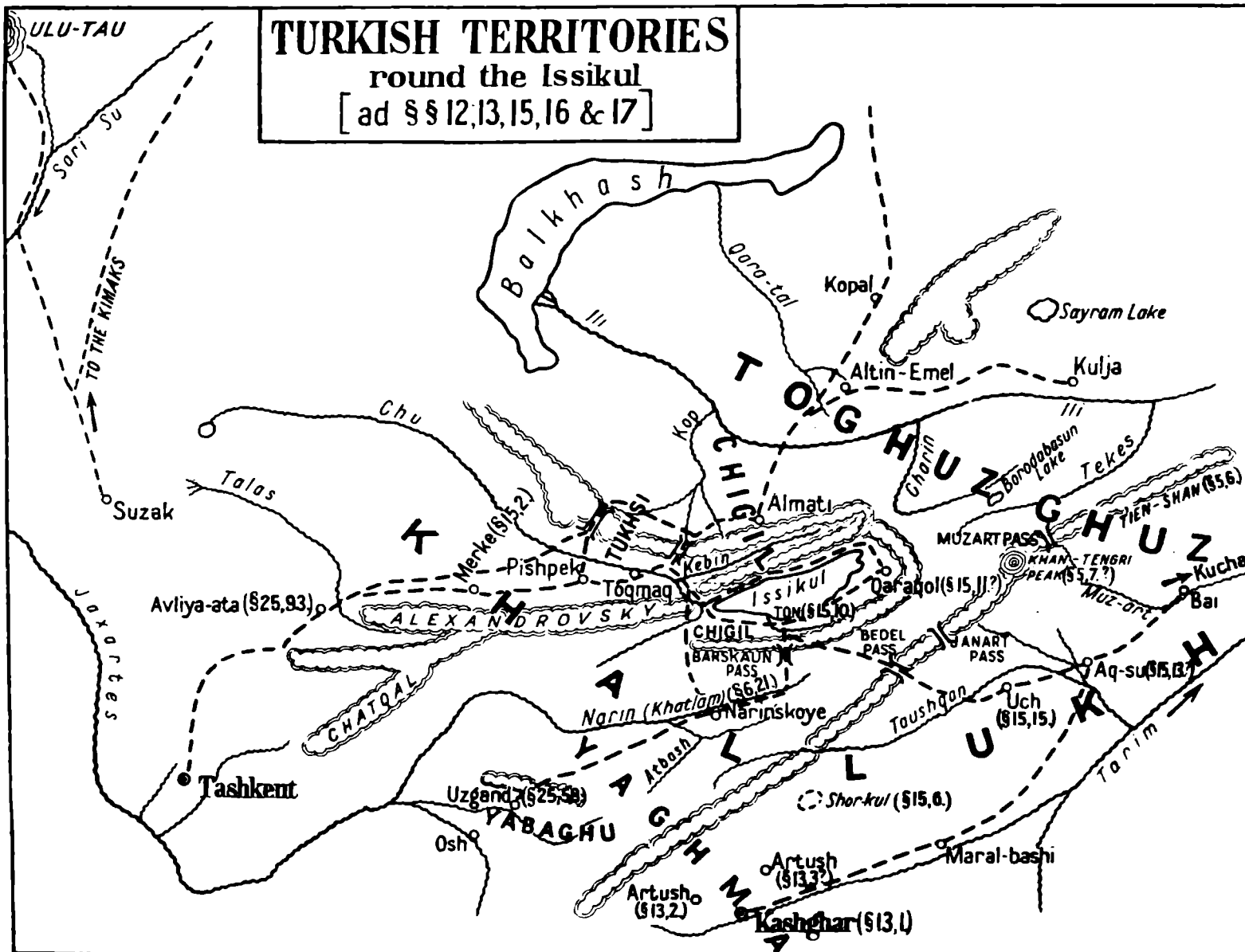
² The region "between" the Khallukh and the Kimāk would lie somewhere near the Sari-su (cf. § 18). This would render possible a contact between the Toghuzghuz and the Altai tribes to which evidently the text refers, as may be inferred from the items on the situation "to the left of China" and the "Chinese sable-martens" coming from their country (*s.mwjnī* restored by Marquart as *samūr-i chinī*), cf. note to § 5, 8. [Eventually the legend may refer to the earlier seats of the Khallukh near the Tarbaghatai, *v.i.*, p. 286.]

³ Very puzzling is the mention of the Khūland-ghūn (§ 6, 3. and § 12, 5.) as the southern frontier of the Yaghmā. Does Khūland-ghūn stand here for the

Aq-su and its western tributaries (Taushqan)? The name **Taghushkhān* or **Tawushkhan* is found in Gardīzī (see p. 296) but is omitted in our § 6, 3. Our author may have substituted for it the name belonging to the more easterly Muzart. In this case, the Yaghmā occupied in the westernmost T'ien-shan (see p. 96, line 11) the corner between the Narin and Taushqan, whereas the valley of the Taushqan and the salt lake south of it (§§ 3, 17. and 15, 6.) were held by the Khallukh (§ 15).

⁴ Did the khāqān establish them there simultaneously with giving their ancestor the title of *tutuq*?

⁵ Cf. the name of the founder of the dynasty: Satuq Boghra-khan. Marquart, *Güwainis Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, in *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1912, xxvii, 491, has shown that Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil (cf. note to § 9) while speaking of the shī'a tribe براج refers to the dynasty of Boghrā-khān, *v.i.* i.



the Yaghmā kings among their subjects. The composition of the Qara-khanid army may be still a moot question, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 254,¹ but there is hardly any doubt that the ruling dynasty arose from the Yaghmā group (a branch of the Toghuzghuz).² In our source we find the Yaghmā at their beginnings before they spread north into the Chu and Jaxartes basins. According to Nizām al-mulk, *Siṣāsāt nama*, ed. Schefer, p. 189, some “infidel Turks” conquered Balāsāghūn (in the Chu valley) a short time before A.D. 943. If Barthold’s surmise is right, *Semirechye*, 20, that this people “in all probability was identical with the one from which the Qara-khanid dynasty arose”, the date would form the *terminus ante quem* of our author’s original source. It is also noteworthy that Ūzgand which was destined to become an important centre of the Qara-khanids is still reckoned (§ 25, 58.) to Transoxiana. In the south the Qara-khanids waged war on the kings of Khotan (§ 9, 18.) and the mention of the Toghuzghuz (= Yaghmā?) on the road from Kāshghar to Khotan (§ 11, 20.) may be a portent of the final absorption of the latter place toward A.D. 1000.

1. On Kāshghar (in Chinese *Shu-lê*, *Sha-lê*, *Ch’ia-sha*, in Tibetan *Shulig*) see Chavannes, *Documents*, 121, Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 47–72, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab invasion of Kāshghar in A.D. 715*, in *Bull.SOS*, ii, part iii, 467–74 [the author doubts the fact of the invasion], Barthold, *Ilek-khan and Kāshghar* in *EI*. At the time of the earlier Chinese dominion Kāshghar was one of the “Four Garrisons” (cf. § 9) though it possessed a dynasty of its own.³ Towards A.D. 676–8 it was subjugated by the Tibetans. In 728 China again entered into relations with the “king” of Kāshghar. After a new struggle in which the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Turks, and the Arabs took part, Kāshghar, to judge by our source, was annexed by the Khallukh but became a bone of contention between the latter and the Yaghmā. Marquart, *Ġuwainis Bericht*, &c., p. 492, has shown that Mis’ar b. Muhalhil mentions the Yaghmā kingdom twice over: once under the name *Bughrāj*, and a second time under that of *Khargāh*, “the tent” (?), corresponding to the Turkish *Ordu-kand*, “the Army cantonments”. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (6th climate) clearly says that “*Ordu-kand* is Kāshghar”. *Khargāh* as the name of a country lying somewhere near India

¹ Cf. the mention of a multitude of clans composing the Yaghmā federation. As regards the B.lāq (Y.lāq?), Kāshgharī, i, 317, mentions a tribe Alkā (*sic*) Bulāq (الكا بلق) but the fact that it was subjugated by the Qifchaq points to its much more northern situation. [Separately, *ibid.*, i, 57, is mentioned an Oghuz clan called القابولك **Alqabölük*.] As a mere guess, could one take the B.lāq “mixed with the Toghuzghuz” for the group of the Yaghmā living on the Ili where they could be in touch with the Toghuzghuz?

² So Barthold, *Semirechye*, 21, but later, *Vorlesungen*, 77, he expressed himself in favour of the Kharlukh origin of the dynasty.

³ Kāshgharī, i, 9 and 31, says that in the districts of Kāshghar a non-Turkish language was spoken, called *kānjākī*. In the town itself the *khāqānī* Turkish was used. [In later times a place called *K.nj.k* is often mentioned in the neighbourhood of Talas, cf. Waṣṣāf, *Tārikh*, ed. Hammer, i, 22. It may have been a colony of the same tribe.]

is mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, p. 782, note 7, and p. 787, note 7. Rustam speaks to Kay-Khusrau of a land belonging to Zābulistan which Manūchihr had freed from the Tūrānians but which was again seized by the latter under Kay-Ka'ūs:

Mar ān marz Khargāh khwānad ba-nām
ḡhān-dīda dihqān-i gustarda-nām.
Za-yak nīma bar Sind dārad guzar
Ba Qinnauj-u Kashmīr-u ān būm bar;
Dīgar nīma rāhash su-yi marz-i Chīn
Bi-payvast bā marz-i Tūrān-zamīn.

Kay-Khusrau sends Rustam for the deliverance of

Zamīnī-ki payvasta-yi marz-i tu-st:
Za Khargah tā būm-i Hindūsitān
Za Kashmīr tā marz-i ḡdūsitān.

2. Instead of *Bartūj* one must read **Artūj*. Kāshgharī, i, 87, mentions two villages of the name *Artūj* in the Kāshghar region.¹ Both (now called *Artish*) are still extant beyond the hills north of Kāshghar. The Upper Artish lies some 35 Km. to the north-west of Kāshghar and the Lower Artish some 45 Km. to the north-east of it. Near the two villages exist interesting Buddhist remains, cf. Petrovsky (former Russian Consul General in Kāshghar) in *Zap.*, vii, 295 and ix, 147. The founder of the Qara-khanid dynasty Satuq Boghra-khan lies buried in Artish, see Jamāl Qarashī, *Mulḡaqāt al-Ṣurāḡ* in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i (texts), 132: *māta Satuq Bughrā khān al-ghāzī fī sanat 344 wa mashhaduhu bi-Artūj min qurā Kāshghar, wa [huwa] al-yaum ma'mūr wa mazūr*, cf. Grenard, *Jour. As.*, January 1900, p. 6. The legendary details on the decay of Artūj are likely to refer to the time before Satuq Boghra-khan's burial in 344/955 (?) because Islamic tradition would hardly have allowed the resting-place of a famous champion of Islam to become a ruin.

3. The easiest solution is perhaps to identify *Khīrmkī* inhabited by **Artūjians* with the second of the two villages mentioned. On the other hand, Idrīsī, tr. by Jaubert, i, 492, mentions a town and a fort of جرمق situated at four days from *Bākhwān* (see note to § 15, 14.), at 10 days from Barskhān and at 14 days from the "town of Tibet" (= Khotan?). As the duty of the governor of this place was to repel the attacks of the "Tibetan princes" one would think that J.rm.q lay to the south or to the west of Aq-su. As a mere guess one could identify the town with the important Maral-bashi (according to Kuropatkin, *circa* 232 Km. west of Aq-su) which in former days was called *Barchuq* (Kāshgharī, i, 318: برچق). In a similar way our خیرمکی could be another mutilation of the same name [?]. The fact that the village was inhabited by Artūjians (evidently considered as a special tribe) may be connected with what Kāshgharī, i, 9 and 31, says about the *kānjākī* (v.s., p. 280, note 3).

¹ He says that *artūj* means "juniper-tree" ('*ar'ar*), i.e. probably the tree called in Turkestan *archa* "Juniperus polycarpus".

§ 14. The Khirkhiz

Marquart, *Komanen*, 65–8; Barthold, *Kirghiz* in *El*, and *Kirgizi, istoricheskiy ocherk*, Frunze = Pishpek, 1927 (an important historical essay written by Barthold at the request of the Qirghiz Soviet Republic in which the data of the *H.-'A.* have also been utilized).

This very ancient people, first mentioned by the Chinese in 201 B.C.,¹ lived north of the Sayan mountains on the Upper Yenisei. To judge by the appearance of the Qirghiz (Qiryiz), as described by the Chinese and Muslim sources (blue eyes, red hair, white skin)² they did not originally belong to the Turkish race and were probably Turkicized "Yenisei Ostiaks". Towards A.D. 710 the Turkish (T'u-chüeh) rulers of Mongolia undertook a victorious campaign in the Qirghiz country, but the real conquest took place only in 758 after the power in Mongolia passed to the Uyghur Turks. In 840 the Qirghiz rose against their masters, expelled the Uyghurs from Mongolia and founded a new nomad empire which lasted till about 917, when the K'itan (Qitay) united under their aegis Northern China and Mongolia. The qaghan (khāqān) of the Qirghiz returned to the old residence on the Yenisei, and Muslim reports on the Qirghiz must have in view this stage of the Qirghiz history. [But see § 3, 1. and p. 94, l. 11.]

Gardizī, 86, describes a road from the Toghuzghuz to the Khirkhiz which may be divided into four sections: (a) From Chīnānjath to Kh.s.n, thence to Nūkhb.k, and thence to K.mīz-[art]; the journey lasts 1–2 months in a grass-steppe and 5 days in a desert. (b) From K.mīz-art to Mānb.klū,³ 2 days among hills, after which begins the region of forests; then come steppes, springs, and hunting grounds until the high Mānb.klū mountain is reached, which is wooded and abounds in sable-martens, grey squirrels, musk-deer, and game. (c) From Mānb.klū to Kūkmān (Kökmān), by a road along which grazing grounds, pleasant streams, and abundant game are found; in 4 days the traveller reaches the Kökmān mountain which is high and very wooded; here the road grows narrow. (d) From Kökmān to the Khirkhiz encampment (*hāyīṭa*): 7 days by a road on which one finds steppes, verdure (*sabzī*), water, and trees growing so close to one another as to prevent an enemy from passing. The road is like a garden until it reaches the said encampment where the army quarters (*lashkargāh*) of the Khirkhiz are situated.

The distances indicated are vague. As mentioned in the note to § 12, 8.,

¹ The Chinese transcription (*Ch'ien Han-shu*) of the name Qirghiz *Kien-k'un* is explained by Pelliot as imitating the (Mongol?) singular form: *Qirqun* corresponding to the plural *Qirqiz*, see *Jour. As.*, April 1920, p. 137. L. Ligeti, *Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgiz*, in *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*, i, 1925, pp. 1–15, takes *Qirq-iz* for an old Turkish plural of *qirq* "forty".

² Gardizī, 85, reports a legend according to which the founder of the Khirkhiz tribe was a Slav(!): "the signs of Slav origin are still apparent in the Khirkhiz, namely their red hair and white skin".

³ In the Camb. MS., fol. 182a, these four last names have respectively the forms: بحس or سحس and خين (?); Nūkhik; K.mrāz and K.mīz; Mān.nkbū and Mātiklū.

K.miz-art may lie on the southern skirts of the Tarbaghatai range. Mānb.klū would *grosso modo* correspond to the Altai mountains. Kökmān, known also in the Orkhon inscription, cf. Thomsen, *Les inscriptions*, p. 149, n. 24, is more likely the Tannu-ola (south of Uriankhai)¹ than the Sayan mountains (north of Uriankhai). The khāqān's residence must have lain on the upper Yenisei, in the Minusinsk region known for its excellent climate and picturesque nature. See Map i.

Gardizī mentions three roads from the Khirkhiz territory: (a) following a north-to-south direction (just described in the opposite direction); (b) a western road leading to the Kimāk and Khallukh; (c) a road leading eastwards to the great tribe of Fūrī (v.i. 1.).

In our source the Khirkhiz territory is represented as extending down to the Northern Uninhabited Lands and the Eastern Ocean (§ 3, 1.). On the west a mountain separated them from the Kimāk (§ 5, 12. and § 18). As the Kimāk lived on the Irtysh the mountain must be the Altai (= Mānb.klū, v.s.). In § 6, 41. it is said that the "Ras" river rises from the same mountain [or its continuation?]. The *Tūlas* (Tölās, Tölös) mountain where the Khirkhiz were also found (§ 5, 8.) may be another name for the Altai, borrowed from a different source and wrongly placed north-west of the Issik-kul (cf. §§ 16 and 17).² Some isolated groups of the tribe must have wandered even into the Tarim basin: they are mentioned in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar (§ 13, 1.) and more definitely in B.njūl (§ 15, 12.) which, to believe our author, formed a Khirkhiz enclave in the Khallukh territory.³

1. Gardizī, 86, gives much more information on the Fūrī. The eastern road from the Khirkhiz, says he, has two variants of which the one runs in the desert and is 3 months long, and the other, more to the north, only 2 months long but more difficult, for the narrow path has to cross forests, marshes, and numerous streams. In the marshes⁴ live wild people who do not mix with others and do not understand their languages. They are clad in skins and feed on game, their religion forbids them to touch other people's clothes. Their families accompany them in their campaigns. They destroy the booty and only keep the enemy's arms. If the Khirkhiz take them prisoners they go on hunger strike. They suspend their dead on trees in order that their bodies should decay, &c. The text could be literally taken as indicating that the said wild people were found on the

¹ Cf. Samoylovich, in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1934, No. 8, p. 633.

² The name is evidently that of the well-known Turkish federation (*Tölās, Tölis, Tölös*, in Chinese *T'ieh-lê*, Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 61, Chavannes, *Documents*, 87) to which the Uyghur originally belonged. At a later date, Eltārish qaghan (Bilga qaghan's father) organized the *Tölās* and *Tardush* tribes (Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 103, *ZDMG*, 1924, 147)

which Thomsen, *ibid.*, p. 174, considers as "the two great tribes, or rather administrative sections of the Eastern Turks".

³ This statement need not necessarily be connected with the epoch of the Qirghiz Empire, see Barthold, *Preface*, p. 28. The B.njūl group could be only a colony of the tribe.

⁴ Gardizī, 84₂₂, read: *āb-gīr* as two lines down!

way to the Fūrī, but then it would be strange that Gardīzī gives no separate description of the latter "great tribe". According to our author the Fūrī were exactly the wild men in question. The Fūrī must be located near the Baikal. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, in *Trudi VORAO*, vii, 168, mentions in the neighbourhood of this lake the tribes: Qūrī (قوری, cf. our افوری), Burghut, Tūmāt, Bāylūk "which are some of the Mongol tribes".¹ Barthold, *Kirgizi*, 23, identifies the Qūrī with the *Ku-li-kan* whom the *T'ang-shu* reckons to the Tölös federation of Turkish tribes (to which the Uyghurs also belonged, § 9, *v.s.*, pp. 196, 266, n. 1) placing them north of the Han-hai and south of the Baikal lake.² In the Orkhon inscriptions the name of Quriqan twice follows on that of Qirgiz.³ This identification is somewhat complicated by the existence in some Muslim sources of the tribal name قون. The chief authority for it seems to be Bīrūnī, see *Tafhīm*, ed. Wright, p. 145: "the Sixth Climate begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kimāk (spelt *Kumak*), and Toghuzghuz, and (in it lie) the Turkoman country, Fārāb, the country of the Khazar, and the northern (part) of their sea".⁴ The Syriac map described by A. Mingana (*v.s.*, p. 182) also mentions at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Climate: "Qarqīr (**Qirgīz*); Qāi and Qūn; the country of the Turks and Mongols". 'Aufī (who wrote after 620/1231) mentions a Turkish tribe مرقه, also called قون, whom the scarcity of grazing grounds forced to leave the country of Khitā. Then they were attacked by another tribe Qāy and went to the land of Sārī.⁵ Thereby further movements were occasioned: the people of Sārī

¹ Not "die zum Teil Mongolstämme sind", as Marquart translates in *Komanen*, 135.

² See *T'ang-shu*, transl. by I. Bichurin, i, 439, cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 87-8. According to Barthold in the later *Yüan-shi* a people *Ku-li* is placed near the Angara river (flowing out of the Baikal). Cf. also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 24, where Yeh-lü Ch'u ts'ai's report is quoted (towards A.D. 1224) saying that the land *Ko-fu-ch'a* was called *Ku-li-han* under the T'ang. Bretschneider thinks that *Ko-fu-ch'a* refers to the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* (?) but the ideas of Chingiz-khan's minister about *Ko-fu-ch'a* (lying north of Yin-du = Hindustan!) have hardly been transmitted accurately. [Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 281, places the *Quriqan* to the east of the Baikal.]

³ Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 98: "Tabghach, Tüpüt, Apar, Apurim, Qirgiz, Üch-Quriqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi"; *ibid.*, 102: "Qirgiz, Quriqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi", cf. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 147. On these

names see now Schaeder, *Iranica*, 1934, p. 39. [In the *Oghuz-nāma* the word *quriqan*, or **qorighan* seems to have the meaning of "tent", see Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, p. 290. One can hardly say whether this word is connected with the tribal name so long as we are not sure of the pronunciation of the first vowel *u/o*. For the abbreviated form **Quri* (<*Quriqan*) the testimony of the *Yüan-shi* is interesting.]

⁴ The same text, evidently borrowed from *Tafhīm*, stands in Yāqūt, i, 33. Cf. Wiedemann, *Geographisches von al-Bīrūnī*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Physikalisch-med. Societät zu Erlangen*, Band 44 (1912), p. 18. It is, however, noteworthy that the names *Qūn* and *Qāy* do not occur in the description of the "Climates" in Bīrūnī's *Canon*.

⁵ Perhaps the Sari-su basin is meant, in the region between the Irtysh and Jaxartes, *v.i.*, § 18. I.Kh., 29, and Qudāma, 206, mention a village of Sārigh 4 farsakhs west of the town of the Türgish-khaqan, *i.e.* probably west of the Chū. As is known the Türgish

went to the Turkoman land and the Ghuz (*i.e.* Turkomans!) into that of the Pechenegs near the Armenian sea (*v.i.*, notes to § 19). After the *Marqa-Qūn* 'Aufī mentions the Khirkhiz who lived between the "aestival east" (*mashriq-i sayfī*) and the Kimāk (living north of the Khirkhiz). There is no doubt that قون and قوری refer to the same people, and Barthold in his edition of 'Aufī's text quotes the variants: قری قون (Br. Mus. Or. 2676) and قون. Marquart adopts the reading *Qūn* and boldly makes it the starting-point of a series of far-fetched hypotheses having in view to prove the identity of the *Qūn* with the later *Qoman* (in Hungarian *Kún*), see *Komanen*, 77₃₀. Linguistically *Qūn* cannot account for *Qoman* which still awaits an explanation. Consequently the reading *Qūrī*, as found in the older source from which both the *H.-'A.* and Gardizī derived their information, and having good parallels in Chinese and Old Turkish sources is preferable in the present state of our knowledge.¹

In Bīrūnī, on the Syriac map, and in 'Aufī the name *Qūn* is coupled with the name of another people قانی (Yāqūt: قانی) which several times occurs in Kāshgharī, whose enumeration (i, 28) of the outer belt of Turkish tribes (running west to east) is as follows: Pecheneg, Qifchaq, Oghuz, Yimāk, Bashghirt, Basmil, Qāy, Yabāqū, Tatār. On the map the Qāy are shown on the left bank of the Yumar (Obi), and south of them are found the Jumul (of the inner [north-to-south] belt of tribes). Further (i, 30) Kāshgharī says that Jumul, Qāy, Yabāqū, Tatār, and Basmil have languages of their own (perhaps dialects?) but at the same time speak good "Turkish". In Chinese sources and the Orkhon inscriptions the name Qāy has not been found and one might suppose that this tribe did not originally belong to the earlier federations (Tölös, Türk, Uyghur). In Kāshgharī's time the Qāy seem to have shifted to the west, perhaps subsequently to the displacement of the *Qūrī/Qūn* of whom no trace is found in the *Dīwān lughat al-turk* composed A.D. 1077.²

As the easternmost Turkish (?) tribe our source regards the *Fūrī* < **Qūrī*. Meanwhile in the description of the provinces of China are found the names: قانی (§ 9, 2*d*) and قوری (§ 9, 2*h*). It is tempting to identify the first of them with قانی (as located in Bīrūnī) and take the latter as a mere repetition

were divided into "Black" and "Yellow" (in Turkish *sarigh* > *sari*) clans. Both *Sari-su* and *Sārigh* may be connected with the latter appellation, the village being probably but a colony of the "Yellow" clans, of whom greater numbers occupied the Sari-su valley(?).

¹ As regards the other appellation of the *Qūn/Qūrī* in 'Aufī, namely قومه (variant: مردمی "a people") which is not found in other sources, one may keep in mind two villages on the Lena (south and north of Yakutsk) called *Markha* and the lake *Marka* [*Marqa*?]-kul (35 ×

15 Km.) lying in the southern Altai, north of Zaisan. The lake could possibly indicate one of the stages in the peregrinations of the **Marqa* tribe.

² Kāshgharī makes a distinction between the *Qāy* and the *Qayigh* (i, 56), the latter being one of the 22 clans of the Oghuz. This distinction was insisted upon by M. F. Köprülü-zade, *Ilk mutasavvifler*, Istanbul, 1919, p. 146. The names have been often confused, and even Yāqūt's قانی (i, 33) reflects **Qayigh* rather than *Qāy*.

of فوری (§ 14, 1.) easily explained in an enumeration made in an opposite direction (*i.e.* east to west). Should this surmise prove acceptable, the rest of the enigmatic "Chinese" provinces (§ 9, 2.) would also have to be explained from Turkish and cognate languages.

2. The town كجك *K.m.jkath*, according to Barthold, may correspond to *Mi-ti-chih-t'o* mentioned as the royal camp of the Qirghiz in the *T'ang-shu*, Schott, *Über d. ächten Kirgisen*, 1865, p. 434. Then our name ought to be accordingly restored as *مكجك. [Idrisī, i, 500, calls the principal river of the Khirkhiz country, *i.e.* evidently Yenisei: منخاز which may be a mis-spelling of the name of the capital.]

3. Judging by the traits of likeness between the *K.saym* (كسيم) and the more westerly tribes, they must have lived to the west of the Khirkhiz proper. A possible restitution of this name would be **Kishtim* (كشتم), a people which was conquered by Chengiz-khan simultaneously with the Qirghiz. Aristov, *Notes on the Ethnical Composition of the Turkish Peoples* (in Russian), in *Zhivaya starina*, vi, 1896, p. 340, sees in them some Turkicized Yenisei tribe (Chinese: *Ting-ling*); in Russian seventeenth-century documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately called Kishtim. [A. Z. Validi reminds me of the Turkish town of کرشم mentioned in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqih, but its whereabouts are not quite clear to me.]

§ 15. The Khallukh

The *T'ang-shu* translated by Bichurin, *Sobraniye svedeniy*, i, 437, and by Chavannes, *Documents*, 85; Tomaschek's review of de Goeje's *De Muur van Gog en Magog*, in *WZKM*, 1889, iii, 103-8; Barthold, *Semirechye*, pp. 14-20; Barthold, *Ču, Issik-kul, Karluk, Türk*, in *EI*.

The original name of the tribe is *Qarluq* (in Chinese transcription *Ko-lo-lu*) but more frequently the earlier Muslim authors use the forms *Qarlukh* and *Khallukh* of which the latter (خَلخ) is very easily confused with *Khalaj* (خَلج < Qalach), cf. § 24, 22. and § 23, 69.

According to the *T'ang-shu* the Ko-lo-lu originally belonged to various clans of the T'u-chüeh. They lived to the north-west of Pei-t'ing (§ 12, 2.) and to the west of the Kin-shan ("Golden mountain" = Altai), astride of the river Pu-ku-chen (Black Irtysh?). Their territory included the mountain To-ta [perhaps Tarbaghatai?], Chavannes, *Documents*, 85, note 4.¹ In the south the Qarluq were the neighbours of the Tu-lu group of the Western T'u-chüeh which lived to the east of the Issik-kul in the Ili basin. In A.D. 742-5 the Qarluq helped the Uyghurs to destroy the federation of the Eastern T'u-chüeh, after which they considered themselves as candidates to the succession of the Western T'u-chüeh (at that time under the leadership of the Türgish clan) and gradually moved westwards. At the time of the famous battle of Talas (133/751) the Qarluq revolted against the Chinese

¹ This fact may explain § 5, 8. (p. 196). Cf. also p. 278, n. 2.

and joined the Arabs thereby securing the latter's victory, Chavannes, *Documents*, 143, 297. Towards 766 the Qarluq occupied Sūyāb (§ 17, 2.) and Talas (§ 25, 93.), i.e. the habitat of the western (Nu-shih-pi) group of the Western T'u-chüeh, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 286, 297.¹ It is very possible that to this initial expansion of the Qarluq refer the two curious passages in Jāhīz (*v.s.*, p. 267) who ascribes the decline of Toghuzghuz valour to the influence of Manichaeism and adds that formerly "the Toghuzghuz excelled the Khallukh even if the latter were in double numbers (*wa k̄nū yataqaddimūna al-Kharlukhiyya wa-in k̄nū fil 'adad ad'āfahum*).²

In Muslim literature two curious reports are found on the earlier events in the Khallukh history. The one by Gardizī, 84, suggesting some contacts between the Khallukh and Yabāghū is still obscure (*v.i.*, p. 288). The other by 'Aufī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 99-100, and Marquart, *Komanen*, 40) is much nearer to the Chinese version: "Another tribe of Turks are the Khallukh. Their habitat lay at the *Yūn.s* mountain which (produces) gold. The Khallukh were the subjects of the Toghuzghuz but having revolted against them invaded the land of Turkistān [perhaps: *Türgishān*?] and some of them came (even) to the lands of Islām. There are nine clans (of them): three *ḡigilī*, three *H.skī*, one *N.dā* (*B.dvā*), one *K.vālīn* and one *T.khsīn*." The name of the mountain ۈنی must stand for *تۈلی, i.e. exactly Altai (Kin-shan) on which see note to § 5, 8.³

When after A.D. 840 the Uyghurs, ousted from Mongolia by the Khirkhīz, occupied the eastern part of the T'ien-shan, they evidently pressed the Khallukh from the east. The struggles in the region between the Ili and Issik-kul must have been carried on with alternate success. Our source suggests that the Khallukh had occupied or recaptured the important town of Barskhān (*v.i.* 11.), but on the other hand lost Jāmghar (*v.i.* 12.).

The Qarluq might possibly have gathered round themselves a new strong federation but for a new move of Turkish tribes led from the south by the Qara-khanids (see § 13). Our source (§ 13, 1.) hints at some previous struggles between the Khallukh and Yaghmā for the possession of Kāshghar. Finally (towards A.D. 943) the Qara-khanid lords of Kāshghar (see § 13) penetrated into the Chu valley (which our author still describes as being in the possession of the Khallukh and Chigil) and invaded Transoxiana. The Khallukh as the rest of the tribes of the region were then merged in the kingdom of the new lords.

Another group of Khallukh, under their own *yabghū* lived south of

¹ In spite of these events several tribes of the latter federation seem to have maintained their independence in various degrees (see notes to §§ 16, 17, and 19).

² *V.i.*, line 16, where 'Aufī's term *Toghuzghuz* most probably refers to the Western T'u-chüeh (= *Türgish*). Qudāma, 262, speaking of the people of Upper Barskhān (who undoubtedly

had belonged to the T'uchüeh), calls them "the bravest among the Turks" and adds that ten of them could fight 100 Kharlukh. But *v.i.* 11.

³ It is noteworthy that in the 13th century a later Qarluq principality still existed north of the Ili (probably near Kopal), i.e. in the neighbourhood of the original Qarluq home, cf. Barthold, *Qarluq* in *EI*. [Cf. p. 94, l. 21.]

the Oxus in Upper Ṭukhāristān, Ṭabarī, ii, 1604. Gardīzi's record of the friendly relations between the Khallukh and the "Hayṭāl of Ṭukhāristān" (see note to § 13) may echo the penetration of the Khallukh into that province; quite possibly the Khallukh themselves established in Ṭukhāristān are understood under the name of their Hephtalite predecessors (in Arabic *Hayṭāl*). Our source (§ 23, 69.) confirms the presence of the Khallukh in Ṭukharistān, and even now the name *Qarluq* survives in one of the Uzbek clans of Northern Afghānistān, cf. Barthold, *Turks in EI* and Kūshkakī [see note to § 24, iva], p. 200 (Shahr-i Buzurg) and p. 203 (Rustāq).

The item on the title of the Khallukh ruler (*jabghū* or *yabghū* يابغر, often mis-spelt يابغر) may have been borrowed from I.Kh., 16, who says that the kings of the Turks, Tibetans, and Khazars are styled *khāqān*, "with the exception of the Kharlukh king (who is) called *jabghūya*". According to Kāshgharī, iii, 24, *yafghū* was a title two degrees lower than *khāqān*.¹

The title *yabghū* (Kāshgharī, iii, 24: *yafghū* < *yapghū*) must be distinguished from the name of the tribe Yabāghū which is placed by Kāshgharī, i, 28 and *passim*, considerably more to the east between the Qāy and Tatār. In Gardīzi's (p. 82) still obscure report on the origin of the Khallukh *Yabāghū* is the nickname² of a man who having run away from the "Turks" (to whom the original Khallukh belonged) came to the land of the Toghuzghuz. The *khāqān* of the latter placed him as a chief over the Khallukh living in his possessions who were accordingly surnamed *Khallukh-i Yabāghū*. Later on a part of Yabāghū's tribe was induced to migrate to Turkistān (**Türgishān*?) and was settled by the *khāqān* of the latter who gave them a *jabūy* (< *jabūya*?).³ Finally the people of Turkistān (**Türgishān*?) rose against the *khāqān** Khutoghlan (خوتلان) who was killed and whose kingdom passed to (the) *Chūnpān* (clan?) of the Khallukh.⁴ The first Khallukh ruler who sat on the throne was Īlmālm.s.n **jabūya* (إلمالمسن جنوبه *sic*). It is likely that under the "Yabāghū Khallukh" are understood the Khallukh who stayed at their original home in the Altai. The migration of some of the "Yabāghū" westwards is supported by the fact that the Ūzgand river "rising from behind the mountain of the Khallukh" (§ 6, 17.) is called *Yabāghū (§ 25, 58.), and Kāshgharī, iii, 27, confirms this name: *Yabāghū-suvī*. This would indicate that the "Yabāghū Khallukh" were settled south of the original bulk of the Khallukh federation on the western headwater of the Jaxartes near the pass leading to Kāshghar

¹ According to the *Chiu T'ang-shu* the T'u-chüeh used to give the title *shê-hu* and *t'e-lê* (which Chavannes, *Documents*, 21, identifies respectively with *jabghū* and *tekin*) to the sons, younger brother, and relatives of the *khāqān*. However, at another place I.Kh., 40, merges the two titles into one: *jabghūya-khāqān*, probably referring to the earlier times, for according to Chavannes, *Documents*,

38, note 5, the kings of the Western T'u-chüeh were called *jabghū-qaghan*.

² *Yabāqū* according to Kāshgharī, iii, 27, means "felted wool" (*al-qarada min al-şūf*).

³ It is possible that the slightly simplified form *jabūya* contained some particular shade of meaning. Cf. Persian *pādshāh* > Turkish *pāshā*.

⁴ Cf. *infra* pp. 300-1.

("to Tibet" according to our author's ideas, § 25, 28.). From § 6, 21. one should conclude that the valley of Yabāghū was already hemmed in by the Yaghmā whose frontier with the Khallukh reached the more northerly Khatlām (*i.e.* Narin) river. The Yabāghū group may have been specially used by the Khallukh as a wedge between themselves and the aggressive Yaghmā (§ 13).

As usual in our source the bearings of the Khallukh territory are quoted as if the author was facing east instead of north. *Grosso modo* the Khallukh occupied most¹ of the Chu basin, both north and south of the Alexandrovsky range,² as well as the region stretching south of the Issik-kul and overlapping the T'ien-shan into Chinese Turkestan along the Aq-su valley. The enumeration begins with the places mentioned under Transoxiana (§ 25, 93.) as the "Gate of the Khallukh". 1.-3. (and 4.?) are situated along the road from the Jaxartes to the Chu basin (north of the Alexandrovsky range); 7.-9. in the Chu valley (?); 10.-12. south of the Issik-kul [12. perhaps much farther east]; 5.-6. and 13.-15. south of the T'ien-shan, the first two lying to the north-east of Kāshghar and the rest on the road connecting the Chu and Issik-kul basins with Kuchā (§ 9, 10.) and the towns of the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 5. 4. 3. 1.). See Map v.

1. 2. Cf. I.Kh., 28, Qudāma, 205-6, and Maq., 275 (the latter with different details). Kūlān corresponds to the present-day Tartī, and Mirkī is still known under its old name. As regards the tribes A. Z. Validi writes to me (17. ix. 1932): "Berish seems to be still in existence; Bystān is perhaps related to *Bwisyān* in the Stambul MS. of Maq."

3. After Mirkī we find here Nūn-kat, whereas under § 25, 93. Mirkī is followed by N.vikath. I.Kh., 29, gives the following itinerary: Kūlān, 4 farsakhs to B.rkī (= Mirkī); thence 4 f. to Asbara (**Ashpara*); thence 8 f. to Nūzkat (var. *Nūnkat*!); thence 4 f. to Kh.r.nj.wān (several variants); thence 4 f. to Jūl; thence 7 f. to Sār.gh; thence 4 f. to the town of the Türgish khāqān; thence 4 f. to Navākat; thence 3 f. to K.bāl (var. *K.nād*); thence 15 days to *Barskhān. So Nūnkat must be distinguished from Navākat, the former lying west of the Chu and the latter apparently east of it. According to Gardīzī, 89, from a place called Tūmkat (تومک)³ started a road running in a south-easterly direction and leaving Issik-kul to the left (*i.e.* north), while (*ibid.*, 102), from a place called N.vikat started a road leaving the basin of the lake to the right (*i.e.* south). Barthold, *Report*, p. 114, simply substitutes the reading نوبک for تومک (and, *ibid.*, 32, identifies N.vikat with Kōk-muynaq), but in view of the facts just quoted this is surely a mistake and one must distinguish between تومک (= I.Kh. *Nūnkat*)

¹ Sūyāb is quoted under § 17, 2.

² Meant under the "Khallukh mountain" from behind which the Parak river (= Chirchik) is said to rise (§ 6, 22.). On the other "Khallukh mountain" (Yasi pass), *v.i.* note to 11.

³ More rightly from the more easterly

Kūmb.rkat. Tomaschek, *WZKM*, 1889, although he did not know Gardīzī, already restored the name of *Nūnkat* as **Tūnkat* or *Tūmkat* in view of the Chinese name of the stage lying 50 li (= 28.8 Km.) east of A-shih-pu-lai (**Ashpara*), namely *Tun-kien*, cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 10.

and نوبك (= I.Kh. نواك).¹ Our author (who did certainly use I.Kh.) says that *Nūnkat* "was a town". But both I.Kh. and Qudāma call *Nūzkat/Nūnkat* simply "large village" (*qaryatun 'aẓīmatun*), while *Navākat* is styled by Qudāma, 206: "a large town (*madīnatun kabīratun*), from which a road leads to Barskhān".² As in our § 25, 93. Mirkī is followed by *Navīkat*, we may suppose that in the present paragraph *Nūnkat* has been given the characteristics of *Navīkat*. Our author, evidently mistaken by the similarity of the two names, simply skipped from Mirkī to *Navīkat* leaving out the places lying to the west of the Chu. If such is the case, the mountain *Ūrūn-Ārj* must correspond to the range forming the watershed between the Chu and Ili. On the eastern side of the difficult Kastek pass (8,470 feet high) by which a road crosses this mountain lies the station *Uzun-Aghach* (اوزون اغاج "the long farsakh, or stage") which provides a very satisfactory correction for the impossible اورون عارج. Gardīzī's report (p. 102) on a mountain in the same region by which the Turks took oath and which they considered as the abode of the Almighty undoubtedly refers to the same range. Ṭabarī, ii, 1593 (year 119/737) confirms that the khāqān possessed near *Navīkat* a mountain and a meadow which formed a forbidden zone reserved for commissariat purposes in case of expeditions.³ See Map vi.

4. غنکیر is obscure. If the interpretation of 5. and 6. is right, it may represent the starting-point of a southern route.

5. and 6. As the *Khallukh* bordered on the *Yaghmā* in the south-west (*v.s.*, p. 278, n. 3), 5. *Tūzūn-bulaq* must be looked for near the Western T'ien-shan. If the *Tūz-kūl* corresponds to the *Shūr-kul* (§ 3, 17.) *Tūzūn-ārj* lay in its neighbourhood. All three names: *Tūzūn-bulaq*, *Tūzūn-ārj*, and *Tūz-kūl* may contain the same Turkish element *tuz* "salt",⁴ whereas a similar element -*ārj* under 3. has been restored by us as **aghach*. In spite of the outward likeness of اورون عارج and توزون عارج it is impossible to identify them in view of the geographical details.⁵ The element *aghach* (*yighach*) "farsakh, stage" is common in Turkish names. Kāshgharī, i, 77: *Ala-yighach*; i, 108 *Qara-yighach*; iii, 118: *Bay-yighach*. [Cf. also note to § 5, 7.]

¹ Very often old Iranian *ē* is rendered alternately by *ی* and *ا*, the latter to be read with *imāla*: *ä*. [*Tūmkat*=*Toqmaq*?]

² The importance of the *Navīkat* results from the facts that it was the seat of a Nestorian bishop, Assemani, *Bibl. orientalis*, ii, 458 (Kasimghar [Kāshghar?] and *Navakath*) and iii/2, p. 630 (Chasimgarah and Nuachet), cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. 179 (2nd ed. ii, 24) and that Manichaeans were particularly numerous in it, *Fihrist*, i, 338: *Nūnkat*, but ii, 125: *Navīkat*. The *Fihrist* has chiefly in view the situation in the early 10th century but it also records the previous emigration of Manichaeans to Turkish lands.

³ The same mountain is also men-

tioned in the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 10: "to the north of the Sui-shih town is the Sui-shih river. At 40 *li* to the north of the river is situated the Kie-tan mountain; there the qaghan of the Ten Tribes (*i.e.* of the Western T'u-chüeh) has the habit of making appointments of the chiefs." Hirth, *Nachworte*, 73, seems to give a better sense: "Hier ist der Ort, wo der Kakhan der zehn Stämme zum Führer erhoben zu werden pflegt."

⁴ I admit that grammatically the form *tuz-un* from *tuz* is not easy to explain. However see Kāshgharī, i, 92, *tolu* "full" and i, 336, *tolun ay* "full moon". [Cf. also p. 195, l. 30.]

⁵ Taking the text as it stands.

7.-9. seem to have been read off a map in a north-to-south direction starting on the right bank of the Chu in the neighbourhood of 3. *Navīkat and following the Chu (upstream!) and then the southern bank of the Issik-kul. Such a purely mechanical system of enumeration cutting itineraries into disconnected sections is frequent in our author (v.i. 13.-15.).

7. Gardīzī, 102, describes a route from Navīkat to the "Chigil and Tūr-gishī", i.e. running from the Chu basin north of the Issik-kul.¹ Gardīzī says that following this road one must travel from Navīkat towards Panjīkat,² close to which lies the village زک. To the left (north?) of this village three other villages are situated: (a) *Sūyāb (the text is not quite in order), (b) حوکیال and (c) دلوغ of which the first and the third lie at the foot of the mountain whereas the lord of the second lives in the steppe. After the third (c) village comes the pass ('aqaba) over the mountain venerated by the Turks.

Gardīzī's text is closely connected with Qudāma, 206. Both are in a very sad state but they mutually complete one another. Qudāma (much more complete than I.Kh., 29, v.s., p. 289) says that the road Navākat-Barskhān goes (first) to B.njīkat (2 farsakhs), close to which (at a distance of 1 farsakh) lies the village called رک.³ At 2 farsakhs from B.njīkat lies Sūyāb to which [cf. the variant السویاب read: *السویاب] belong two villages کال and ساغورکال,⁴ and from the latter the road continues to Barskhān. It is obvious that Sūyāb with its two villages corresponds to Gardīzī's three villages lying "to the left" of Panjīkat. These preliminaries facilitate the explanation of our text, which starts in the north with the village called in Qudāma ساغورکال and corresponding to Gardīzī's حوکیال (and حورکال of the *Mujmal al-tavārikh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20). One of the remaining three villages mentioned together with Kūkyāl (?) ought to be Sūyāb but our author quotes the latter as belonging to the Tukhs (§ 17, 2.). Therefore it is not impossible that both اتلنغ and لولنغ may be two different readings of the same difficult name which Gardīzī transcribes دلوغ. (The *Mujmal*, i.e., mentions a village ائلیغ but the title of its prince suggests its identity with § 17, 3.). See Map vi.

8. بنجیکت and اورکک stand for زک and رک (v.s.). In Gardīzī's text, 102 (lines 16 and 17), the word ار is found twice; the second of these ار is superfluous and may belong to زک (*ibid.*, line 15) < اورکک though رک seems to be an old form for it stands in Qudāma's received text, v.s. 7.

9. As Navīkat had already been mentioned by our author in his west-to-

¹ This route is quoted separately from that starting from Tūmkat and running south of the lake, Gardīzī, 89.

² Entirely different from § 12, 2.

³ Gardīzī enables us to check de Goeje's edition: رک مدعی رک does not refer to the road to Bārskhān but to the village near B.njīkat. Read: مدعی رکک. Qudāma's passage is full of explanatory notes

(formerly written on the margin and later incorporated by the scribes?).

⁴ It is very tempting to associate this —Sāghūr— with the later Balā-Sāghūn. According to Kāshghari, i, 337, sāghūn was the title of the Qarluq nobles. Cf. Barthold, *Balāsāghūn* in *EI*, and his *Vorlesungen*, 81.

east enumeration, Kirmin-kath quite naturally follows on 8. It undoubtedly corresponds to کمرارو which Qudāma quotes immediately before (*i.e.* south or west of) Navikat and to کومرک through which Gardizī traces the road running from Tūmkat to the south of the Issik-kul. It is probable that the two roads leading from Talās to Barskhān separated at this point (see notes to § 16). The name of the tribe *L.bān*, as pointed out by Barthold, looks non-Turkish, but *Mujmal*, *l.c.*, gives the title of the “king of *L.bān*” *Q.tkīn-i L.bān*, probably **Qut-tegin* which is good Turkish.¹ [A possible restoration of the name لَبَان would be اَلْبَان (cf. similar mis-spellings in § 10, 46. and § 17, 1.) *albān*, in Mongol “tribute, service”. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, v, 259, mentions a tribe called *Albāt* (in Mongol *albāt* is a plural of *albān*). Another derivative of the same word is *alpāghūt* or *alpā'ūt* “the subjects, estate-owners”, which occurs in the Russian Annals as well; it is attested as early as the end of the eighth century in the Saka document edited by F. W. Thomas and S. Konow, line 27, where *imjuva* and *adapahutti* should be respectively read **injū* (“the tribe belonging to the chief’s house-hold”?) and **alpaghut* (“the men bound to pay a tribute or to take service”). Our **Albān* would refer to a similar class of men.]

10. Of these two names the first is found in Gardizī on his southern road. Our author drops out the two stages: Jil [explained as “narrow” = Jil-ariq at the entrance of the Buam² defile] and Yār, which Gardizī mentions between Kūmb.rkat (?) and Tūng. Barthold, *Report*, 56, 114, has identified تَنَك with the present-day Ton (< *Tong*) valley, on the southern bank of the Issik-kul. The name undoubtedly refers to one of the four sons of the legendary Turk: Tūng (**Tong*), Chigil, Barskhān, and Īlāq as enumerated in the *Mujmal al-tavārikh*, *Tabāqāt-i Nāsirī*, tr. Raverty, 872, and Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 9 (quoted in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 19).

11. This Upper (*i.e.* farther distant) Barskhān³ is to be distinguished from the Lower (*i.e.* nearer) Barskhān which, according to I.Kh., 28, lay at 3 farsakhs east of Ṭarāz (Maq., 275: only at 3 *ṣiḥa*, each equal to half a farsakh). The situation of the Upper Barskhān had been much discussed, though the road leading to it from Farghāna and described in I.Kh., 30 (Qudāma, 20)⁴ was rightly explained by Tomaschek.⁵ I.Kh., 29, and Qudāma, 262, describe the northern road leading to Barskhān from the Chu valley. Gardizī and the *H.-'Ā.* complete these data and describe a third route along the southern bank of the Issik-kul, see Barthold, *Report*, 32, and our notes to § 15, 3., 7-9., and § 16. On the fourth road from Barskhān to the South over the T'ien-shan, *v.i.* under 15. According to

¹ See it used as a personal name in Gardizī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 41 (?).

² The official Russian “Buam” is said to be a mis-spelling for *Ulam* (?).

³ The reading of the name Barskhān (and not *Nūshjān*) was already clear from the *Mujmal* (*v.s.* 10.) which after Tūng (**Tong*) names another son of Turk:

Barskhān. The name is confirmed by Kāshgharī, iii, 308: *Barsghān* (*sic*).

⁴ Qubā-Ōsh-Ūzgand, then 1 day to the 'aqaba (Yasī pass leading into the Narin valley); thence 1 day to Atbash (*At-bashi*, in the Narin basin); thence 6 days to Barskhān.

⁵ *V.s.*, p. 286, l. 25.

Qudāma, 262, the Upper Barskhān (or rather its district) consisted of 4 large towns and 5 small ones.¹ The fighters of Barskhān, 20,000 strong, lived in the town situated on the bank of a lake surrounded by mountains. Our source leaves no doubt that the lake in question is the Issik-kul. Tomaschek placed Barskhān in the Barskaun valley drained by a river which flows south-west into the Narin. However, both Qudāma and the *H.-'A.* are positive in placing the town in the basin of the Issik-kul, *i.e.* north of the Barskaun watershed, most probably near the present-day Przhevalsk (Qara-qol). As the Barskaun valley begins close to the southern bank of the lake it may have received its name from Barskhān simply because it led up to this town. This would find a parallel in our § 25, 58., where one of the two rivers of Ūzgand is called *Barskhān* and is said to come from the Khallukh country. This eastern river of Ūzgand can be only the one coming down from the Yasi pass (I.Kh., 30, *al-'aqaba*) which forms the watershed between Ūzgand and the Narin valley. On the other Ūzgand river (**Yabāghū*), *v.s.*, p. 288. This short stream is very remote from the presumed position of Barskhān and it could have received its name only because the road to Barskhān from Farghāna followed it up to the pass (I.Kh., 30). Our author only says that the dihqān of Barskhān was a Khallukh. Gardīzī, 90, gives him the title of مع (**M.n.gh*) which Barthold compares with the name of the Turkish [Soghdian!] ambassador *Μαριάχ* found in Menander, see *Fragm. histor. graec.*, iv, 225, but this seems doubtful. One would rather think of the title *manaf* (منف) common among the Qirghiz. The *Mujmal* calls the king of Barskhān *tabīn*. [See Appendix B.]

12. *Jāmghar, as the name and description shows, must be the westernmost (?) of the "Five Villages" lying north of the "Tafqān" mountain (§ 12, 2.). Following the order of enumeration in the present paragraph Jāmghar lay east of Bārskhān at the extreme limit of the Khallukh territory. Tentatively one would place it in the region of Manas. Jāmghar, isolated from the later possessions of the Khallukh, may have been their outpost at the time when they lived south of the Altai (*v.s.*, p. 286).

13.-15. After Jāmghar, lying east or south of Barskhān on the Toghuzghuz frontier, our author seems to return to Barskhān from the south-east by the road starting from the Toghuzghuz country. Following his habit he splits that road into political sections and quotes K.msīghiya, S.tkath, and Ark under the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 3.-5.), and Kuchā under China (§ 9, 10.). Skipping all these stages he now starts with B.nchūl (which Gardīzī, see note to § 12, 3., mentions between Kuchā and Barskhān) and then mentions Aq.rāq.r and Ūj (of which Kāshgharī, i, 329, says that the Badal-art, *i.e.* Bedel pass, separated it from Barsghān). That 13. B.nchūl was more remote from the main territory of the Khallukh is shown by the fact that it had first belonged to the Toghuzghuz and that at the moment to which our source refers it was occupied by some Khirkhīz. On the other

¹ See Idrīsī, i, 495: "ville . . . forte, entourée de bonnes murailles et c'est à que la majeure partie des Turks qui

habitent la contrée viennent se réfugier et se procurer les objets dont ils peuvent avoir besoin."

In his earlier *Semirechye*, p. 9, Barthold identified B.nchūl with the town of Aq-su, evidently on the ground of some phonetic resemblance of the names: *B.nchūl* and Chinese *Wen-su*. Here is the abstract of the original Chinese itineraries (from the *T'ang-shu*, &c.) quoted in Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 8-10: 60 li west of Kucha the river Pai-ma-ho was crossed; 180 li farther the stone desert of Kū-p'i-lo was entered and after another 120 li the town of Kū-p'i-lo reached. Thence 60 li to A-si-yen; thence 60 li to Po-huan (also called *Wei-jung*, or *Ku-mo* district). Thence in the north-western direction the middle course of the Po-huan river was crossed; thence 20 li to Siao-shih, thence 20 li to the river Hu-lu of *Yü-chou; thence 60 li to "Ta-shih also called Yü-chou, or also district of Wen-su"; thence 30 li north-west to Su-lou-fêng; thence 40 li to the Po-ta-ling, *i.e.* Bedel pass.

These then were the reasons for Barthold's hypothesis on the identity of *Üj* and *B.nchül* which, however, goes counter to our text. In his recent note in *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, p. 133, Pelliot takes exception even to the eventual connexion of the names *B.nchül* and *Wen-su* for the latter in older times sounded **Uən-sjuk* with final *k*). This consideration makes, however, no insuperable difficulty for ج in the *H.-'A.* and Gardizī may stand for *جوك **B.nchūk* (a very usual confusion in Arabic script).

¹ Yāqūt, i, 397, also confirms that Ūj belonged to the Khallukh.

³ From Uch-Turfan to Aghacha-qul where the ascent only begins there are 78 versts (= 83 km.), see Kuropatkin, *Kashghariya*, 1879, p. 306. [On a similar uncertainty of distances in the Chinese itinerary from Aq-su to Kāshghar see Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 839.]

Then, so far as the text of the *T'ang-shu* is available in Chavannes's translation, *o.c.*, 9, it seems to suggest that *Ta-shih* or *Yü-chou* at that time was the centre of the Wen-su district, but the situation might have been different both at the earlier periods and at the time to which our author refers.¹

Our 15. Üj (lying in the mountains) remains the firm point and certainly corresponds to Uch-Turfan. It is followed by 14. اوارق which, if read **aqar-aqar*, could mean in Turkish something like "watershed" (usually: *aqar-baqur*) and refer to a divide between the Khallukh and their neighbours. More probably the name is distorted. Following on Üzgand, Balāsāghūn, Qochqar-bashī, Barskhān, At-bashī, Ordū (= Kāshghar), and Yārkand, Bīrūnī, *Canon*, quotes at the very end of the 6th climate:

	long.	lat.
Üj	99°20'	45°0'
احمه	100°40'	43°30'
بارمان	101°40'	44°15'
كحانه	102°20'	44°50'

Of these the second (and the southernmost) is said to be the *qasaba* of Khotan and the fourth must refer to Kuchā. In any case *Bārmān must be placed to the south-east of Üj. Kāshgharī, iii, 272, says: "يُنْكَو (Yüngü?) is the name of a large river flowing past the township (*bulaida*) of Bārmān built by Afrāsiyāb's son² on its bank." In view of these two authorities it is not impossible that in Idrīsī's usually inaccurate text باخوان stands simply for بارمان. Jaubert's translation, i, 491, runs as follows: "Bakhwan . . . est une ville dépendante du *Toghuzghuz et gouvernée par un prince appartenant à la famille du khāqān de cette contrée. Ce prince a des troupes, des places fortes et une administration; la ville est ceinte de fortes murailles; il y a des bazars où l'on fait toutes sortes d'ouvrages en fer avec une rare perfection; on y fabrique aussi diverses espèces de ? [three words left out by Jaubert].³ Bakhwan est bâtie sur les bords d'une rivière qui coule vers l'orient. . . De Bakhwan à *ŷ.rm.q*⁴ on compte 4 journées. . . De

¹ To quote a parallel: *Zeitsch. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xx, 1885, p. 75, recording the contemporary changes in Chinese administrative terminology states that the tao-t'ai of Aq-su had under his authority four districts: *Wen-su chou*, i.e. the territory of Aq-su ("engeres Stadtgebiet von A."), *Kucha*, *Kharashar*, and *Wu-shih-ch'êng*, i.e. former Uch-Turfan.

² The person in question is certainly Bārmān, brother of Pirān, son of Visa (Ṭabarī: *Vēsaghān*). The two brothers were only commanders in Afrāsiyāb's army. Pirān was the prince of Khotan. See *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, 338, ii, 58, iii, 564, 573, 584, Ṭabarī, i, 600 and 610,

and Tha'ālībī, *Ghurār akhbār mulūk al-Furs*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 206.

³ MS. arabe 2222 of the Bib. Nat. in Paris, fol. 120v. reads at this place: يصنع بها من الحديد (الحديد؟) كل غريبة من جميع الصنائع من انواع العود و (*) الحار (النجارة؟) وغير ذلك. Consequently the specialities of *Bākhwān* were objects in iron and wood. The former were exported as far as Tibet and China. Idrīsī adds that round the town lay the fields and pastures of the Turks, and in its mountains musk deer were found.

⁴ Cf. § 13, 3. The distances in Idrīsī are usually too short.

Ḥrm.q à Barskhan la supérieure 10 journées." I presume that our *B.njūl* and امارق, as well as *Bārmān* and *Bākhwān* must somehow refer to the same locality which can be identified with the neighbourhood of Aq-su.¹ But which Aq-su? The "New Town" (*Yāngi-shar*) of Aq-su lies at some 6 Km. from the left (northern) bank of the important river after which it is called and which must be Kāshgharī's *Yūngü*. Another Aq-su lies also near the left bank of the river upstream from *Yāngi-shar*. Finally to the north-east of these two towns, on the *Qizil-üstäng* (left tributary of the Aq-su now not reaching the latter), there is a *Kone-shahr* "Old Town", see Sir A. Stein's map in *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912. On Map 23 which accompanies the same author's later work *Serindia*, 1921, the *Old Town* is not indicated, but to the west of the *Qizil-üstäng* is found *Pāman-üstang* of which the name strongly reminds one of our *Bārmān* [local Turks drop *r* before a consonant, e.g., *apa* < *arpa*, see G. Jarring, *Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre*, Lund, 1933, p. 114]. Therefore our 13. and 14. may correspond to different avatars of Aq-su. *Kone-shahr* (as well as the *Pāman-üstang*) lie nearer to the mountains and thus better satisfy the conditions of our 14., while for 13. we must maintain a situation to the south or to the east of 14. The reading of our **B.nchūl* (*B.nchūk*?) and its origin cannot yet be finally settled, though, in view of the considerations presented above, the possibility of **B.nchūk* < *Wen-su(k)* cannot be discarded. Gardīzī does not mention our 14. and it must have been borrowed by our author from another source which can be traced also in Bīrūnī (cf. § 10, 41., § 11, 9., &c.). Kāshgharī relied of course on his personal information.

With regard to this section of the road connecting Barskhān with Aq-su, Kuchā, and Chīnānjath, Gardīzī, 91, *infra*, one must also consider Gardīzī's passage, 90 *supra*, on the T'ien-shan passes: "To the right (*i.e.* the south?) of Barskhān there are two passes, one called Bayghū (*Yabghū) and the other ازار Azār (cf. note to § 12, 5.); and the river called T.f.skhān flows eastward to the limits of China. And this pass (Yabghū?) is very high so that the birds coming from the direction of China cannot fly over it." Kāshgharī, iii, 23, also mentions a village and a pass of Yafghū in the neighbourhood of Barsghān. One of the two passes must stand for the Bedel pass and as Kāshgharī separately speaks of *Bādāl-art* and *Yafghū-art* one must conclude to the identity of ازار with بدل (palaeographically the former may be a mere mis-spelling of the latter). The Yabghū pass would then be either the *Janart* or *Muzart* pass, and more probably the *Janart* which lies in the Kok-shaal-tau (in Central T'ien-shan) to the east of the *Bādāl-art* near the source of the Aq-su river, while the *Muzart* lies much farther to the east and only indirectly (through the Ili basin) connects the Issik-kul with Chinese Turkestan. The name of the river تفسخان can be best restored as *تفشخان *Taghushkhan*² > *Taushqan* (in Turkish "hare"), in which case it is the important western affluent of the Aq-su along which the road leads up to the Bedel pass. Consequently the name of our

¹ See note 4 on page 295.

² Or *Tawushkhan*, see the Index!

* *Yabghū*-pass refers to the original *yabghū* of the Khallukh inside whose possessions it lay on the road from Barskhān to the Aq-su region.¹

[*Additional note.* Our *ارافر* most probably stands for *بارمان* attested in two independent authorities (Bīrūnī and Kāshgharī) and confirmed by the present-day name of *Pāman-üstāng*. The explanation of the name from the *Shāh-nāma* is fantastic but it confirms its pronunciation by the Muslims and may merit more attention than the Chinese *Po-huan*. The question is how the form *باخوان* got into Idrīsī's compilation. Does it attempt to reproduce the Chinese form, perhaps on the authority of the mysterious Jānākh b. Khāqān al-Kīmākī whom Idrīsī quotes among his sources (cf. Jaubert, i, p. xii)? In the latter case, why did the son of a Turkish chief use a Chinese (?) form distinct from that current among the Muslims of the eleventh century? After all *باخوان* may be a mere mis-spelling of *بارمان* (the group *-رما-* having been wrongly transcribed as *-حوا-* if the original *ر* was written too closely under *ما*). [See also Appendix B.]

As regards the exact relation between *Wen-su* (= our **B.nčūk*) and *Yü-chou* (= our *Ūj*) the question is perhaps not so much of their phonetic identity as of their belonging to the same historical site.]

§ 16. The Chigil

Barthold, *Semirechye*, 90; *Türk in EI; Vorlesungen*, 75.

The real form of the name *چگل* appears from the Persian popular etymology (*in chi gil?*) quoted in Kāshgharī, i, 330. The name often occurs in Persian poetry, see *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 3149, iii, 4131; Hāfiz, ed. Brockhaus, i, 318, says: *ba-mushk-i Chīn-u-Chigil nīst bū-yi gul muhtāj*.

Our author's data on the Chigil are scarce and contradictory. In § 16 the Tukhs (whose centres lay on the northern bank of the Chu) are placed east (?) and south of the Chigil, but in § 17 west (*sic*) and south of them; under § 3, 18., the author says that the Issik-kul separated the Chigil from the Toghuzghuz.² The fact that some Khirkhīz are mentioned west of the Tukhs and north of the Chigil is evidently to be explained by the wrong conception of the Tūl.s mountains (§ 5, 8.).

Gardīzī has two passages on the Chigil. P. 89: "The road³ to (Upper) Barskhān from Tūmka goes to Kūmb.rkat (which lies) on the Chigilī road; thence to Jīl which is a mountain and the explanation (*tafsīr*) of *jīl* is "narrow" [Buam defile through which the Chu flows]; thence 12 farsakhs to Yār which is a village turning out 3,000 men and in it are found the tents of the Taksīn's Chigil⁴ among whom there are no villages (*ābādānī*). To

¹ I have finally given up my first idea that T.f.skhān reflected the name of the Tekes river (left affluent of the Ili flowing to the east of the Issik-kul.)

² Cf. Kāshgharī, v. i. and § 17. Under § 6, 5. our author confuses the Issik-kul with the Balkhash.

³ For the beginning of the passage v.s. note to § 15, 3.

⁴ MS. *چگل مکین*, restored by Barthold as *چگل تکین* which means "the Chigil of the taksīn" rather than "the taksīn of the Chigil" (cf. *taksīn-i Jigil*, as the *Mujmal al-tavārikh* calls the king

the left of the road lies the lake of Isigh-kul &c.” This text ought to be immediately followed by the description of the “road to the Chigil and Türgish” which through some misunderstanding is given only on p. 102. The description starts at Navīkat (*v.s.*, note to § 15, 3.) which was the next stage to the east of Kūmb.rkat,¹ the latter evidently being the point from which the two roads separated: the one “to Barskhān” passing south of the lake and the other “to the Chigil and Türgish” north of the lake.

On the situation on the right bank of the Chu (west of the Kastek and Kurday passes) some light is thrown by the following list of rulers which will be examined in more detail under § 17, 2.:

	<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>Mujmal</i>
Navīkat	?	Khāsakī
B.njīkat	Kūlb.qār	Kūl.nqān.sh
Z.kāt	separate dihqān	?
Sūyāb	Bayghū's brother	Y.lān-shāh
Khūtikiyāl	B.ghlīla (a Türgish)	M.ghlīgha

The situation behind the mountain, *i.e.* east of the Kastek pass, is described by Gardīzī as follows: “When you have crossed the pass, to the left of it (*i.e.* the road?) lies the country of Turkestān (**of the Türgish*) consisting of the Tukhs and *Az. There lies a village turning out 1,000 men. Close by lies a village Bīgligh where the **jabūya*'s brother lives. . . . Five hundred men mount with him, and if necessary 1,000 men. In the neighbourhood lies a village whose dihqān of local origin (از آنجا راست) is called B.dān-Sānkū (or Dān-Sānkū); (the village) turns out 7,000 men. And near this pass (Kastek or Kurday?) there is a river (*āb*) beyond which appear the Chigil (and their) tents and felt huts.” [Cf. Appendix B.]

A close study of these two texts shows that both slopes of the watershed evidently belonged to the subdivisions of the Türgish (§ 17) and only beyond a river² lay the region of the nomadic Chigil whose other group is mentioned south of the Issik-kul round Yār; the latter region, according to our author, would rather belong to the Khallukh zone of influence, but we must not forget that the nomad tribes of the same Turkish origin could live in great promiscuity mindless of the *chassez-croisez* movements which such state involved.

Kāshgharī, i, 330, 354, mentions the Chigil in three places: the nomad Chigil (as well as the Tukhsī) lived near the township of Quyās (**Quyash*) lying beyond Barsghān and watered by the two Keykān rivers flowing into the Ili, *ibid.*, iii, 132, *v.i.*, p. 301, note 4. Quyash (“Sun” in Turkish) is supposed to have lain on the left bank of the Ili; in Mongol times it was the

of the Chigil). If our explanation is right the tents in question belonged to some of the taksīn's subjects and not necessarily to the taksīn himself.

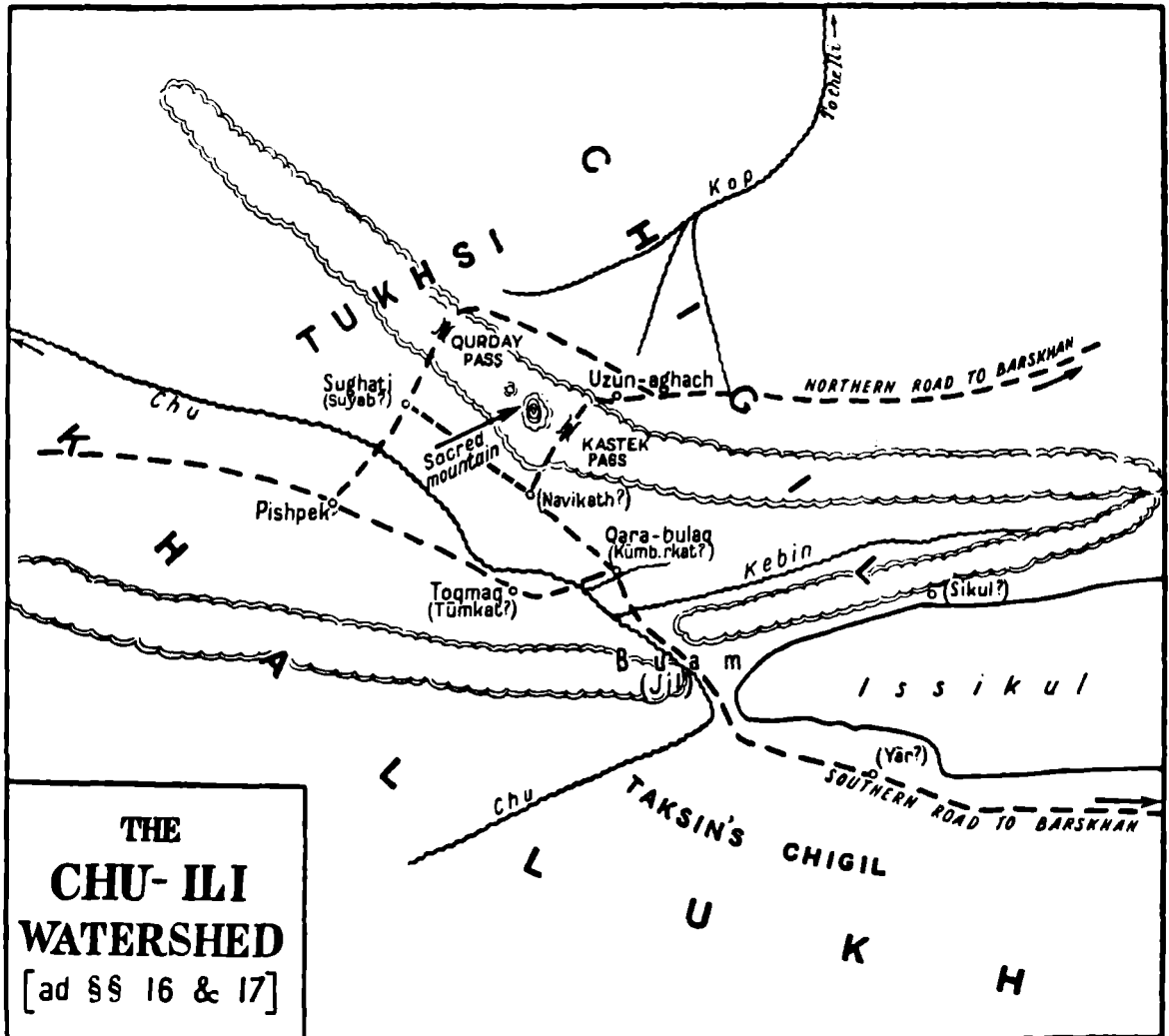
¹ Qudāma, 206, quotes كرمروا (= Gardīzī's Kūmb.rkat) immediately before (*i.e.* to the west of) Navākat

(**Navēkat*).

² This river flowing to the east of the pass and consequently belonging to the Chu basin can be either the Uzun-aghach, or the more easterly Almatā on which Verniy stands.

camping place of Chaghatay, see Juvaynī, *GMS*, i, 226–7, Barthold, *Otchet*, 66. Another group of the tribe lived in the township of Chigil, near Tārāz (Talas), cf. Maq., 274,¹ and a third one in the villages of the same name near Kāshghar.

Map vi



Under the Qara-khanids the Chigil tribe formed the main body of their troops, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 317. Therefore probably Kāshgharī, i, 330, says that the Ghuz used to call "Chigil" all the Turks between the Oxus and Upper China.

1. The town Sīkūl (**Isik-kul*) stood probably on the northern bank of the lake, where the *Carta Catalana* (A.D. 1375), too, places a town Yssicol, and where an Armenian monastery seems to have existed, see Barthold, *Issik-kul*, in *EI*. It must be borne in mind that in the north the lake is separated from the Ili basin by a double range of mountains, Kūngey and

¹ Kāshgharī records a legend claiming that originally the name *Chigil* belonged to this town.

Ala-tau, between which flows the Great Kebin, a right tributary of the Chu. This valley situated between the town and the chief seats of the tribe was also presumably in Chigil occupation. The line of communication of the town with the clans living to the south-west of the Issik-kul must have followed the western bank of the lake.¹

§ 17. The Tukhs

Barthold, *Semirechye*, 16-18; *Otchet*, 31; *Die alttürkischen Inschriften*, 18; *Türk*, in *EI*.

Gardizī and Kāshgharī spell the name *Tukhsī* and it is possible that our *Tukhs* has been formed on the analogy of such plurals and singulars as *Khirkhīziyān* < *Khirkhīz*, *Khallukhiyān* < *Khallukh*, ergo *Tukhsiyān* < *Tukhs*! It is not clear whether the original name is of Turkish origin. In an early Soghdian letter (second century A.D.) presumably the same name appears in the form of *Txs'yč* **Tukhsīch* in which the ending *-īch*, or *-ch* must represent the Iranian suffix of origin. The text, Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriften*, Heidelberg, 1931, ii, 53 and 59, refers to *Txs'yč βntk*, i.e. to a slave whose personal name was T.khsīch or to a T.khsīch slave.

According to our author to the north and east of the Tukhs lived the Chigil, to their south the Khallukh, and to their west a group of the Khirkhīz (on which see § 5, 8. and § 14). All these bearings must be taken with the usual reserve, *v.s.*, pp. 270, 289. Further details show that in our author's opinion the Tukhs lived chiefly on the northern bank of the Chu (intermingled with the Khallukh) and on the eastern slope of the mountain separating the basins of the rivers Chu and Ili.

The point of interest of the Tukhs is that they evidently were the remnants of the great Türgish federation. The Türgish (in Chinese *Tu-k'i-shih*)² were one of the five clans composing the Tu-lu group of the Western T'u-chüeh. One part of the Türgish lived in the Ili valley and the other to the west of the Ili, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 271. Towards the end of the seventh century the Türgish Wu-chih-lê spread his power to the west and is said to have possessed two residences, one north of the Ili and the other on the Chu, *ibid.*, 43, 77, 282. A much more important man was the Qara-Türgish Su-lu who may be regarded as the restorer of the Western Turkish power. In A.D. 716 he proclaimed himself khāqān of the Türgish, *ibid.*, 44, 81-6. The Arabs nicknamed this doughty opponent of theirs Abū Muzāhim, Ṭabarī, ii, 1593, Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 187, Gibb, *Arab conquests*, pp. 60-85.

¹ On the other hand, apart from the great Issik-kul lake, there are two small lakes and a locality of the same name in the hills to the south-east of Almata (Verniy), see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan*, p. 777. These lakes (called by the Qirghiz *Jasil* "green") lie at the altitude

of resp. 5,450 and 5,866 feet and can serve only as a summer camping ground.

² For the pronunciation *Türgiŝ*, cf. F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica* ii, 1911, p. 95, and O. Hansen, in *Jour. Soc. Finno-ougrienne*, xlv/8, 1930, p. 20: *twrkyŝ* (in Soghdian).

In 738 Su-lu was assassinated by the lord of the Yellow Türgish called Kül-chur (Ṭabarī, ii, *passim*: *Kūr-şul*). After a period of troubles¹ the Qarluq (towards 766) extended their power to the Chu valley and subjected both the Black and Yellow Türgish, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 46, 85.

The advent of the Qarluq meant not only the passage to them of the political leadership but undoubtedly also the occupation by them of the better pasture lands. However, the tribes of the Türgish federation could not be destroyed; some of them migrated westwards (§ 19), but some maintained their more remote haunts and probably even enjoyed some autonomy.² I.Kh., 31, still knows the Türgish tribe and, p. 29 (= Qudāma, 206), places the town of the [former?] Türgish khāqān³ at 4 farsakhs to the west of Navākat. In the tradition going up to Balkhī (*i.e.* in Iṣṭ. and I.H.) the Türgish are no more mentioned (perhaps in view of the fact that they were comprised under the Kharlukh and Ghuzz), but the authors depending most likely on Jayhānī (*i.e.* in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī) include some additional details on the destinies of the Türgish. As suggested by Barthold and Marquart, in several passages in Gardizī (81₂₅, 84₁₆, 102₂₃) one must read *Türgishān* instead of *Turkistān*. The paragraph on the Khallukh (see notes to § 15) contains the story of how the Khallukh came to live on the territory of the Türgish khāqān and how the power finally passed to them. In the paragraph on the Yaghmā (see notes to § 13) Gardizī tells how the latter were exploited by the khāqān (of the Türgish) as an offset against the Khallukh, Hayṭāl, and Kimāk. Finally, in the description of the route to the "Chigil and Türgish" (see notes to § 16) Gardizī mentions in the Chu valley two (?) dihqāns of Türgish origin and says that to the east of the [Kastek or Kur dai] pass lies the country of "the Türgish (who consist) of Tukhsī and اربان". A parallel of the second of these names is found only in the *H.-'Ā.* (*v.i.* 1) while the first (Tukhsī) is known to the *H.-'Ā.* (the whole § 17 is devoted to them), to the *Mujmal al-tavārikh* (the king of حنين **Tukhsī* (?) is called *Qūtegin*, cf. *supra*, p. 292), to 'Aufī (who includes them together with Chigil, &c. in the Khallukh federation, *v.s.*, § 15), as well as to Kāshgharī. It is curious that the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī who know very little about the Ili (§ 6, 5.) speak of the Türgish and Tukhsī only in the neighbourhood of the Chu, whereas Kāshgharī, whose ideas of the Chu (iii, 305, 307: *Shū*) are vague, mentions, i, 85 and 342, the Tukhsī tribe (*qabila*) on the Ili, where according to him it lived together with the Yaghmā tribe and a clan (*tā'ifa*) of the Chigil.⁴

¹ On the fate of Kūr-şul the Arabs and Chinese give different reports, see H.A.R. Gibb, *o.c.*, 91. [Cf. *supra*, p. 288.]

² According to the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 85-6, apart from the tribes subjected by the Qarluq some tribes joined the Uyghurs; a certain T'ê-p'ang-lê became *yabghu* of Qarashar (§ 12, 10.) and the rest of the tribes (200,000 men strong) retained their independence in

the Kin-so mountains (according to Chavannes, north of Urumchi?).

³ مدينة خاقان التركى (var. التركى). Ṭabarī, ii, 1613, strangely transcribes the name with *q* الترقشى. Perhaps this place is identical with Sui-shih = Toq-maq (?).

⁴ See also *ibid.*, i, 28 (in a north-to-south enumeration: Chigil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā); iii, 129: Quyās (**Quyash*?) is

1. East of the watershed range Gardīzī mentions "the Türgish (consisting) of Tukhsiyān and ارمان". Our author evidently takes the Tukhs for the successors of the Türgish and the latter's name no more occurs in the *H.-'A.* Of the لازنه and فراخيه who are mentioned as the clans of the Tukhs the first most likely represents the same name as ارمان; لازنه (as well as its companion فراخيه) reflects an Arabic form (*لازنية) while *ازيان *Aziyān* gives the name in Persian garb (cf. *Tukhsiyān*, *Khallukhiyān*, &c.). A name beginning with an *l* is unlikely in Türgish; therefore *لازنية must be further improved into *الازنية *al-Aziyya*.¹ Already in his earlier *Semirechye*, 15, and *Die alttürkischen Inschriften*, 18, Barthold compared this name with the one found in the Orkhon inscriptions where the combination *az budun* occurs in two different meanings: "a small people" (1, E29) and "the people of Az", as is particularly clear in the following passage (1, N2): *az budun yaghi qaldī; qara-költä sünüšdimiz . . . Kül-tegin . . . az-eltäbärig tutdi; az budun anda yoq qaldī*. "the Az people proved to be in revolt; we fought at the Qara-kül lake . . . Kül-tegin captured the *eltäbär* of the Az; on this occasion the Az people was broken (annihilated)". This interpretation has been accepted by Radloff, Melioransky, and finally by Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 154. It makes clearer the other passage which comes earlier in the inscription (1, E19) and refers to the revolt of the Türgish qaghan and its repression; immediately after it stands an unfinished sentence in which Bilgä qaghan says: "in order that our ancestors' land should not remain lordless [I] organized the Az people (*az budunigh itip yaratip*)".² This quotation is particularly interesting as it establishes as it were some link between the Türgish and their Az successors.³ [*budunigh*—definite accus.!]

On the other hand, according to the Chinese sources, Chavannes, *Documents*, 67, 271, 307, there were two divisions of the Türgish: *So-ko Mo-ho* and *A-li-shih*. One knows also the fatal struggles between the Yellow and Black clans of the Türgish, *ibid.*, 83–6. As the Yellow clans were descendants of *So-ko*, their Black rivals (to whom the famous *Su-lu* belonged) might be identical with the group called *A-li-shih*, though of course the line of clan scissure could be more complicated! Our لازنه *لازنية might perhaps have a connexion with *A-li-shih* in which case Gardīzī's **Aziyān* would be due to the wrong treatment of initial *al-* (as in *al-Lān* < *Alān*) taken for the Arabic article. This supposition is, however, less probable

the country of the Tukhsī and Chigil; to it belong three castles: *Säbligh Q.*, *Urung Q.*, and *Qara Q.*

¹ Cf. § 10, 46. الجز for لجز.

² Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, 148, seems to hesitate here between "Az people" and "small people" but the former is better as preparing 1, N2. Cf. also, *ibid.*, 1, E20, where the organization of the Az [and?] Qirghiz peoples is mentioned. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 37, compares the Az who "oft [?] V. M.]

zusammen mit den Kirgizen erwähnt werden" with the "Yenisei Ostiaks" who call themselves *Kott* or *Assin*, but this hypothesis going counter to the association of the Türgish and Az is not conclusive.

³ The meaning of the passage 1, E38 mentioning a dignitary called *az tutuq* in connexion with another war with the Türgish cannot be discussed here. See Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung*, p. 34, Melioransky, *o.c.*, 124.

in view of the fact that the representation of the Black clans could be better associated with the other name *قراجه* easily restored as **Qarājiya* < *Qaraja* or *Qaraji*. In the Orkhon inscriptions (I, E38) the Qara-Türgish are specially mentioned.

2. In Ṭabarī, II, 1594, Sūyāb is quoted as the starting-point of the expedition of the khāqān Abū Muzāḥim (*i.e.* the Türgish Su-lu), and connected with Navākat and the sacred mountain situated near the latter. According to Gardīzī (see note to § 15, 7.) Sūyāb belonged to the group of three villages of which one (*Khūtkiyāl*) is distinctly said to have a Türgish lord (*va ū Türgishī-st*). With regard to the dihqān of Sūyāb Gardīzī's text is out of order unless the passage *و دهقان او برادر بیغو باشد با کسی او* be restored as: *va dihqān-i ū barādar-i *yabghū bāshad *va ū Türgishī-st*. The last four words would then run exactly as in the case of *Khūtkiyāl*, and this would be further confirmed by the inclusion of Sūyāb in our § 17 dealing with the Tukhs (regarded as the remnants of the Türgish). *Bayghū* as a personal name is possible but here the reference is rather to a rank and *bayghū* in Arabic script is a constant mis-spelling for *yabghū*. It must be remembered, however, that this title is usually associated with the Khallukh (cf. § 15) and not with the Türgish (cf. also *infra* 3.). The number of warriors in Sūyāb (20,000) greatly exceeds that given in Gardīzī (500), and possibly our author roughly sums up the forces of all the villages enumerated by Gardīzī on the way to the Chigil (25,300).

According to Gardīzī the Sūyāb group of settlements lay to the left (*i.e.* north) of Navākat, evidently on the right bank of the Chu. This Muslim *Sūyāb*¹ cannot be identical with the Chinese *Sui-shih* which the *T'ang-shu*, *§c.* mentions on the road from the present-day Chinese Turkestan to Ṭarāz (Talas). It lay to the south of the Chu river (whereas the sacred mountain Kie-tan lay beyond the river at a distance of 40 *li*); Chavannes, *o.c.*, 10, identifies this town *grosso modo* with Toqmaq. Cf. also Barthold, *Otchet*, 31 and *Christentum*, 9 (not very clear). The archeology of the Chu valley is still in a rudimentary state and only systematic excavations will bring certainty in identifications.

3. According to Gardīzī this village lay to the east of the watershed range, perhaps on the river Kop which is the north-westernmost of the Ili headwaters and rises on the eastern side of the Kurдай pass. The details can be tabulated as follows:

	<i>H.-'A.</i>	<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>Mujmal</i>
name	Bigliligh	Bigligh	Athligh (?)
prince	*Yinal-beg-tegin	brother of the <i>j.nūba</i>	Yinal-tegin
forces	3,000	500 to 3,000	?

¹ Barthold, *Semirechye*, 18, identifies it with Qara-bulaq, but if by the latter is meant the stage lying near the Great Kebin on the road from Toqmaq to Jil-ariq this position does not suit Gardīzī's indication ("to the left" of the road). I should suggest for Sūyāb a position in

the direction of the Kurдай (*qurday* "pelican") pass over which the Russian wheel-road crosses the mountain and which lies north of the Kastek pass. [See on the Map VI the position of the Sughati station.] [As *yāb* < *āb* means "water", *Sū-yāb* = "the Chu canal"?]

Gardizī omits to give the title of the prince and only indicates his family relations to some *جنوبه*,¹ as he also calls the lord of Sūyāb (*v.s.* 2.) *bayghu*'s brother. Both these forms may reflect the same title *yabghū* and indicate that Sūyāb and Bigliligh were under the control of the same family. In our source both places are quoted under Tukhs (= Türgish) and we are placed before an alternative: either the Türgish-Tukhs rulers enjoyed a title similar to *yabghu/jabghu* of the Khallukh, or Gardizī introduces some later data suggesting the gradual absorption of the Tukhs by the Khallukh.²

The alternative Soghdian name of Bigliligh indicates the presence there of a Soghdian colony, cf. Barthold, *On the Soghdian and Tokharian languages* (in Russian) in *Iran*, 1926, i, 35. Our Bigliligh looks entirely different from the five villages also inhabited by Soghdians and also ruled by a Bek-tegin, but mentioned (§ 12, 6.) under Toghuzghuz.

4. According to the order of enumeration this village ought to be the easternmost of the Tukhs possessions. Gardizī speaks of a village lying in the neighbourhood of Bigligh whose dihqan *B.dān Sāngū* was of "local" origin. This would suit our description according to which the village only lay "between" two Tukhs villages. However, the number of its warriors (7,000) is in sheer contradiction with our author's statement. The alternative is to take our *Ūrkath* for a repetition of *Ūzkath* (§ 15, 8.).

§§ 18-22. The north-western Turks

After the description of the south-eastern Turks our author begins the series of the more northern tribes. He proceeds east to west and, more especially, §§ 20-22, refer to the Ural region. This system explains some important points in our text (see § 22).

§ 18. The Kimäk

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 79, 340; Marquart, *Komanen*, 89-113, 171-2, 205, and *passim*; Barthold, *Kimäk* in *EI*; V. P. Semenov (editor), *Kirgizskiy kray*, SPb., 1903, with Map (vol. xviii of *Rossiya. Polnoye geograf. opisaniye*). [Marquart, *Die Iki Imäk*, in *Ostas. Zeit.*, 1920, viii, 293-6.]

The legend quoted by Gardizī, 82-3, shows that the Kimäk were supposed to have separated from the Tatār. The eponyms of the original seven clans were: Īmī, Īmāk, Tatār, Bayāndur, Khifchāq, *Nilqāz,³ and

¹ The same form *j.nūba* (**jabbūya*) stands in Gardizī, 82_o, as the title of the first Khallukh chief who succeeded to the last (Türgish) khāqān. Just before, 82_o, the title given to the Khallukh ruler is spelt *جنوبی*. On the different forms of *yabghū* see Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 247, *Wehrōt*, 143, *Provincial capitals*, 10: the Middle Persian text gives *Yabb(ū)-*

khakān. Cf. also Armenian *Jebu-khak'an*. [*V.s.* note to § 15.]

² The latter assumption would contradict our emendation of the text **va ū Turgishī-st*.

³ So instead of *L.niqāz*; the clan Nilqaz is still known among the Shāh-sevān of Sāwa; see Minorsky, *Sāwa* in *EI*.

Ajlād (?). Our source seems to suggest that there were eleven divisions of the tribe.¹ The name Kimäk (to be pronounced Kimäk), according to Marquart, is an abbreviation of *Iki-Imäk* "the two Imäk" (probably with reference to the first two clans of the federation). Kāshgharī no longer knows the Kimäk, but only the *Yamäk* (**Yimäk*), of whom he says, iii, 22, that "with us they are (considered as) Qifchāq, but the Qifchāq Turka consider themselves as a different group (*hizb*)"; this statement shows that the process of regrouping the remnants of the Kimäk federation had already been accomplished under the leadership of the new influential tribe, the Qipchaq (§ 21).

It is no easy task to locate the Kimäk territory. The confusion and fluctuation of our sources may reflect some historical displacement of the habitat of the tribe or the seasonal movements of its clans from the winter quarters (*qishlaq*) to the summer pastures (*yaylaq*), cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 162 and 101. The chief geographical error of the source common to our author and Gardizī was that not knowing the lower course of the Irtish, it presumed its junction with the Volga in the region where the left affluents of the former and the left affluents of the latter almost dovetail into one another. Consequently the Ishim, too, flowing inside the supposed bend of the Irtish was thought to flow westwards and confused with some of the rivers disemboguing into the north-eastern corner of the Caspian. Finally, it is possible that Gardizī who is our chief authority for the route to the Kimäk has amalgamated several variants of the itinerary.

As regards the frontiers our source says that the eastern neighbours of the Kimäk are the Khirikhiz (confirmed under § 14), whereas 'Aufi (cf. note to § 14), locates the Kimäk north of the Khirikhiz. In fact, with the Kimäk, our author, too, launches on the description of the northernmost belt of Turkish tribes: Kimäk, Ghüz, Pecheneg, Khifchakh, and Majgharī, and we shall see the important conclusions to be drawn from this arrangement with regard to the location of the Majgharī (§ 22). That the "Artush" and the "Ätil" are placed south of the Kimäk only means that the Kimäk lived beyond these rivers. [Moreover *آتل* at this place may be a simple misunderstanding for *اسس/رس*.]² The bearing of the Khifchākh and the Northern lands, both located "to the west of the Kimäk", must be taken as meaning north-west. All seems to indicate that the principal territory of the Kimäk lay in Western Siberia, north of the Irtish, say up to the Obi.³ Gardizī says that the land of the Kimäk is very cold and that in winter their horses are taken to the place *ارکناغ* (*Ük-tagh*) in the country *عراق* (perhaps *اغراق*, cf. note to § 12, 17.). On the other hand (§ 5, 19.), a mountain, apparently the Ural, is said to stretch "between the end of the Rūs frontier and the

¹ Or twelve if the khāqān had a clan of his own.

² See however note to § 6, 43. on the Volga rising from the Altai (!).

³ On Kāshgharī's Map the rivers (from south to north) *Ilā*, *Art.sh*, a nameless river, and *Y.mār* are represented as

emptying into a lake. The *Y.māk* (*Yimäk*, a clan of our Kimäk) are shown on the left bank of the *Art.sh*, and the *J.m.l* and *Qāy* on the nameless river. *یمار* **Yumār* = Obi, cf. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 96.

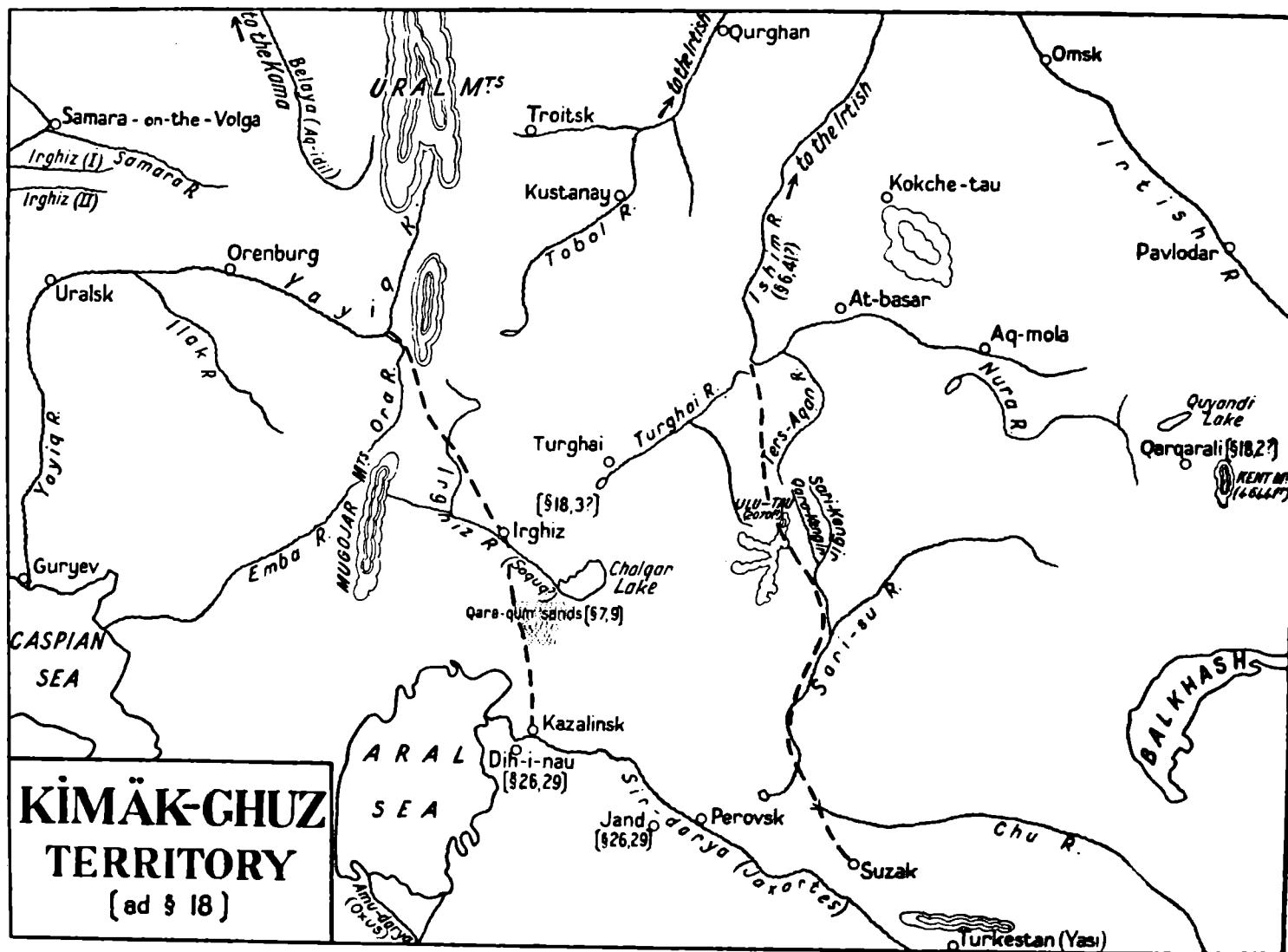
beginning of the Kimäk frontier", which evidently means that the two peoples adjoined the opposite extremities of the range without being direct neighbours of one another. This may indicate that the Kimäk (or at least their Khifchäkh branch, § 21) extended, at some time, to the southern part of the Ural. The raiding activities of the Kimäk covered a still larger area, for under § 12, 10. J.mlikath, in the Toghuzghuz country is mentioned as exposed to their attacks.

In § 6, 42. the Artush is described as flowing between the Ghūz and the Kimäk, but in § 18 the Ghūz are not mentioned among the immediate neighbours of the Kimäk, though the latter are said to visit in winter the country of the former. This last detail may explain Maq., 274, where, in the enumeration of the dependencies of Isfijāb (§ 25, 84.), Saurān (= § 25, 90. Šabrān) is said to be a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the Ghuzz and the Kimäk, and Sh.ghl.jān a frontier post in the direction of the Kimäk. According to these indications, in the second half of the tenth century the region along the right bank of the Jaxartes also bordered on the Kimäk territory.

Passing now to the roads leading to the Kimäk we must register, in the first place, the indication of the earlier I.Kh., 28, and Qudāma, 209, who make Ṭarāz (§ 25, 93.) the starting point of the route to the residence of the Kimäk king. The position of the first stage on the road (کراکت, or کویکت), and consequently the initial direction of the route, are still dark, but Qudāma, 205₁₀ and 262₁₆, distinctly says that to the left, *i.e.* north of the road Ṭarāz-Kūlān lies a sand desert which stretches up to the territory of the Kimäk. The fact that the traveller before setting out from *Kuvēkat had to lay in stores of food (I.Kh.) for a journey lasting 80 days also suggests a northward direction through the steppes. In any case the road to the Kimäk ran entirely separate from that linking up Ṭarāz with the Semi-rechye, see notes to §§ 15-17 and § 25, 93. The itinerary of Mis'ar b. Muhallil, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 79, and that of Idrīsī, Marquart, *Komanen*, 111-12, are very confused and still of no practical help. The only detailed description of a route to the Kimäk is found in Gardizī, 83. It started from an entirely different point (some 850 Km. to the north-west of Ṭarāz as the crow flies) and its successive stretches were as follows:

- a. from Pārāb (spelt باره, cf. § 25, 88.) to Dih-i Nau (§ 26, 29.);
- b. a river and the sands called اولوقمن (or اربولقمن) are crossed;
- c. the river سفوق (or سفوق) is crossed beyond which begins a salt desert (cf. § 7, 81.) leading up to the K.ndāv.r-tāghī (§ 5, 12.);
- d. the wooded banks of the "same" river (S.qūq) are followed up to the source of the river which rises from the large mountain K.ndāv.r;
- e. from this mountain the road, for 5 days, descends through woods to the river اسس (§ 6, 41.) of which the waters are black and which flows from the east to the Ṭabaristān (Caspian) sea;
- f. from the Asus to the following river ارتش (§ 6, 42.) where the Kimäk frontier begins. This river is large and its waters are black.

Marquart, *Komanen*, 205, takes سفوق for the Sarī-su, which flows from



north to south and disappears in the sands to the north-east of the town of Perovsk; he identifies *Kundāvar with the Ulu-tau and the اسس with the Ishim *ايشيم and finally traces the road to the Ir̄tish ارتش in the direction of Pavlodar. This is a very ingenious suggestion. The identification of K.ndāv.r (perhaps *Känd-ür for *Kändür*) with the Ulu-tau ("Great Mountain", cf. § 5, 12.) which is a prominent land-mark (2,070 feet) is very tempting. Moreover, the names of the two sources of the Sari-su coming from this mountain: Sari-Kängir and Qara-Kängir have some remote likeness to *Kändür.¹ However, we must bear in mind the fact that the starting-point of Gardīzī's route is Dih-i Nau = Yāngi-känd = Qaryat al-ḥadītha which lay near the present-day Kazalinsk, some 280 Km. downstream from Perovsk! To follow the Sari-su there would have been no need to descend the Sir-darya to the neighbourhood of its estuary. If we accept Gardīzī's initial point we must rather trace the route northwards of Kazalinsk, taking the first river (*b*) for the Irghiz, and the *Suquq (*c*) for the Turghay;² having crossed the latter the road would follow its western (right) bank to its source; the K.ndāv.r would be the watershed between the Turghay and the western elbow of the Ishim, where the two rivers come very near to one another; beyond the Ishim the road, probably still following the course of this river, would reach the Ir̄tish. This alternative suggestion has a considerable disadvantage in the fact that the watershed between the Turghay and Ishim is formed by insignificant heights (northern continuation of the Ulu-tau) and I do not know how to conciliate Gardīzī's data unless by supposing that in his description he somehow merged the data belonging to two different roads to the Kimāk. In the present state of our knowledge we should not easily sacrifice the identification of the K.ndāv.r with the Ulu-tau.³

Until now we have proceeded on the supposition that ارتش stands for the Ir̄tish, contrary to the description of the course of the *Asus* in Gardīzī, and of the رس and ارتش in our author, where these rivers are represented as

¹ *V.s.*, note to § 5, 12. Near Qarqarali (§ 18, 2) stands the peak of Kend (4,644 feet), but it is difficult to fit in Qarqarali into our route. [For *K.ndāv.r v.i.*, p. 324, and the Russian and Georgian family name Кандаур-ов]

² [As in Abul-Ghāzī's text (*v.i.* 3) ارغز ساوق designates the Irghiz-Turghay region, *Sāvuq* evidently refers to the Turghay river which is not otherwise mentioned in this detailed enumeration. It is very tempting to compare the name *Sāvuq* "cold" with Gardīzī's سوق which already Marquart interpreted as a Turkish word for "cold". In this case the probability of my explanation of Gardīzī's itinerary (as running along the Irghiz and Turghay rivers) is con-

siderably increased.]

³ Semenov, *o.c.*, 354-5, mentions a road connecting Atbasar situated on the Upper Ishim (still at *circa* 450 Km. from the nearest point of the Ir̄tish) with the Ulu-tau (*circa* 400 Km.), and then running in a southern direction to the village of Suzak lying to the east of the Jaxartes, more or less in the direction of the ancient Tārāz (another 625 Km.). Some 50 Km. to the south of the Ulu-tau are situated three tombs of the 19th-century Khans of the Qazaq (*i.e.* "Qirghiz" according to the terminology used before 1917). This Atbasar-Suzak road is a very interesting parallel to the "Kimāk road", at least as described by the earlier geographers.

flowing *westwards*. In this latter case the two rivers would eventually be the Ilāk and the Yayiq (see notes to § 6, 41. and 42.) and the route should be imagined as running north-westwards.¹

1. 2. "Andar az Khifjāq" formed evidently the north-western march of the Kimāk territory, while Qarqarkhān (?) was the southern march of it. If the words about the Irtysh flowing "between" the Kimāk and the Ghūz are not to be interpreted too strictly, one may think of Qarqarali, lying in a mountainous region south of the Irtysh, and *circa* 350 km. to the SW. of Semipalatinsk. In the translation (*v.s.* p. 100) I tentatively interpreted the term as "Cis-Khifchaqia", but if *az* replaces here an *idāfat* the term may mean "The inner (part) of Khifchaq". [Cf. *H-Ā*, fol. 32₁₃].

3. The location of Y.ghsūn-yāsū depends upon the identification of the two rivers. The real Irtysh and Volga lie too wide apart. Moreover in § 18, 3. ائل, through a graphic mistake, may stand for the river mentioned in § 6, 41.

[*Additional note.* The complex يفسون ياسو to some extent resembles the names of the two northernmost peoples known to the Muslims respectively as يوره (or يوغره) and ويسو (or ايسو), see references in Marquart, *Arktische Länder*. In Bīrūnī's *Canon* the two peoples are mentioned at the very end of the table of co-ordinates, after the 7th climate. بلد السر (read: *بلد ايسو) has the caption: "the Bulghārī trade with them", and the other people is described as follows: *ghiyād Yūra wa hum mutawahhishūn yutājirūna mu'āyanatan* "the forests of the Yūra, who are wild and trade by bartering the objects placed on sight".

The *Wīsū* are usually identified with the Finnish Ves' (see note to § 44), and the *Yūghra* with the Ugrian Ostiaks and Voguls (*v. i.*, § 22).

In the year A.D. 1216 Khwārazm-shāh Muḥammad led an expedition against Qadir-khan, leader of the Qanqli.² Gūzgānī, as available in Raverty's translation, p. 267, says that he "penetrated as far as *Yighur of Turkistān*, so far to the north that he came under the North Pole and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear at all from the sight", &c. The passage is evidently inspired by the stories about the northernmost lands which since Ibn Faḍlān's report (*Yāqūt*, i, 755-6) were current among the Muslims.

Whether the Khwārazm-shāh really went so far north is another question. Of the authors speaking of the same campaign Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 9, mentions on this occasion ماء ارغر "river Īrghiz", and Juvaynī, i, 101, speaks of the Qara-qum occupied by the Qanqli (قراقم که موضع)

¹ On the source of the possible confusion of the routes, *v.s.*, p. 305, line 11.

² Br. Mus. Add. 25. 785 (fol. 145a) *which I read: ki bi-sar-i *Qanqliyān-i Tatār būd*. The Qanqli were closely associated with the Qipchaq, cf. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 114 and 116. The latter formerly belonged to

the Kimāk federation which according to Gardīzī included a Tatār division (to be distinguished from the later Mongols!). Therefore the combination of names in Gūzgānī is quite plausible. On the connexion of Qadir-khan with the "Yimāk" cf. Raverty, p. 1097.

اقامت قنقلیان بود and of two rivers قیج and قلی. Nasawī's *Īrghiz* cannot be one of the more northern *Īrghiz* rivers flowing to the Volga downstream from Samara; in Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 10, Shīban's *ulus*, of which the western limits were the Yayīq and the Sir-daryā, comprised both the *Īrghiz-Savvuq* and the *Qara-qum* which must respectively correspond to the names quoted by Nasawī and Juvaynī and refer to the same locality.¹

One thing is certain, namely that some connexion existed towards the end of the twelfth century between the Qifchaq (of whom the Qanqli were probably a clan) and some tribe called *Yighur* or *Yughur*. In a document of 578/1182 emanating from the Khwārazm-shāh's chancery, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 370, (and texts i, 79) the Khwārazm-shāh records the submission of Alp-Qara اوران with all the Qifchaq tribe, adding that he sent to the king's camp his eldest son with a large number of یوغور زادگان (var. یوغور اذکان). Very probably another reference to the name is found in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, where describing the Black and White Irtish flowing to the Caspian (v.s., § 6, 42.), he remarks that on them lay the kingdom of کماک بیغور. Instead of Marquart's restoration **Kimāk-yagbhuy* (going counter to Gardizī, 83, who calls the chief of the Kimāk *shad-tutuq*) I should restore this name as **Kimāk-Yighur* (بیغور) and compare it with Guzgānī's یغور² and the یوغور just quoted.

According to Mas'ūdī's text this was the name of a Kimāk territory, or of a Kimāk division. The expression *Yūghūr-zāda* (= **banū Yūghūr*) is in favour of the latter supposition. Some confusion on the part of our author is of course possible but it is certain that this Kimāk tribe had nothing to do with the northern *Yūghra*.

The fact that our یغسون یاسو is described as lying between the Ātil (**Asus*?) and Irtish (Artush) is reminiscent of the natural conditions described in the *Murūj*, i, 213, and at least our § 6, 42. is identical with one of Mas'ūdī's rivers. The first element یغسون can very easily be improved into یغور (the *و* may have been mis-read from a longish joint between *غ* and *و*). More difficult is یاسو. As in Turkish *yası* means "broad, wide", could it have stood here for "a plain"? The fact is that *Yası* is attested as the name of a town on the Yaxartes since at least the twelfth century, see Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, p. 141.]

4. very probably یماکیه **Yimākiya*? For the distance of 80 days see I.Kh., 28, who counts from Tārāz to کویک 7 farsakhs and thence 80 days to the residence (*maudī*) of the Kimāk king, *ditto* in Qudāma, 209, 262.

5. Dih-i Chūb (§ 6, 42. and 43. *Dih-i Chūbīn*) "the Wooden Village"; on its position, v.s., § 6, 43. Mis'ar b. Muhallil speaks of the town of the Ghuzz built of stone, *wood*, and reeds.

¹ The Qara-qum sands lie to the south-west of the Chalqar lake into which the *Īrghiz* disembogues.

² Raverty does not give the Arabic spelling of *Yighur* which he found in

some of his MSS. but seeing that in the Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 26. 189 (fol. 129b) and Add. 25. 785 (fol. 145a) stands یغور تا بقهر (?) ترکستان . . . برفت one would think that the original had **Yighur*.

§ 19. The Ghūz

Houtsma, *Die Guzenstämme*, in *WZKM*, ii, 1888, pp. 219–33; Barthold, *Ghuzz* and *Türk* in *EI*; *An Historical Sketch of the Turkmen People* (in Russian), in a volume by several authors *Turkmeniya*, Ashqabad, 1929 [quoted: *Turkmeniya*], 5–69; *Vorlesungen*, 101; Marquart, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 10, 24; *Komanen*, 25–6, 34, &c.; A. Z. Validi, *Meshhed-skaya rukopis' Ibn al-Faqih*, in *Bull. Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, 237–48; Köprülü-zade Mehmet Fuat, *Oğuz etnolojisine dayir tarihi notlar*, in *Türkiyat mecmuasi*, Istanbul, 1925, i, 1–20.

§§ 19–22 describe a special group of northern “Turkish” tribes adjoining the Ural region. See **Map vii**.

The Ghūz (Arabic transcription *Ghuzz*) as their name suggests were a part of the people called *Oghuz* in original Turkish sources (*v.s.* notes to § 12, and Kāshgharī, i, 56–8). The infiltration of Turkish (*Oghuz*) tribes in the direction of Transoxiana and Khorāsān began before Islam: the steppes in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea were occupied by the Turks probably in the sixth century A.D. (prince Šul of Dihistān, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 73, Barthold, *Turkmeniya*, pp. 12–13); on a similar early migration of the Khalaj see note to § 24, 22. An important movement of the Ghūz (*Oghuz*) was caused by the Qarluq occupation of the territories previously possessed by Western Turks (*Türgish*), see note to § 17. According to the *T'ang-shu* the Qarluq transferred their residence to the Chu valley after A.D. 766, and in a remarkable passage explaining the origin of the Ghuzz of the Balkh region who captured Sulṭān Sanjar, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 117 (year 548/1153), says: “Some historians of Khorāsān have given much more definite data about them. They say that these Ghuzz came over to Transoxiana from the region of the marches (*var.* ‘from the Toghuzghuz country’), from the remotest Turkish (lands), in the days of the caliph Mahdī (A.D. 775–85); they accepted Islam and helped al-Muqanna', the doer of miracles of jugglery, until his end came. When the army marched against him they abandoned him, as they were wont to do in every kingdom in which they were. Such used to be also their practice with the Khāqānian kings but the Qarluq punished them and expelled them from their seats.” Though this passage refers chiefly to the Balkh Ghuzz, the disruption of the Western T'u-chüeh must have occasioned many similar migrations.¹ Later the Ghūz were chiefly known under the name *Türkmän* of which the most likely interpretation is that offered by Jean Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, 1921, p. 326, according to which *Türk-män* is formed with the “augmentative” suffix *man/män* having in Turkish an intensifying or aggrandizing sense (*qoja-man* “huge”); according to this theory *Türkmän* would mean something like “Turk *pur sang*” or in Italian “Turcone”.²

¹ It is also characteristic that the Russian chronicles specially apply to the Ghuz (*Oŭŭ*) the name *Tork* < *Türk* connected with the T'u-chüeh. Cf.

Aristov, *Zametki*, in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1896, p. 312.

² This explanation fully agrees with the story quoted by Barthold from

Our author represents the Ghuz country as stretching, roughly speaking, between the Irtish, the Volga, the Caspian Sea, and Transoxiana. In § 6, 42. he says that the Irtish (Artush) down to the Wooden Village (§ 18, 5.) separated the Kimäk from the Ghūz, but he adds (§ 18) that in winter the Kimäk visited the Ghūz territory.¹ Gardīzī, 107, also places the Kimäk country beyond the Irtish but without any reference to the Ghūz. It is difficult to see how the Volga could constitute the frontier of the Ghūz both in the west and *north* (?) but it is clear from § 50 that the Khazar had very little control over the territories beyond the Volga, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 49, positively mentions the Ghuzz raids across the Volga when the river freezes over. A similar (but clearer) definition of the Ghuzz territory is found in Iṣṭ., 9, who places it between the Khazar, the Kimäk, the Kharlukh lands, the Bulghār, and the Islamic lands along the line Jurjān (Gurgān)–Fārāb–Ispijāb.

The historical situation in the steppes stretching between the Irtish and Volga is still insufficiently known. On the way from Gurgānj to the Pechenegs running west of the Aral Sea Gardīzī, 95, omits to mention the Ghuz but he does not mention any other tribe either. On the other hand, Ibn Faḍlān, who in the spring of A.D. 929 travelled approximately the same way from Khwārazm to Bulghār, found the Ghuzz in the region between the Ūst-yurt (plateau between the Aral Sea and the Caspian) and the river Jām identified by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 246, with the Emba.² Beyond the Jām the traveller found the Bāshghurt patrols.

In § 19 the author says that the Ghūz have many chiefs and possess no town, forgetting that under § 26, 29. he mentions Dih-i Nau on the Jaxartes as the winter residence of the Ghūz king. The source of this latter passage may be common with that of I.H., 393. Ibn Faḍlān, see A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 245, styles the king of the Ghuzz *yabghū* and his viceroy *kūdārkin* (?).

The source of the characteristics of the Ghūz is uncertain. Gardīzī, 81, who has no special chapter on the Ghūz, only mentions their eponym *غ* and says that the original rain-stone was in their possession. Our author omits this detail, but perhaps his item on the power of the “doctors” (*i.e.* Turkish sorcerers *qam*) is somehow connected with this story. According to Mis'ar b. Muhallil, in Yāqūt, iii, 448, the rain-magnet (*ḥijāra wa hiya maghnātīs al-maṭar*) belonged to the Kimäk.

§ 20. The Turkish Pechenegs

V. G. Vasilyevsky, *Byzantium and the Pechenegs* (in Russian) in the author's *Trudi*, SPb., 1908, i, 1–175; P. Golubovsky, *The Pechenegs, Torks,*

Juvaynī, cf. printed edition, ii, 88 (where *Ilak-Turkmān* must be substituted for *Ilak-Trkān*); cf. also Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, p. 8510.

¹ In Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, the Ghuzz are placed on the Black Irtish

and the White Irtish, though the latter is described as the territory of the **Kimäk-Yīghūr* (*v.s.*, p. 310).

² Abul-Ghāzī, p. 92, has *چ* for the Emba.

and *Polovtsi before the Mongol Invasion* (in Russian) in *Kiev. Universit. Izv.*, 1883-4 (not found in London or Paris libraries); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 63; Marquart, *Komanen*, 25-6, 98-9, &c. A short survey in English is given in C. A. Macartney, *The Pechenegs*, in *The Slavonic Review*, viii, 1929, pp. 342-53. J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, in *Bib. Orient. Hungarica*, ii, Budapest, 1932 (inscriptions found on vessels dating, as it appears, from the beginning of the tenth century; the author attributes them to some princes of the Pechenegs, who shortly before that time settled in the present-day Hungary, and it is curious to read in Gardīzī that the Pechenegs possessed numerous gold and silver vessels). D. A. Rasovsky, *The Pechenegs, Torks, and Berendeys in Russia and Hungary* (in Russian), in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1933 (concerns later times; very complete Russian and Hungarian bibliography).

§§ 20 and 22, as well as 43-4 and 48-52, find close parallels in the respective chapters of I.R., Gardīzī, Bakrī, and 'Aufī who all depend on one principal source and vary only in details.

Our author speaks of the Pechenegs in two chapters: under § 20 is described the old Pecheneg country and under § 47 their new habitat. Taking his information from two distinct sources he presents the two consecutive stages of the Pecheneg peregrinations as existing simultaneously.

The fullest presentation of the facts is found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37, which Marquart, *Komanen*, 25, calls the "basis of the historical ethnology of Southern Russia". The Byzantine author says that the seats of the Πατζανακῖται were first between the Volga ('Ατήλ) and Yayīq (Γεήχ, the "Ural river") where they had for neighbours the *Majars (Μαζάρους)¹ and the Oghuz (Οὔζ). Fifty-five years before the composition of the book (written A.D. 948)² the Khazars and the Oghuz simultaneously attacked the Pechenegs and drove them out of their country, which was occupied by the Oghuz. The Pechenegs settled in a new country (namely that formerly occupied by the Magyars)³ from which the distances were as follows: 5 days both to the Khazars and the Oghuz, 6 days to Alania (cf. § 48), and 10 days to Mordia (cf. § 52). In chap. 42 of his work Constantine explains that at a later date (after the expulsion of the Magyars from Atelkuzu, § 22) the Pecheneg possessions extended from a place opposite Distra⁴ on the lower Danube to Sarkel (a Khazar fortress on the Don). These events of the end of the ninth century are known to Iṣṭ., 10, who says: "A tribe of Turks called Bachanāk (Pecheneg)

¹ Cf. Ibn Faḍlān on the Bāshghurt = Majghār, *v.s.*, p. 312, line 19.

² In 889, according to *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*. Cf. Németh, *o.c.*, p. 48.

³ More precisely the region which Constantine calls Λεβεδία and which must be located somewhere north of the Azov sea, its river Χιδμός *alias* Χιγγουλούς being sometimes identified

with the Chingul (?) river flowing into the Molochnaya. The Magyars moved to the country called *Atelkuzu* ("between the rivers"?) stretching between the Dniepr and Sereth. A new advance of the Pechenegs made the Magyars move across the Carpathians into their present land (shortly before A.D. 900).

⁴ Distra = Durustulum = Silistria.

having been ousted from its land settled between the Khazars and Rūm. Their place is not their ancient home, but they have come to it and occupied it." In our author the seats of the Pechenegs near the Azov Sea are described under § 47, and in that connexion we shall have occasion to examine 'Aufi's interesting text on the further migrations of the tribes.

Our § 20 undoubtedly has in view the situation before A.D. 893 (or 889). It is true that Const. Porph., *o.c.*, admits that until his own time (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν) some of the Pechenegs (τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν) stayed on under the Ghuz, but according to our author the Turkish Pechenegs were at war with their neighbours which shows that they were still independent. This is still clearer from the parallel text of Gardīzī who uses the same source. He describes the Pechenegs at the zenith of their power possessing herds, horses, precious vases and girdles, battle-trumpets in the form of bulls' heads, and plenty of arms. Gardīzī, 95, describes a road from Gurgānj (in Khwārazm) to the Pechenegs which touched the Khwārazmian mountain¹ and left the Aral Sea to the right. After a journey in the desert, where water was found only in wells, on the tenth day a more pleasant country was reached with springs and abundant game. The whole journey to the Pechenegs took seventeen days. Their country stretched for 30 days and their neighbours were: towards the east the Qipchāq, towards the south-west (at 10 days' distance) the Khazars, and to the west the Slavs (*sic*). This picture is entirely different from what Ibn Fadlān as an eye-witness found in 922. He met the Pechenegs to the south of the river جح (A. Z. Validi: **Jayikh* = *Yayiq*) and he opposes their poverty (undoubtedly a result of the events of A.D. 893) to the wealth of the Ghuzz. A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, p. 246, thinks that these Pechenegs belonged to the class of nomad "proletarians" (*jataq*) adding that they, too, shortly after crossed the Volga in a westerly direction.²

Our author considerably embroils the description of the Pecheneg frontiers. He does not say that their lands reached the Uninhabited Northern Zone, but the comparison with the Kimāk country shows that the Pechenegs lived in a very cold region. Under § 44 it is said that east of the Rūs lay the Pecheneg mountains under which only the Ural mountains or their (western) spurs can be understood.³ Under § 6, 43. the Itil downstream of Bulghār separates the Turkish Pechenegs from the "Burṭās" by which, owing to some mistake, our author (see § 51) usually means the Volga Bulghārs. In our § 20 the Burṭās and Barādhās are mentioned to the south of the Pechenegs. In § 19 the Ātil (Volga) forms the western and northern frontier of the Ghūz while according to § 20 the western neighbours of the Ghūz were the Turkish Pechenegs. Did, then, our author think that the Pecheneg territory somehow stretched from the Urals down to the right (western) bank of the Volga? Still more embarrassing is § 6, 45.,

¹ *i.e.* the *Chink* of the Ūst-yurt. Bakrī, 42, places the mountain at 10 farsakhs from Gurgānj.

² But *v.s.*, Const. Porph., *o.c.*, cap. 37.

³ At its northern and southern extremity respectively the Rūs and the Kimāk were supposed to live, cf. § 18.

according to which the enigmatic Rūtā river (flowing westwards!) rises from a mountain on the frontier between the Pechenegs, Majgharī, and Rūs. Such an involved idea would be comprehensible to some extent only if the author imagined that the Pechenegs and Majgharī, or a part of them, were found to the south-west of the great bend of the Volga (in the region of Kazan).¹ The Rūtā was evidently considered as the frontier between the Pechenegs and Rūs (cf. § 42).

It is curious that neither in § 20 nor in § 50 are the Turkish Pechenegs and the Khazars explicitly considered as neighbours, though from Const. Porph. we know that the Pechenegs were ousted from their former seats by the concerted action of the Ghuz and Khazar. Gardīzī's text (*v.i.*) is also clear in this respect.

§ 21. The Khifchākh (Qipchaq)

Marquart's *Komanen* is a special study on the origin and destinies of the Komans-Qipchaqs; though containing a prodigious mass of rare materials and many valuable suggestions it remains in the author's own words, p. 206, only spade-work ("Pionierarbeit"); cf. important critical remarks by Pelliot in *Jour. As.*, avril 1920, pp. 125-86, and by Barthold, *Russ. istor. zhurnal*, vii, 1921, pp. 131-56. See also Barthold, *Qipčaq* in *EI*, A. Bruce Boswell, *The Kipchak Turks*, in *The Slavonic Review*, vi, 1927, pp. 68-85 (popular article), and D. Rasovsky, *Polovtsi*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, vii, 1935, pp. 1-18 (to be continued) with a very good European bibliography [part ii, *ibid.*, viii, 1936, pp. 19-40].

The name *Khifshākh* < *Khifchākh*, *Qipchaq* is already attested in I.Kh., 31. The Russians called the Qipchaq *Polovtsi* (from половый "yellowish, fallow") to which name in western languages correspond the terms: *Pallidi*, *Falones*, *Valani*, *Valwen*, &c. This group of names has no correspondence in Muslim literature.² Another name under which the Qipchaq were known in the Byzantine empire and Western Europe is *Κόμανοι*, *Comani*, *Commani*, which is also found in Idrīsī, who (perhaps quoting from a European source)³ calls the Qipchaq القمانين and their land قمانية (Jaubert's translation, ii, 395, 399, &c.). The identity of all these appellations is clear from Rubruquis (Paris, 1839, p. 247): "Commani qui dicuntur Capthat

¹ If the Pechenegs lived north of the Burtās (*i.e.* Bulghār) and Barādhās, how could they neighbour on the Ghūz along the Volga, unless under *Ātil* we have to understand the Kama? But this surmise would create new difficulties. According to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 160, the operation zone of the Pechenegs extended (at some time?) down to the Aral Sea.

² But *v.i.*, p. 317, Barthold's interpretation of *Sārī*.

³ One must, however, keep in mind the still insufficiently explained names اولوقمن (or اولوقمن) which Gardīzī quotes on the road to the Kimāk (see note to § 18) and قمن آبی (variants قمن آبی and قمن آبی کوز) given by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 162, as the name of the tenth tribe of the Uyghurs, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 91 and 58.

[*Qipchaq]; a Teutonicis vero dicuntur Valani [read: *Falani*] et provincia Valania [read: *Falania*]." The origin of the names *Coman*-/ *Qoman* remains dark (cf. note to § 14, 1.). The name قن (still suspect!) to which Marquart attaches such an exceptional importance might explain the Magyar form *Kún* but it does not account for *Qoman*. Even without taking قن into consideration we can imagine the derivation of Magyar *Kún* from *Qoman* but there is no explanation for the expansion of an earlier **Qūn* into *Qoman*, simultaneously with its supposed survival (?) as *Kún* in Magyar.

Like the Khirkhiz, Kimäk, and Rūs the Khifchākh are represented in our source as living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Northern Uninhabited Lands. To their south¹ are placed the Turkish Pechenegs. Our source (§ 6, 44.) adds that the Rūs river (Volga above its junction with Kama?) skirted the Khifchākh confines.² Were then the Qipchaq imagined to live down-stream from the Rūs on the left bank of the upper course of the Volga? This, however, would be an entirely imaginary construction due exclusively to our author, for Gardizī, who uses much the same materials, distinctly says that the Khifchāq lived to the east of the Pechenegs. Having substituted *north* for *east* our author fitted in the peoples into his scheme without much care for the actual situation.

Gardizī, 82, mentions the Khifchākh as one of the seven tribes of the Kimäk. Our author seems to refer to a later stage of the Khifchākh emancipation: he admits the vassal dependence of their king upon the Kimäk but considers the Khifchākh as a special tribe, maybe separated from the Kimäk by the territory called *Andar az Khifchākh*. To what an extent the form of association of the Qipchaq with the Kimäk was changed towards the end of the eleventh century is witnessed by the quotation from Kāshgharī (iii, 22), *v.s.*, p. 305, which shows the Yimäk, *i.e.* presumably one of the two original clans of the Kimäk, as a kind of poor relatives of the Qipchaq. In A.D. 1318 al-Warrāq quotes the Yimäk as a clan of the Qipchaq, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 157.

Marquart, *ibid.*, 100, must be right in assuming that the Qipchaq first profited by the victory of the Ghūz over the Pechenegs. To characterize the further succession of nomad tribes in southern Russia suffice it to mention³ the following facts: in 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted the final crushing defeat on the Pechenegs. Under 1054 Russian chronicles for the first time mention the appearance both of the Torks (= Ghūz) and the Polovtsi (= Qipchaq). The former were evidently fleeing under the pressure of the latter. Henceforth for 170 years up to the Mongol invasion

¹ Read: *west* (?), cf. Gardizī on the Pechenegs, *v.s.*, p. 314, line 20.

² On the other hand the *northern* boundary of the Turkish Pechenegs was the mysterious river Rūthā (§ 6, 45.) which is not mentioned in connexion with the Khifchakh. We may imagine then that, on our author's Map, the Rūthā divided the Rūs and Pechenegs

only on the right bank of the Volga. [Or should we read *eastern*, instead of *northern*, boundary, cf. *supra* note 1.

³ Here we cannot discuss the migrations farther south and west. See now Rasovsky, *o.c.* [The first attack of the Pechenegs on Kiev is recorded in the Russian Chronicle under A.D. 968.]

(A.D. 1224) the Qipchaq remained masters of the steppes down to the Caucasus.

Explaining the process of formation of the Qipchaq tribe Marquart assumes three gradual stages of its mongolization(?). According to Gardīzī the original Kimāk separated from the Tatār (following Marquart, *o.c.*, 95, in the seventh century); for a second time the Qūn, a clan of the Mongolian Marqa mentioned in 'Aufī (see note to § 20) put into movement the original tribes in the beginning of the 11th century, *o.c.*, 55, 57; for a third time the foundation of the Qipchaq (in the *Yüan-shih*: **Kin ch'a*) state is explained by the arrival towards A.D. 1120 of some princes whose original habitat was near Jehol in Northern China, *o.c.*, 115, 117, 137. Many of these facts still need confirmation and their interpretation by Marquart is subject to considerable caution (see the reviews of Marquart's book by Pelliot and Barthold and the latter's *Vorlesungen*, p. 114).

It remains to mention here that in 'Aufī's much discussed passage the chain of moves among the nomadic tribes is opened by the invasion of the Qūn (*Q.rī*) into the Sārī land (*zamīn-i Sārī*). The inhabitants of Sārī (*ahl-i Sārī*)¹ press the Ghuz-Türkmāns and the latter move into the southern seats of the Pechenegs (§ 47). Barthold in his review of Marquart's *Komanen* thinks that by *Sārī* the Qipchaq are meant, and this hypothesis is certainly supported by the fact that the Qipchaq were the people who drove before them the Ghuz (Узы Оўзoi) and gave their own name (*Dasht-i Khifchākh*) to the steppes formerly associated with the name of the Ghuzz. Barthold even suggests that *sārī* < *sari*, in Turkish "yellow", is not an unsuitable name for the people known in the west under the names: Polovtsi, Pallidi, &c. [One wonders whether the original group of the Qipchaq had something to do with the "Yellow" clans of the western T'u-chüeh, *v.s.*, § 17.]

Against Barthold's hypothesis is the fact that in 'Aufī's text *ahl-i Sārī* can only be interpreted as "people of [the territory called] Sārī". However, the name of the *Sari-su* could form a connecting link with some "Yellow" tribe (*v.s.*, p. 284, n. 5). Moreover, on the road supposed to lead to the Sari-su (notes to § 18) lay the sands called by the Turks اروقمن (*v.s.*, p. 315, n. 3). Had this latter name anything to do with the Qomans it would pave the way to the demonstration that the "people of Sārī" were not different from the "Qomans" (= Qipchaq).

§ 22. The Majghari

Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta* (read: *Ibn Rusta*), pp. 101-23; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 27-74 and *passim*; Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen*, Index *sub verbis*: Mazarer, Ungarn; B. Munkácsi, *Die Urheimat der Ungarn*, in *Keleti Szemle*, vi, 1905, pp. 185-222; Barthold, *Basdjird*, in *EI*; J. Németh, *Magna Hungaria*, in *Mžik*, *Beiträge*, pp. 92-6; Németh Gyula,

¹ The text as it stands does not suggest any leadership of the Qūn over the people of Sārī.

A honfoglaló Magyarság kialakulása, Budapest, 1930 (a short résumé of this important work is *La Préhistoire hongroise*, in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, Budapest, June 1932, pp. 460–8, the communication of which I owe to the kindness of the author); C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge, 1930 (a painstaking revision of Byzantine and Oriental sources, the latter being used in translations; Gardizi's text accepted in Marquart's earlier interpretation); J. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, x, Heft 1–2, 1930, pp. 53–90. See Map xii.

The question of the remote Hungarian (Magyar) origins depends chiefly on linguistic evidence and more especially on that of loan words in Magyar and its cognate idioms. As the nearest of kin to the Magyar are the Voguls (on both slopes of the Northern Ural) and the Ostiaks (in the Obi basin), it was formerly admitted that the original home of the Magyars must be sought in Siberia. So Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 53, located the "Ursitze" of the Magyars in "southern Yugria, in the neighbourhood of the Ishim and in the Baraba [steppe east of Omsk]". More usually, following the indications of the Muslim authors (*v.i.*), the seats of the early Magyars were placed in the neighbourhood of the Volga Bulghars, *i.e.* near the present-day Bashqir territory. Munkácsi in his *Urheimat der Ungarn*, p. 212, while criticizing these theories took an entirely different view, to wit that the region where the Magyar language underwent the influence of the [older] Turkish and Caucasian languages¹ lay in the northern Caucasus and that accordingly this was "das Urgebiet des Bildungsprocesses des Magyarentums"; and if some Magyars were found near the Volga this must be explained by some emigration from the Caucasian home in the northward direction.

Turning now to Muslim sources we must recognize that under Majgharī, Basjirt, and other similar names² Arab and Persian authors speak of two distinct groups, *viz.* the Uralian "Bashqirs" (whether Turks or Finno-Ugrians) and the Magyars (Hungarians) in their earlier country north of the Black Sea.

According to Prof. Németh's latest researches, the Bashqirs are originally a Hungarian tribe, which probably together with the Volga Bulghars had migrated from the northern Caucasus northwards, cf. Munkácsi, *o.c.*, 221.³ The name of the Bashghirs⁴ mixed with that of the Hungarians living near

¹ For traces of former contact of the Magyars with the Ossets see now Hannes Sköld, *Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*, in *Lund Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F., Avd. I, Bd. 20, No. 4, 1925 (where the Magyar-Osset contacts are placed *circa* A.D. 600–800). In principle it is hazardous to associate the Iranian (*i.e.* Alān > Osset) elements in Hungarian exclusively with the Caucasus for the Alāns once stretched well to the neighbourhood of the Aral Sea. [The theories on the earliest home

and migrations of the Magyars are necessarily very controversial.] [Cf. Appendix B.]

² See their enumeration in Chwolson, *o.c.*, 112, and Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 68–9.

³ Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 89, thinks that this migration took place simultaneously with the westward trek of the Onoghundurs (§ 53) about the middle of the 7th century.

⁴ Németh explains it as **bāsh-ghur* "Five tribes" [?].

the Black Sea (*Mod'eri*) resulted in the form: *Mojgher*. This, together with the common origins of the two peoples, led to a situation under which the two were indiscriminately called now *Bashghird*, and now *Mojgher*. Those Hungarians who had travelled from the Caucasus to the north carried along with them some Turks, and later became turkicized by other Turks coming from Western Siberia. Kāshgharī considers the Bashqirs as Turks speaking a dialect akin to that of the Kimāk, but the Dominican Julian who, in search of the lost Hungarian tribes, visited the region of the Volga in 1235 found a "Magna Hungaria" near the "Magna Bulgaria" (i.e. the Volga Bulghārs). Moreover, some of the clan names of the Hungarians mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 948) coincide with those of the present-day divisions of the Bashqirs (*Κουπρουγεράτου* = Hung. *Kürt* + *Gyarmat* = Bashq. *Yurmatu*; *Γενάχ* = Hung. *Jenő* = Bashq. *Yeney*). See Németh, *Magna Hungaria*.

The clearest and simplest presentation of the case in Muslim sources is found in Iṣṭ., 225₃, who says: "there are two classes of Basjirt (بَسْجِرْت). The one is found at the farther end (*ākhir*) of the Ghuzz behind the Bulghār ('*alā ṣāhr B.*) and they are said to be about 2,000 men¹ and to be protected by impassable thickets (*mashājir*); they obey the Bulghār.² The other class of them borders on the Pechenegs; both they and the Pechenegs are Turks and they border on Rūm."³

Much more entangled is the group of sources represented by I.R., 142, Gardizī, 98, and Bakrī, ed. Rosen, 45, who under the name Majgharī mechanically string together the information referring to two different territories and most probably derived from different sources (Muslim al-Jarmī, Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, &c., cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 28) as if the Uralian territory stretched without interruption down to the Black Sea.⁴ The introductory paragraph (A) of these authors places the Majgharī in the north

¹ In the curious legend on the formation of the Khirkhiz, Gardizī, 85, says that their ancestor after having been obliged to leave the court of the Khazar-khāqān joined Bashjirt who "was one of the Khazar nobles and with 2,000 men lived between the Khazars and the Kimāks".

² It is possible that I.Kh.'s (p. 31) الجفر quoted in the series Toghuzghuz-Kharlukh-Kimāk-Ghuzz-*ḡ.f.r*-Bajanāk-Türgish stands for المجفر rather than for *الجفر supposed by de Goeje and Marquart to represent *Chigil*. The same consideration may apply to Mas'ūdī's (*Murūj*, i, 288): الجعري (?). On other passages in Mas'ūdī relative to the Magyars see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, and our notes to § 53. [In principle I. Kh. 31, could hardly mention the little-

known *Čaqir*, or render *Čigil* by **Čighir*].

³ In another passage Iṣṭ., 227, reckons from the Pechenegs to the Inner Basjirt 10 days, and from the latter to Bulghār 25 days. This last distance could only refer to the Magyars living north of the Black Sea. A parallel term to *Basjirt al-dākhil* is *Bulghār al-dākhil* (i.e. the Danubian Bulghār) mentioned in Iṣṭ., 226 (v.i. § 45). In Mongol times the Magyars occupying their present seats in Hungary were still called باشغرت, cf. Juvaynī, GMS, i, 225.

⁴ In a convenient form the texts are synoptically presented in Macartney, *o.c.*, pp. 30 and 42. There are, however, some misprints in the translations and Gardizī's text is given without the final sentences.

between the *Pecheneg [our "Turkish Pecheneg"] country and the Bulghār tribe of *Asgil/Ashkil* (see § 51). In a later part (B) they describe an extensive Majgharī territory reaching down to the Black Sea. However, in a more detailed description of this southern country the three authors disagree. I.R. and Gardīzī (B 1) place the Majgharī between two large rivers disemboguing into the Rūm Sea, and in connexion with this land Gardīzī particularly names the peoples *N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt*. On the other hand, Bakrī (B 2) says nothing about the rivers and as the neighbours of the Majgharī quotes the *ابن اوعنه* undoubtedly connected with the Caucasus, cf. notes to § 50, 4.¹ Contrary to Marquart² I am inclined to think that, even supposing that I.R. (B 1 a) has in view the *Λεβεδία* home of the Magyars near the Azov see, Gardīzī (B 1 b) refers to the *Ἀτελκουζού* stage of Magyar peregrinations when, expelled by the Pechenegs (A.D. 889), they spent some years in the region of the five great rivers emptying themselves into the north-western corner of the Black Sea, cf. Const. Porph., chap. 38, v.s., p. 313, note 3.

[*Additional note.* Only in Gardīzī and in the *H.-'Ā.* we find traces of the additional source (B 1 b) to which we can assign our details on the southern (*western) frontier of the Magyars, as well as on the *V.n.nd.r* (§ 53), *Mirvāt* (§ 46), and perhaps the "Christianized Slavs" (§ 42, 17.). The source must originally belong to the very last years of the ninth century. It has nothing to do with Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī (see notes to § 42) and one particular detail is in favour of its association with the name of Hārūn b. Yaḥyā (see note to § 42, 17.).]

The best introduction to our text is Gardīzī's passage which is not only illustrative for the tradition (B 1) but which also contains details (B 1 b) on the neighbours of the Majgharī found nowhere else except in the *H.-'Ā.* Our literal translation follows the text as edited by Barthold, p. 98 (after the Oxford MS.) with the addition of some insignificant variants found in the Cambridge copy (marked C.): "Between the Bulkār [read as in I.R. and Bakrī: *Pecheneg, cf. also § 6, 45.] country and that of the Asgil who are also of the Bulkār lie the frontiers of the Majgharī.³ They are a class of Turks and their sālār (has) 20,000 horse. They call this sālār *k.nda* and this is the name of their greater king, (whereas) the sālār who makes the appointments (*shughlhā khwānad*) is called *jula* and the Majgharī do whatever he orders them. They possess a wide plain all covered with grass. Their country is 100 farsakhs by 100 farsakhs. Their country adjoins the Rūm Sea into which flow two large rivers [instead of *از رود جیحون* read: *دو رود جیحون*] and they live between these two streams (*میان این [دو] جوی*) and when (C. *چون*) winter comes those who had gone far from the river (*jayhūn*) come

¹ Cf. also Mas'ūdī, v.i., notes to § 53.

² Marquart's attempt to identify these two pairs of names (*Streifzüge*, pp. 176 and 496) has been followed by the later writers though Marquart himself finally changed his opinion (see notes to § 53).

³ This definition of the territory has in view the northern Majgharī, i.e. the Bashqirs (item A). The rest of the passage seems all to refer to the real Magyars (item B).

near to it and stay there in winter. They catch fish and live on them. And [with regard to] the river (*jayhūn*) which is to their left [we must add that] towards the Saqlāb (country) there is a tribe of Rūm who are all Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Majgharī but weaker than they. And of these two *jayhūns* the one is called Atil (اتل) and the other Dūbā (دوبا) and when the Majgharī are on the bank of the river they see the N.nd.rians. Above (*zabar*; C. *zīr*: 'below') these N.nd.rians on the bank of the river stands a large mountain and a water rises (from it) and flows on its side. Behind this mountain a nation of Christians is found whom they call M.rdāt. Between them and the N.nd.r there is a distance of 10 days. They are a numerous nation. Their clothes resemble those of the Arabs and consist of a turban, a shirt, and a coat (*jubba*). They have cultivation and possess vines (*razān*; in C. the text is slightly disturbed). Their water flows on the surface and they have no underground canals (*kārīz*). And it is reported that they are more in number than the Rūm. They are a separate nation. Most of their commerce is with the Arabs. And that (other) river which is on the right of the Majgharī flows to the Saqlāb and thence to the Khazar lands and that river is the largest of the two (*va ān rūd az īn har du rūd buzurgtar-ast*). The country of the Majgharī is all trees and marshes (*ābgīr* 'lakes'?) and the soil is damp. They always vanquish the Saqlāb and constantly impose tribute on them and treat them as their slaves. The Majgharī are fire-worshippers and raid the Saqlāb and Rūs and bring captives (*barda*) from them. They take them to Rūm for sale.¹ These Majgharī are handsome and pleasant looking. They dress in satin (*dībā*). Their arms are embellished with silver and gold (instead of سیمین اند و درو). They constantly go to sack the Saqlāb and from the Majgharī to the Saqlāb there is a distance of ten days."²

The crucial point is the identification of the two rivers which Gardizī, perhaps misunderstanding the Arabic original (cf. I.R., 142) but following a regular Persian usage, calls *jayhūn* in the sense of "a large river". The author distinctly starts on his location of the N.nd.r from the river flowing "on the left" of the Majgharī, *i.e.* evidently on their west, because the peoples living beyond it lived in the direction of the Saqlāb, one of the westernmost peoples of Eastern Europe (§ 43). This makes it evident that the river دوبا is one of the rivers of the north-western corner of the Black Sea, and probably Barthold was right in restoring in his text دونا* (*Dūnā*, "Danube") instead of دوبا.³ As regards the river flowing "to the

¹ I.R., 143, mentions كرخ as the point where the Majgharī slave-traders were met by the Byzantine merchants. If this place (cf. § 3, 6. and 8. and § 42 15.) is كرخ *Kerch* (at the entrance of the Azov sea) there is an indirect indication that I.R. still referred to the Lebedia home of the Magyars.

² I.R., 143, quotes the distance of 10 days between the Pechenegs and Slavs and, *ibid.*, 142, records the Magyar attacks only on the Slavs. Gardizī's variants may reflect an influence of his special "N.nd.r-M.rdāt" source (B 1 b).

³ The Khazar king's letter (which also mentions the name *V.n.nt.r.*, cf. § 46) positively applies the name *Rwnā/Dwnā*

right" of the Majgharī, the mention of the Khazars shows that it must be sought in the eastern part of the southern Russian plain. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 32, quotes the Hungarian chronicler Simon de Keza according to whom the Hungarians called the Don *Etul*.¹ This may be a hint for the identification of Gardizi's *Atil* which at this place cannot apply to the Volga held at that time by the Khazars. More than this, the Khazars at the zenith of their power controlled the steppes up to Kiev, and so *historically* even the Dniepr would suit the condition of flowing from the Slavs to the Khazar lands. The name *atil* was certainly employed in a general sense as is shown by the term *Ἀτελκουζού* explained as "(the land) between the rivers", see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 33. If the element *κουζού* corresponds to Magyar *köz*, *köze* "terra intermedia", the first element is undoubtedly *atil* taken in the sense of a river (cf. *jayhūn*).² As Const. Porph., chap. 38, enumerates the five rivers of Atelkuzu we know that the latter comprised the space between the Dniepr and the Sereth. Might Gardizi's *Atil* perhaps be an echo of the term *Atelkuzu*?³

Coming now to the *H.-'A.* we see that its author with regard to the Majgharī territory followed exclusively the tradition A and entirely disregarded the tradition B. He places the Majgharī near the Ural mountains as the last territory in the series of the northern Turkish lands (§§ 18–22, east to west: Kimäk, Ghūz, Turkish Pechenegs, Khifchākh, Majgharī). This disposition of chapters is still more significant in view of the fact that the southern territories of Eastern Europe (§§ 43–9) are described in an opposite direction (west to east: Saqlāb, Rūs, Inner Bulghārs, Mirvāt, Khazarian Pechenegs, Alān, Sarīr) and that the two series of countries are even separated by an intermediary zone of countries (§§ 50–3) enumerated in a sort of *bustrophedon* east to west: Khazar, Burtās, Barādhās, and V.n.nd.r. Cf. Map xii.

Our author undoubtedly represents the same tradition as I.R., Gardizi, and Bakrī, and in his sources certainly the two different Majgharī homes were found. As in § 22 he proposes to describe the Bashqir country (A), the question is what he has done with the residue of information relative to the Magyars (B)? In the immediate neighbourhood of the Magyar territory Gardizi mentions the people *N.nd.r* screened by a mountain from another people *M.rdāt*. These peoples are also described in our text: the Majgharī

to the Danube, cf. Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, pp. 75 and 92, but this document is suspect.

¹ Cf. I.Kh., 54, on the Tanais, "the river of the Saqāliba" which the Rūs merchants follow before reaching the Khazar capital.

² See in Volga-Turkish dialects, *Yayiq-itili*, *Vätkä-itili*, *Aq-idil*, &c. Cf. Marquart in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, ix/1, 1929, p. 96. [The word is said to be of Chuvash (<Bulghār) origin.]

³ If *Dübā* is the Danube and *Atil* the

Dniepr (or even the Don) it is difficult to call the eastern river the larger of the two. One could perhaps imagine that in the original Muslim report based on Byzantine sources **Dūnā* as a more familiar name stood for its less known affluent Sereth, cf. a similar confusion of an affluent with the principal river in § 6, 13. [I.R., 142, only says that "one of the two rivers is larger than the Jayhūn", which gives a better sense. Cf. 'Aufi, *v.i.*, p. 324.]

are the northern neighbours of the *V.n.nd.r* (§ 53) and the *Mirvāt* (§ 46) live south of the *V.n.nd.r* mountain. Consequently the order of enumeration of the peoples is maintained, but the starting-point being different, the Majgharī, *V.n.nd.r*, and *Mirvāt* are disposed in a north-to-south direction, so that, instead of the Majgharī, the *Mirvāt* come to be the maritime people on the northern coast of the Black Sea. This basic error¹ will be especially considered in the notes to §§ 53 and 46. See sketch on p. 440.

Having ignored the southern Magyars our author transferred to the inhabitants of the northern territory all the characteristics found in the sources with regard to the "Majghari" and as a matter of fact belonging mostly to the southern Magyars.

Population: 20,000, as in I.R. and Gardizī.

Country: 150 × 110 farsakhs; Gardizī and Bakrī: 100 × 100 farsakhs; I.R.: "extensive country".

The King's name: خلت (read: جله). I.R. and Gardizī, كنده principal king, but جله real administrative chief; Bakrī, title جله.

The Majghari live on fish. Ditto in Gardizī, but I.R. and Gardizī more decisively say that they are fishermen [an important feature for the inhabitants of the region of great rivers].

Rich but vile (?) [not found elsewhere; does the last trait refer to the northern Majgharī?].

Trees and waters, as in I.R. and Gardizī.

Good-looking, as in Gardizī.

Victorious wars against "infidel" neighbours. I.R.: dominate over the Slavs (several details on slave trade); Gardizī: raid the Slavs and Rūs.

Apart from the general epitomizing tendency of our author one seems to discover on his part a desire to smoothe the details not tallying with his general conception (cf. the point on enemies and perhaps fishing).² As regards the name of the king, the form خلت is explained by the confusion of the final ۛ with ۛ. The name is certainly جله **Jula*, cf. Const. Porph., chap. 40, pp. 174-5: Γυλάς and Hungarian *Gyula*. Our author omits the name of the chief of executive power *k.nda* for which Const. Porph. strangely gives καρχάς (perhaps: καρχαν-). The title as it stands in Muslim sources may be connected with that of the dignitary who occupied the third place in the Khazar hierarchy: كندر خاقان ("*k.nd.r* khāqān" or "the

¹ On its disturbing influence, cf. note to § 6, 45.

² It is true that the Rūs are mentioned as the western and northern neighbours of the Majgharī. In § 6, 45. the river Rūtā rises strangely from a mountain situated between the Majgharī, the Rūs, and the Pechenegs (cf. notes to §§ 20, 47 and 52 on the supposed seats of this people on the right bank of the Volga). [This is a hint at some *non-Uralian* seats of the Magyars but our author, who does

not say a word on the presence of this people near the Black sea, goes halfway in placing the Magyars somewhere near the Oka (?) and imagining that this territory *was* connected with the Urals. One of the western sources of the Oka is called *Ugra* (= Hungarian!). According to N. P. Barsov, *Ocherk russkoy istoricheskoy geogr.*, Warsaw 1885, p. 241, Ugra lay on the road connecting the Dniepr with the Volga.] See Map xii.

khāqān's *k.nd.r*¹), Yāqūt, ii, 436-40 (after Ibn Faḍlān). Munkácsi, in *Keleti Szemle*, x, 1909, pp. 179-80, compares it with *kündi/kündü* which the Altai Turks in quite recent times used to give to their dignitary next in rank to their ruler (*zaysan*).¹

[Additional note. In his *Streifzüge*, 161, 164, Marquart, misled by the idea that the two pairs of names "*N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt*" and "*Ṭwlās* and **Aughaz*" were identical (cf. § 50, 4.) came to the conclusion that the river روبا was "Kuban". In *Komanen*, 99, Marquart was less categorical and wrote with reference to our روتا (which he found in Toumansky's translation, *Zap.*, x, 1897): "Auf die Frage, welcher Fluss unter dem روتا zu verstehen ist, gehe ich hier nicht ein. . . . Die Erörterung dieser Frage, welche bekanntlich für die Bestimmung der älteren Wohnsitze der Magyaren von grosser Wichtigkeit ist, ist zwecklos, so lange die Parallelberichte des Muḥammad-i 'Aufī und der *Hudūd al-'Ālam* nicht veröffentlicht sind."

We have commented on the identity of the names *Dūbā/Rūtā/Rūthā* (§ 6, 45.) as resulting from the comparison of the *H.-'Ā.* with the other sources and may add that 'Aufī does not contain any important new data on the subject. Here is the passage on the Magyars (mis-spelt *محره*) according to Brit. Mus., Or. 2676, fol. 67v.). 'Aufī first quotes the well-known data on the vastness of the Magyars' country (100 × 100 farsakhs), on their 20,000 horse and on the *ra'īs* called *K.nda*, adding that the Magyars own tents (*khargāh*) and wander with their herds. Then he goes on: زمین ایشان پیوسته است بدریای روم وجایگاه این قوم بر کناره دو دریاست یکی را وفا [روتا دوبا. cf.] گویند و یکی را اتل واز جیحون بزرگترند و میان ایشان وصقلابان در دین پیوسته جنگ باشد وایشان مدام بران جماعت غالب باشند و برده ایشان اسیر کنند و بروم "Their lands adjoins the Rūm [= Black] sea. The haunts of this people are on the banks of two rivers (*daryā*) of which the one is called *W.fā* and the other *Atil* both being larger than the Jayḥūn. Between them and the Saqlāb goes on a perpetual war about religion and they are constantly victorious over the (Slavs), and taking prisoners from them carry them to Rūm and sell them. They are continuously in possession of great wealth on account (of this) trade."]

§ 23. Khorāsān

Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien, I: Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peutingeriana*, in *Sitz. WAW*, cii, Heft 1, 1883, pp. 213-89; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 47-94 (additions in the author's *Armenische Streifen in Huschardzan (Festschrift . . . der Mechitaristen-Kongregation)*,

¹ In the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iii, 76, 179, 190, &c., *K.nd.r* is the name of a Saqlāb hero fighting in the Tūrānian army on the right hand of the khāqān. [The name of the mountain کنداور تاغی (§ 5, 12.) may be connected with the

same title. Under § 18 the name was tentatively restored as **Kändūr-taghi*, in view of the name of the river *Kāngir*. But should the analogy be sacrificed, the simplest restoration would be perhaps *Kandā'ūr*, v.s., p. 308, n. 1.]

Wien, 1911, pp. 301-2; Barthold, *Obzor*, pp. 4-76; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 352-63, 382-432 and Map; Barthold, *Irrigation*, pp. 37-71; Herzfeld, *Khorāsān, Denkmalsgeogr. Studien z. Kulturgesch. des Islam in Irān*, in *Der Islam*, 1921, xi, pp. 107-74, Map. See 1 : 2,000,000 Map of Persia.

The influence of the Balkhī tradition (as represented by Iṣṭ.) is apparent in this chapter, but numerous details are also common with Maq.¹ who undoubtedly used Jayhānī. Several details find parallels in Ya'qūbī's short but graphic description of Khorāsān, *BGA*, vii, I.R., and Birūnī's *Canon*. The interdependence of the authors is difficult to trace in view of the absence of preparatory works on the *BGA* and interpolations in different MSS. Very original is the description of Gūzgān, whose ruler was our author's patron (see notes to § 1).

In the introductory paragraph the bearings of the frontiers are displaced as if the north-east were taken for the north. In this our author follows Iṣṭ., 253. By the former kings of Khorāsān (who unlike the Sāmānids did not rule over Transoxiana) the Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids are meant. Among the products of Khorāsān, gold was found in Gharchistān and Badakhshān, and silver in Panjhīr, cf. Maq., 326.

Iṣṭ., 253, counts in Khorāsān 4 great provinces: Nishāpūr, Marv, Harāt, and Balkh, and 16 smaller ones (Maq., 295 and 301*b*, goes his own way). Our author's description of the four provinces proceeds from west to east. 1.-8. Nishāpūr; 9.-12. Bāvard and Ṭūs; 13.-19. Kūhistān; 20.-34. Harāt; 35.-36. Gharchistān; 37.-45. Marv; 46.-66. Gūzgān (the author's own country); 67.-77. Balkh and Tukhāristān; 78.-80. region of Bāmiyān. In the east the description of the Balkh province stops short of Badakhshān which comes under § 24, 24. The still more outlying Vakhān is described under Khuttalān (§ 26, 1.-18.) partly following Iṣṭ., 253, who joins Vakhkhān to Khuttal though he describes Khuttal under Khorāsān, p. 279.

Very notable is the author's tendency to give the names their true Iranian form as is also the case in the Persian translation of Iṣṭ.

I. The province of Nishāpūr

1. Our author agrees with I.R., 171, who also counts in Nishāpūr 13 rustāqs and 4 "quarters" (*arbā'*), whereas Maq., 300, has 12 rustāqs and 4 *khāna* (*khānāt*).²

For 1.-5., 7. cf. Iṣṭ., 256-7. As regards 8. Iṣṭ. also gives Khūjān but Jarmagān and Sibīnagān have a parallel only in Maq., 300*l* (MS. C) who under the dependencies of Nasā mentions "Isfīnaqān, Jarmaqān, Afrāva, and Shāristāna". Under § 6, 50. Ustuvā (the district of Khūjān > Qūchān, ancient 'Αστavηνή) and Jarmagān are mentioned on the Hīrand (Atrak) river.³ Consequently Sibīnagān and Rāvīnī, coupled with them in our 8.,

¹ Especially with the Constantinople MS. C which contains numerous additions.

² The present-day Khorāsānian divi-

sions, such as Sunnī-khāna, 'Arab-khāna may be a trace of the ancient *khānāt*.

³ *V.s.*, p. 29.

ought to be looked for in the same direction. However, Rāvīnī is probably identical with Khān Ravān (var. *Rāvin?*) which Iṣṭ., 257 and 284, mentions at one marḥala from Nēshāpūr on the road to Isfarā'īn, and which must correspond to Maq., 300, Rīvand (**Rēvand*) mentioned as one of the four *khānāt* of Abarshahr (= Nishāpūr). The famous fire temple of Burzīn-Mihr according to the *Bundahishn*, xii, 18, stood on the Rēvand mountain which in a larger sense may refer to the Binālūd range separating Nishāpūr from Tūs, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, pp. 290-1. 6. Jājarm is also found in Maq., 300, but not in Iṣṭ.

9. 10. 12. Now in ruins. The town Nasā lay near the village of Bāgīr (Bājgīr?), west of 'Ashqābād. Bāvard lay near the present villages of Abīvard, at 8 Km. west of the Qahqa station of the Transcaspian railway. Mayhana, now *Me'āna*, lay between the Dūshak station and Sarakhs, to the west of Chahcha. Maq., 300 l, alone mentions Ribāt-Mahna. See Barthold, *Irrigation*, 37, 41, Semenov, *Po Zakaspiyskim razvalinam* ("Along the ruined sites of Transcaspia"), Tashkent 1928, and Semenov and others, *Drevnosti Abiverdskago rayona* ("Antiquities of Abīvard"), Tashkent 1931; Minorsky, *Nasā* and *Bāvard* in *EI*. According to Isidore of Charax royal Parthian graves (*Βασιλικαὶ ταφαί*) lay in *Νισά*. Recent excavations, south-east of Bāgīr, brought to light a building with strong columns of good craftsmanship and a temple by a vast central square (Russian newspapers of the end of July 1934). Later in the year (November 1934) a large building covered on the outside with sculptures of human beings, animals, &c. was discovered. Still later (May 1935) a towerlike construction with a staircase (formerly crowned by a statue) was unearthed.

11. Tūs, see Minorsky, *Tūs* in *EI*. Iṣṭ., 257: Rādhagān (now Rādkān), Ṭābarān, Buzdighūr, and Nūqān. B.nvādha may be a dialectic form of Junāwidh (**Gunāvidh*) which Maq., 300 l, mentions among the minbars of Tūs (cf. Persian *gunjishk/bunjishk*). This town is different from 13. According to the *Tārīkh-i Nādirī*, Junābid lies between Tūs and Mashhad. Maq. also mentions among the produce stone kettles (*birām*) and trousercords.

Ia. Kūhistān.

13.-19. Kūhistān, *i.e.* the region lying south of Nishāpūr, towards Sīstān. See Le Strange, *o.c.*, pp. 352-63 and Map viii. Administrative limits between Nishāpūr and Kūhistān were certainly confused. In Iṣṭ., 256, 273-4, the arrangement is different. Of the places mentioned under 13. Iṣṭ. speaks of Turshīz and Kundur under Nishāpūr, p. 256, and of Bunābidh (Maq., 309: *Junābid*, var. MS. C., *B.nābid*, now Gunābād) and Kurī under Kūhistān, p. 273. In our text Kurī is repeated under 16. Instead of *Tabasayn* (under 15.) it would have been better to mention only one Ṭabas (the so-called *Ṭabas al-Tamr*, or *Ṭabas-i Gilakī* called after Gilakī b. Muḥammad, ra'īs of Ṭabas, see Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 94) and let it be followed by 16. and 18. after which ought to come 17. Ṭabas-i Masīnān (or *Ṭabas al-'unnāb*). Under 19. are grouped

the places lying in the north-eastern part of Kūhistān towards Harāt,¹ cf. Iṣṭ., 256 (Būzajān, Jāymand, Salūmak, &c.). 14., 15., and 18. are described entirely after Iṣṭ., 274 (where the last name is spelt *Khausb* < **Khōsp*).

II. Province of Harāt.

20. Description of Harē (Harāt) chiefly based on Iṣṭ., 264–7. The expression which our author uses with regard to the mosque *ābādhāntar ba-mardum az hama* exactly corresponds to Iṣṭ.'s *laysa masjidun a'maru bil-nās*, &c. Among the products Maq., 324, does not mention manna. To Harāt belong 28. and 34. (details copied from Iṣṭ., 266).

21.–23. Būshanj as in Iṣṭ., 268 (who mentions 'ar'ar-trees, but not the antidote plant). Nūshagān is hardly a mis-spelling of 19. Būzhagān?

24.–27. Bādghīs, closely following Iṣṭ., 268–9 (Kābrūn [**Kālvūn*], Khujistān, Jabal al-fidḍa). Kātūn (?) must be Kālvūn (Maq., 298g: variants *Kābrūn*, *Kālvūn*, *Kālyūn*) which is often mentioned in the *Ṭābaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, cf. Raverty's index under Kāl-yūn. Bādghīs was the residence of Nizak Tarkhān, the famous opponent of the Arabs who was said to be a Hephtalite (Hayṭal); therefore Yāqūt, i, 461, calls Bādghīs *dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*, see in great detail in Marquart, *Wehrot*, 39–43.

29. Iṣṭ., 267: Asfuzār with the towns Adraskar (also in Maq., 298, now *Adraskand*), Kavārān, Kūshk (var. Kūsd), and Kavāshān; the area of the district is 3 marḥalas by 1 marḥala; the Khārijites only in the Kāshkān ward.

30. Sarakhs as in Iṣṭ., 272. On the Khushkarūd see interesting details in I.R., 173, who says that it reaches a place called *al-Ajma*, lying towards Abīvard (*ajama* "wood, thicket"?). Marquart, *Wehrot*, 5–7, identifies it with the river *Sind* mentioned in the *Bundahishn*, xx, 30, of which the name was misread in Firdausī as شہد (see note to § 3, 27.).

31.–33. Ganj-rustāq lay towards Marvarūdh, cf. Iṣṭ., 269. 31. On Babn, cf. Yāqūt, i, 764, who personally visited it and calls it *Babna* and *Babn*. 33. Baghshūr, according to § 5, 9 B c., was separated from Marvarūdh by a mountain. The detail on the wells may explain the name *baghshūr* which, according to Vullers, i, 25, means: "a pool of salt water" (*gav-i āb-i shūr*), see another place of this (?) name in China, § 9, 4. According to Waṣṣāf, in Mongol days the Khorāsānian Baghshūr was called *Mori Shiburghān* (the first element [in Mongol "horse"] still survives in *Qal'a-yi Maur*, the name of the Russian railway station near which Baghshūr was situated), cf. Barthold, *Irrigation*, 64.

35., 36. Iṣṭ., 271: *Gharj al-shār* with two towns Bashīn (*Armenian Geography: Abzhin*) and Shūrmin. Geographically Gharchistān corresponds to the present-day Fīrūz-kūh. The *shārs* were faithful vassals of the Sāmānids. Later they submitted to Maḥmūd and in 389 H. (25 years after the composition of the *H.-'Ā.*) 'Utbi, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* was sent to receive their oath of allegiance. He speaks favourably

¹ Pūchagān (cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 357), *Tārīkh-i Nādirī*, in connexion with the Sangān, &c. are mentioned in the operations of 1141 and 1143 H.

of the old shār Abū Naṣr b. Muḥammad and of his son Shāh Muḥammad, but finally in 403/1012 Gharchistān was annexed by Maḥmūd, 'Utbi-Manīnī, ii, 133 and 146 (Persian transl., 337-41). Cf. L. Dames, *Gharčistān* in *EI*, M. Nāzīm, *o.c.*, 60-2. A part of Gharchistān was in vassal dependence upon Gūzgān (*v.i.* 47).

III. Province of Marv.

37.-45. Province of Marv. See V. A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini starago Merva* ("Ruins of the Old Merv"), SPb., 1894 (a very complete survey of sources and archeological description) supplemented by Barthold in his article *K istorii Merva*, in *Zap.* xix/1, 1909, pp. 115-38, cf. also Barthold, *Irrigation*, ch. V: Murghāb, pp. 47-71. Zhukovsky, p. 21, quotes the *H.-'Ā.*

37.-39. District of Marvarūdh, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, pp. 269-70. The spelling مرود (**Marrodh*) confirms the Armenian form *Mriot* and the nisba *Marrūdhī*, Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 75. On 38. Marvarūd see Barthold, *Merverrūd* in *ZVO*, xiv, 1901, 028-032 (the author, on the strength of Qudāma, 209, locates it at Bālā-Murghāb rather than at Marūchāq in view of the better climate of Bālā-Murghāb), cf. Barthold, *Obzor*, 25, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 404.

40.-45. On Marv-i Shāhijān see in great detail V. A. Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, where the *H.-'Ā.* is also quoted, p. 21. Our author follows *Iṣṭ.*, 258-63, but adds some details (*e.g.* the products).

40. Barakdiz, according to Sam'ānī, was the original name of the village of Qarīnayn (so surnamed on account of its being reckoned now to Marv and now to Marvarūdh, Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, 41.). Qarīnayn was situated on the left bank of the river near the present day Imām-Bābā railway station. Opposite it, on the right bank, stood *Logar mentioned in § 6, 26., cf. Maq., 299, *Laukar*, and Yāqūt, iv, 370. By Bih-Āfarīdhī is evidently meant the followers of Bihāfarīdh b. Māhfardīn, who tried to reform the Zoroastrian faith but at the instigation of the mobads was put to death by Abū Muslim (*circa* A.D. 750), see Houtsma, *Bih'āfrīd*, in *WZKM*, iii, 30-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 194, note 7. Qudāma, 209, also speaks of the *majūs* in Qarīnayn whom he calls ركون (? برکزی*). 41. Gīrang, *Iṣṭ.*, 263, Jīranj, though a pun in Anvarī's satire presupposes the pronunciation *kīrang*.¹ 43. *Iṣṭ.*, 263, Sinj, but Maq., 299, سنك عبادى. 44. Maq., 312, says that outside Dandānaqān stood a ribāṭ. 45. *Iṣṭ.*, 263, mentions Kushmayhan, Bāshān (**Pāshān*), Sausaqān, (Yāqūt, iii, 245: *Shavashkān*) and p. 261, Zarq (with a water-divide). M.s.f.rī is a popular name for Hurmuzfarra, Sam'ānī in Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, 42: *Masfara*. Shābīrinjī, a village at 3 farsakhs from Marv, *ibid.* 47, and Yāqūt, iii, 225: Shāhbīrinj.

IIIa. Gūzgānān.

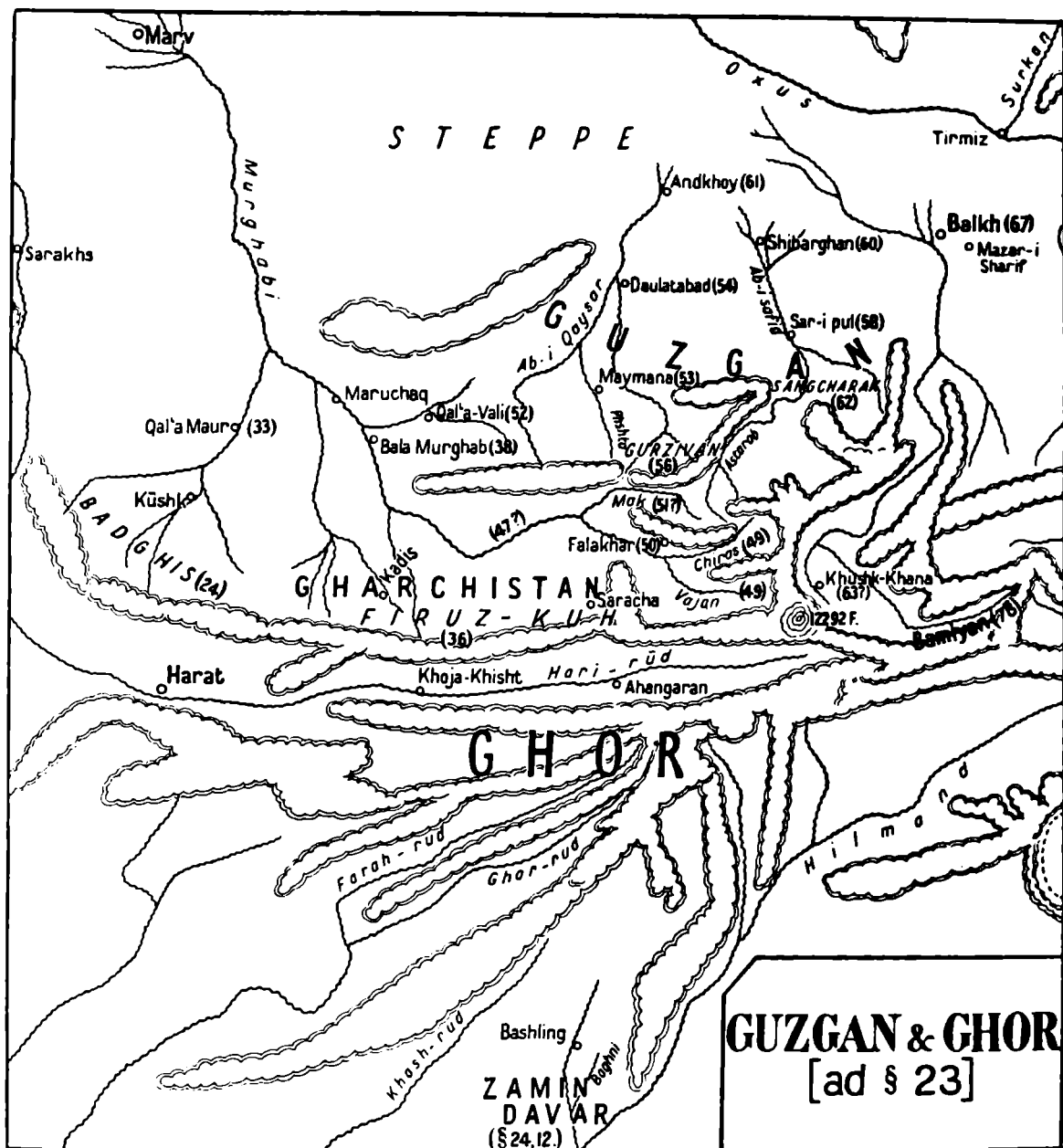
46.-71. Gūzgānān (in Arabic *ḡūzjān*). See Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 287; *Iṣṭ.*, 270-1; I.H., 321-2 (criticises the conservatism of the inhabitants of Pāryāb);

¹ *Habbadhāka! qāḏī-yi Kīrang* (?),
Ān-ki dārad zī-sang-i khārā nang.

Rag-i ū ham-chu shākh-i āhū sakht,
Bikhash az muḥkamī chu shākh-i dī-
rakht.

Maq., 298 (quotes among the towns روزور or روزون, otherwise unknown); cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 80, R. Hartmann, *Djūzjdjān* in *EI*, and Barthold, *Preface*, v.s., pp. 4–6. In the first place this principality occupied the area

Map viii



between Marv and Balkh watered by two rivers, now called Āb-i Qaysār and Āb-i Safid, which rise on the northern face of Band-i Turkistān and disappear in the sands a long distance short of the Oxus towards which they flow. Yahūdihān and Pāryāb stood on the two different branches of the Āb-i Qaysār (so spelt in Isfizārī, *Zap.*, xiv, 028–032), and Ankhudh on their joint course; Anbār and Ushburqān stood on the Āb-i Safid. Moreover,

in the south the sway of the king of Gūzgānān extended over some places situated on the upper course of the Marvarūd (Murghāb) to the east of Gharchistān, and over the locality of Ribāṭ-i karvān (*v.i.* 63.). On the contrary, our author's assertion that Gūzgānān reached the "limits" of Bāmiyān (§ 23, 78.)¹ and that the amīr of Ghūr drew his force from the king of Gūzgānān (§ 24, 1.) can hardly be taken *à la lettre*. His statement that the frontier of Gūzgānān extended to the extreme limits of Ghūr and marched with the boundary of Bust must refer only to some vague feudal suzerainty (based, perhaps, on the reception of presents from Ghūr). On the produce of Gūzgānān our author speaks twice under 46. and 51. Our 47.-51. 63. (and probably 64. and 65.) enumerate the southern dependencies of Gūzgānān, while 52.-62., 64., and 65. describe the localities in the drainage area of its two principal rivers.

[*Additional note.* An interesting question is the relation between *Gūzgān* (**Gōzgān* or *Gōzagān*) and *Gozbon* mentioned in the *Armenian Geography* (eighth century). The meaning of *Gōzgān* is obviously "walnut-trees" and for the moment we know of no ancient tribal name that might have accounted for a more remote origin of the name. As to *Gozbon* (**Gōzbun*) it was my lamented master R. von Stackelberg's merit, *Die iranische Schützensage*, ZDMG, 1904, pp. 853-8, to have established the reading of the name [cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 9, 93, 138, corrected in *Huschardzan*, p. 31, and *Wehrot*, pp. 14-15] and to have connected it with the legend of the mighty Aryan archer Ārish (Avestan *araxša*) who shot an arrow to fix the frontier between Īrān and Tūrān.

The event is briefly alluded to in *Yašt*, 8, 6, where the shaft flies from the mountain *Aryō-xšūba* to the mountain *Xvanvant*, both still obscure.² In Muslim times it was admitted that Ārish stood somewhere in Māzandarān (Rūyān, § 32, 15., or Sārī, § 32, 9.) but there was a considerable divergence of opinion about the exact spot which the shaft struck, reflecting the important political interests at issue and the historical fluctuations of the eastern frontier.

According to Ṭabarī, i, 435-6, the arrow reached the river of Balkh. Tha'ālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 133, reports that it was about to fall in Bādghīs but an angel carried it on to a place near Khulm (§ 23, 68.) called کوزین which name Stackelberg restored as *کوزبن *Gōzbun*. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 220, places the goal³ at the farthest end of Khorāsān, between فرغانه (?) and طبرستان (?). The latter name was improved by Stackelberg as طخارستان* but I should rather restore it as طالقان* (ل could have been mis-read into a longish س, *v.i.*, p. 340), and take the impossible فرغانه for فرخار which lies upstream from Ṭālaqān, whereas, between Ṭālaqān and Farkhār, a tributary joins the river from the east and along it lies the small district of Gulfagān separated by a col from the basin of the Badhakhshān rivers

¹ *V.i.* 47. (additional note).

² Herzfeld, *Mitt. aus Iran*, 11/2, 1930, pp. 83-4, transfers the exploit to western Persia (Pāṭāq-Alvand), which,

however, is contrary to all the later tradition.

³ "The root of a walnut-tree" (*ašl shajarat al-jauz*).

(Kishm flowing into the Kokcha). This is really the easternmost point of Tūkhāristān (comprised in Khorāsān) for Badhakhshān was often considered as a district of its own (*v.i.*, § 24, 24.). It is possible that some confusion was provoked by the existence of two *Tālaqān*, the one just mentioned in Tūkhāristān (§ 23, 76.) and the other lying on the western threshold of Gūzgān (§ 23, 52.).

Finally Gurgānī in his *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, ed. M. Minovi, 1935, p. 366, and Zahir al-dīn, ed. Dorn, p. 18, place the limit of Ārish's exploit near Marv, *i.e.* more or less in the neighbourhood of Gūzgān.

In the light of these data, we shall now consider the two relevant passages of the *Armenian Geography*. In the first, *Gozbon* concludes the list of the districts of Khorāsān, which may merely reflect the general tendency of the legend. Secondly, in the free paraphrasis of Ptolemy's chapter on *Ἀρμενία* (vi, cap. 17) the author winds up by saying that the Persians call this region Khorāsān and reckon to it the provinces of *Komš* (Kūmish), *Vrkan* (Gurgān), *Apršahr* (Nishāpūr), *Mrv* (Marv), *Mīrot* (Marvarūdh), *Hrev* (Harāt), *Kadšan* (cf. the present-day Kādis in Bādhghis), "*Gozkan*, from where the kingly horses come", **Gozbon* down to the river called Arang of which it is said that it carries sulphur, is wide and impassable, and which seems to be the Phison which the Persians call Vehrot.² And it is impassable in the sense that it has been rendered so for the . . . Persians and Indians in virtue of a treaty.³ [Follow *Hrev* with *Vadgēs* (Bādhghis) and *Tukharstan*.] It seems that in that land of *Kozakan* (*sic*) the captive Jews were settled who according to the scriptures settled on the Gozan river." It is curious that in this list, entirely based on Persian sources, the enumeration runs west to east in a straight line (from Kūmish to the Oxus), the last provinces (Harāt, Bādhghis, and Tūkhāristān) forming an additional south-eastern zone. So finally there is a probability that *Gozbon* is to be placed between Gūzgān and the Oxus. As a parallel to the name *Gozbun* (گوزبن)⁴ one can quote سنک بن (§ 23, 64.) and *Tunakābun* which Rabino, *Māzandarān*, 153, explains as "below Tunakā".⁵ Whatever the origin of the name *Gōzgān* (or *Gōzagān*), *Gozbon* (< *Gōzbun*) might be interpreted as "lying below Gōz[gān]", which would be another reason for locating it in the direction of the Oxus, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Ribāt Afrīghūn mentioned by Maq., 347,

¹ Cf. the story of the *Qābūs-nāma*, quoted in § 1, *v.s.*, p. 176.

² This point is confused, Marquart, *Wehrot*, 153, but the system of enumeration appears to me quite clear.

³ Evidently referring to the agreement between Manūchihr and Afrāsyāb who made the decision depend on Ārish's shot.

⁴ The forms found in Armenian writers are *Gozbon*, *Kazbion*, *Gasbun*. The form *Gozbon*, suggesting in Persian

**Gōzbōn*, may have been influenced by the name of the neighbouring *Babn*, *Baun* > *Bōn*, the chief place of Ganj (§ 23, 31.) and later even of the whole of Bādhghis, Yāqūt, i, 461. [?]

⁵ Cf. the verse quoted as the first Persian *rubā'i*, in Shams-i Qays's *Mu'jam*, GMS, p. 39, *ghaltān ghaltān hamī ravad tā bun-i gau* "slowly rolling (the walnut in the walnut game) goes down to the bottom of the hole".

between Andkhūdh (§ 23, 61.) and Karkūh (now Karkī on the Oxus), v.s., p. 6.

In any case it would have been only too natural to connect the boundary of Irān with the region of Gūzgān for Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 64, 70, has shown that the eastern frontier of the Sāsānian empire "with few fluctuations lay almost always near Ṭālaqān" ("fast immer bei Ṭalakān"), see our § 23, 52., and in point of fact Gūzgān itself was reckoned to Ṭukhāristān, see I.Kh., 36.]

47. Following the description, R.būshārān (**Rēvshārān*) lay on the upper Murghāb, downstream of Mānshān and upstream of Gharchistān. Geographically it belonged to Gharchistān, but politically was placed under the suzerainty of Gūzgānān. As regards the name, I.Kh., 40, calls its ruler *malik al-Rīvshārān* (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1876), but has a variant *R.būshārān*. One of the vazīrs of the Ghūrid Muḥammad b. Sām was Jalāl al-dīn *Rīvshārī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl., 390.

[*Additional note.* In the revenue list of 217 A.H. quoted by I.Kh., 36, Rīvshārān stands between Siminjān (§ 23, 70.) and Bāmiyān (§ 23, 78.), and under 259 A.H. Ṭabarī mentions the ruler of Rīvshārān alongside with that of Bāmiyān. These hints might favour Marquart's surmise, *Ērānshahr*, 218, that "Rēwshārān must have lain in the neighbourhood of Bāmiyān".¹ However, in support of his theory, Marquart quotes also I. Faqīh (in Yāqūt's description of the Oxus, ii, 171 and v, 146) according to whom the Jayhūn (Oxus?) flows from a place called Rīvshārān. "It is a mountain bordering on Sind, Hind [the Panjāb?], and Kābul and from it flows a spring rising from the locality of عديميس (var. عديمين عديمير)." The place referred to seems to lie much farther east than the sources of the Balkh river for which Marquart, *ibid.*, 219, 227, takes I. Faqīh's "Jayhūn". It is noteworthy that a place *Andamīn* (now spelt اندمين) exists in the Lesser Pamir and comprises the lake Chilāb (Turkish *Chaqmaqting*). Kūshkakī, p. 163, particularly stresses the fact that the insignificant Andamīn rivulet is the source of the mighty Oxus! Therefore Marquart's interpretation of I. Faqīh seems doubtful. Finally in Bīrūnī's *Canon* Rīvshārān comes in the list of the 3rd climate between *Panjwāy (§ 24, 16.) and Ghaznīn (§ 24, 19.), and separately from Bāmiyān, Kābul, Lamghān, Kashmīr, &c., mentioned in the 4th climate, viz.

Panjwāy	long. 93°5'	lat. 32°50'
*Rīvshārān	„ 93°30'	„ 33°20'
Ghaznīn	„ 94°20'	„ 33°35'
Kābul	„ 94°20'	„ 33°45'
Bāmiyān	„ 94°50'	„ 34°15'

¹ Even the second argument is specious. Ṭabarī, iii, 1875, records some operations in Khūzistān where, on the side of the governor (called اصنجون), acted Nizak with some of his generals (*fī jamā'a min al-quwwād*). Among the

latter, Harthama "the Shār" and Ḥasan b. Ja'far "the Rāvshār (read: *Revshār*)" were taken prisoners. No particular conclusion as to the respective position of their fiefs can be drawn from their association in an expeditionary force.

Consequently Bīrūnī's indication may as well refer to a different homonymous place. The indirect evidence of I.Kh. and Ṭabarī could be confronted with our author's item on the extent of the Gūzgānān dominions "down to the limits of Bāmiyān". Were we, however, to maintain his other statement that some of the Murghāb waters come from Rīvshārān, we should perhaps move the latter to the south-easternmost corner of the Murghāb basin. Cf. *infra* 64. The final certainty can be attained only by an investigation on the spot.] [See Appendix B.]

48. D.rm.shān (*V.rm.shān*, *Varmēshān*?) must have been a considerable principality, for, in the north, a part of it lay in the Murghāb basin, while in the south it bordered on Zamīn-dāvar (§ 24, 12.-15.). It had a chief (*mihtar*) of its own, but our text, which is not very explicit, divides Darmashān into two "regions", the one depending on Gūzgānān, and the other on Bust. The part of the Gūzgānān zone which lay in the Murghāb basin must be placed south [or west] of the R.būshārān, perhaps on the "Sar Acha" (**Sarācha*?) affluent of the Murghāb, communicating in the south with the Shorak valley leading to Āhangaran (*v.i.*).

So far as geography goes, Darmashān certainly belonged to Ghūr (§ 24, 1.), but as the latter's king had a different title (*Ghūr-shāh*) we ought to conclude that Darmashān formed a special march of Ghūr under a special dynasty.¹ The history of Ghūr at this period is very obscure. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, transl., 312-16, there were two rival families in Ghūr, of which the one (that of *Shanasp < **Vshnasp* = *Gushnasp*, cf. Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, p. 289), since the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (?) possessed the princely power (*imārat*), while the other (that of Shīth) had the military command (*pahlavānī*). The later Ghūrīds, *o.c.*, 300-420, descended from Shanasp and the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* was brought up in the house of a Shanaspīd princess. This circumstance may have obscured the situation of the other family, but in view of our author's statements one wonders whether towards 372/932 the Shanaspīd lord was not considered only as *Darmashī-shāh*, while the title of *Ghūr-shāh* (§ 24, 1.) belonged to some rival family (that of Shīth?). As regards the name *D.rm.shān*, the reading **Dar-i Mashān* "Gate of M." would not be satisfactory for such a vast tract on purely geographical grounds. On the other hand the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* says that the amīr B.njī (presumed contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, A.D. 786-809) was the son of Nahārān, son of V.rm.sh, son of V.rmshān, and it is likely that these names دريش and دريشان with many variants (*V.rm.thān*, *D.rm.nshān*, *V.rh.shān*) correspond to our دريشان. As a parallel to the district Rīvshārān called after its king's title (or ancestor) Rīvshār, D.rm.shān would be the fief of the descendants of V.rm.sh/D.rm.sh. The important fortress of Ghūr called Āhangarān which was taken by Sulṭān Maḥmūd was situated on the Harī-rud (see notes to § 24, 1.) and this fact again is in favour of the identification of the Darmashī-shāhs with the Shanasp family.

¹ If only Darmashān is not a popular name for Ghūr itself! *V.i.*, § 24, 1.

49. For the location of T.mrān and T.māzān we have to go by the following indications: Mānshān (51.) which we take for the Māk valley lay in the Tamrān mountains; Tamrān and Tamāzān lay near the limits of Ribāt-i karvān (63.). The two districts must be sought south of Mānshān on the easternmost sources of the Murghāb. Tamrān could be the Chiras valley, and Tamāzān that of the more southerly Āb-i Vajān. Tamrān was the more important and its mountains comprised probably the whole [?] watershed region between the Balkh river and the Murghāb. The *Ṭabaqāt*, 319 (text, 39), places in Tamrān the highest of the peaks of Ghūr called اشك (?). The most elevated points of the whole area are situated south of Bāmiyān in the Koh-i Bābā range (16,874 feet), but north of the sources of the Harī-rūd (*i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the presumed district of Tamrān) there is a peak of 14,845 feet. Several natives of Tamrān were in the service of the Ghūrids, *Ṭabaqāt*, 390. "Abul-'Abbās Abul-Ḥasan Khalaf" whom Bayhaqī, pp. 128, 795, mentions as an important *muqaddim* of Ghūr may have been the chief of Tamrān for his fortress lay at three days' distance from Ribāt-i karvān (§ 23, 63.), and he seems to have been a neighbour of Shīrvān (*v.i.* 50.).

50. As Sārvān (Shārvān?) comes in the enumeration between Tamrān and Mān-shān one would suggest for it a place near the Falakhar (**Farkhār*?) mountains. Under the name of شیروان Bayhaqī, 127, probably refers to its chief. During his Ghūr campaign in 411/1020 Mas'ūd was joined by Abul-Ḥasan Khalaf (*v.s.*), "and following the latter came Shīrvān, who was another chief from the frontier of Ghūr and Gūzgānān. Mas'ūd had gained him to his side and he came with many horse and foot and brought numberless gifts and presents." Amīr Muḥammad [Mas'ūd's brother and governor of Gūzgānān, cf. note to § 1] in view of the fact that "this man was living close to Gūzgānān employed many stratagems in order to induce him to join him and be on his staff, but he did not listen to him because all the people preferred Mas'ūd". The twofold way of spelling ساروان and شیروان would suggest the reading **Sērvān* or **Shērvān* (cf. انبیر and انبار).

51. Mānshān is mentioned in the *Armenian Geography*, Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 17, 85, and *Huscharizan*, p. 301, as well as in the *T'ang-shu* list of provinces incorporated by China towards A.D. 657 after the subjugation of the Western T'u-chüeh, Chavannes, *Documents*, 71, note 9 a (on I.H., 270, مرسان *v.i.*, under 55.). Mānshān was adjacent to Dar-i Andara. If this latter name ("The Gate of Andara") belonged in the first place to the military camp lying at the mouth of the valley above Jahūdhan, it would seem probable that the upper valley itself was called Andara, but the term *Dar-i Andara* in the larger sense could cover that valley, too. Then Mānshān, lying south of the Dar-i Andara (and its valley), must be identical with the Māk valley, watered by the northernmost of the eastern sources of the Murghāb (*Māk tagāb*, or *tagāo*). The upper part of this valley lies immediately to the south-west of the sources of the Astarāb (the western of the headwaters of the Āb-i Safid). In § 3, 26. a small lake of Mānshān is mentioned lying close to "B.starāb". The latter is undoubtedly identical

with Astarāb, and this detail confirms the identification of Mānshān with Māk. Some day the lake will be found there! The title (nick-name?) **Barāz-bandū* "Herdsman of wild boars (?)" according to I.Kh., 39, belonged to the king of Gharchistān, but the attested title of the latter was *shār*, *v.s.*, under 36. Consequently our author's statement merits more credit.

52. Išt., 270, and Maq., 299, mention Ṭālaqān under Marvarūdh. This Ṭālaqān, which lay at three marḥalas both from Marvarūdh and Pāryāb (Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, iv, 287, counts 4 marḥalas from Ṭālaqān to Fāryāb) must not be confounded with the other Ṭālaqān in Ṭukhāristān (*v.i.* 81.). The names of both places are sometimes spelt Ṭāyaqān. According to Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 80, the Ṭālaqān of Marvarūdh was the Sāsānian frontier-town towards the east. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 423, places Ṭālaqān at Chachaktu, cf. *Zafar-nāma*, i, 806, whereas Barthold locates it at Qal'a-Valī.

53. Jahūdhān corresponds to Maymana (ancient **Nisāk-i miyānak*, Marquart, *o.c.*, 78). Bīrūnī, *Canon: al-Maymana wa huwa* (sic) *Jahūdhān*. The military camp ("Gate of Andara") evidently lay upstream of the town at the mouth of the Pushta (?) valley to which most probably the name Andara belonged, *v.s.* 51.

54. Pāryāb, now Daulatābād, on the eastern branch of the Āb-i Qaysār. Ṭabarī, ii, 1206 (year 90/709) mentions a king of Fāryāb called نرسل (?), distinct from the ruler of Jūzjān.

55. Naryān, mentioned in Yāqūt, iv, 775, may correspond to I.H., 322, مرسان (var. مرسان, &c.).

56. Gurzivān, Ya'qūbī, 287, Qurzumān, a district from which the Pāryāb and Andkhoy river (Shīrīn-Tagāb) takes its outflow, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 59. A ruined town (*Shahr-i vīrān*) exists on its eastern side. South of it lies the central part of the Māk valley, *v.s.*, under 51. The district covering the headwaters of the Pāryāb river is still administratively called Darzāb-va-Gurzivān.¹

57. Kundarm, Ya'qūbī, 287, and I.H., 322, كندرم Išt., 270, كندرم. It lay in the mountains at one marḥala from Jahūdhān (and according to § 5, 9 *B c.* to the east of Anbīr).

58. Anbīr < *Anbēr*, as in Bīrūnī, *Canon*; Ya'qūbī, 287, and Išt., 270: Anbār, now Sar-i pul (altitude 2,040 feet) on the eastern of the two rivers of Gūzgān (Āb-i Safid). The Imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed there, see Yāqūt, i, 370, under *Anbīr*. Under *Anbār*, i, 367, Yāqūt, using a different source, vaguely says: "a town in the neighbourhood of Balkh (?); in it was the government centre, it lies on a mountain and is larger than Marv al-rūdh." According to Ṭabarī, ii, 1773, the Imām Yaḥyā was captured in "a village of Jūzjān".

59. K.lār, Maq., 298: *K.lān*, or *K.lāw*.

60. Ushbūrqn, now Shibarghān,² downstream of Anbīr (altitude 1,303 feet). As appears from Bīrūnī, *India*, 158-9, some "undiscriminating

¹ Very curious are the names in -*ivān*/
-*ivān* in Eastern Iran: Gurzivān, Shāhī-
vān (district above Farāh), Pārsivān

(usual designation of Persians in Kābul),
&c. Cf. also § 36, 38.

² *shāburaqān* means "steel".

Muslim astronomer" placed this town on the 0° meridian passing also through Ujjayn (India), see note to § 10, 18.-24. An echo of this theory is found in Ya'qūbī, 287₁₁.

61. Antkhudh, now Andkhoy, on the lower course of the Āb-i Qayṣār. According to Iṣṭ., 270, the town of the district of Ankhudh bore the name of Ushturj (Birūnī, *Canon*: اسطرج).

62. Under § 5, 9 B Sān is coupled with Chāryak. Both elements survive in the name of the *Sangchārak* (*sic*) district in which numerous streams form the eastern headwater of the Āb-i Safīd. Ya'qūbī, 287, has اسان و صماكان which Marquart, *o.c.*, 86, suggests to read as اسان و صهاريك with Arabic ṣ for Iranian č. The *Bābur-nāma*, GMS, fol. 57a and 184b, gives سان و چهاريك.

63. Of Ribāṭ-i *karvān (*kirvān*?) Iṣṭ., 265, says that the Harāt river rises "from its neighbourhood" (*min qurb R.-K.*), and further, 272, that it belongs to the province (*'amal*) of Ibn Farīghūn (*i.e.* the king of Gūzgān) and lies on the frontier of Ghūr. Under 49. Tamrān and Tamāzān are placed near Ribāṭ-i karvān, and under § 6, 24. the Balkh river is said to skirt the confines of Madr and Ribāṭ-i karvān. Following Iṣṭ. one would place Ribāṭ-i karvān on the uppermost course of the Harī-rūd, but the expression *min qurb R.-K.* is somewhat vague. Our § 6, 24. makes it possible to locate Ribāṭ-i karvān even on one of the westernmost sources of the Balkh river, perhaps on the one which joins the principal stream (Band-i Amīr) at Dahan-i Kāshān. It flows straight south of our 62. and immediately east of the region where we have placed *Tamrān and Tamāzān. Tentatively Ribāṭ-i karvān could be identified with Kūshk-i khāna standing in the said valley. In Bayhaqī, 494-5, Ribāṭ-i karvān is mentioned as a dependency of Gūzgānān and a place of sheep-breeding; *ibid.*, 791, 795, Mas'ūd, in his pathetic letter written from Ribāṭ-i karvān after the defeat at Dandānaqān (A.D. 1040) places it at a distance of 6-7 marḥalas from Ghazna.

64.-65. Nothing is known of these two, but with S.ng-b.n (perhaps **Shing-bun* to distinguish it from 43.) we are again near 47. Rīvshārān. Coming as it is after Ribāṭ-i karvān which is the farthest point of the Gūzgān frontier towards the south-east it may, as an antithesis, mark the south-western extremity of the territory (towards Gharchistān). [See however the additional note to 47.]

66. These Arabs evidently occupied the steppe between Andkhoy and the left bank of the Oxus, now held by the Salor Turcomans. According to I.H., 322, in the steppe of Andkhudh there were 7 villages and the "houses of Kurds possessing sheep and camels". In this case the term "Kurds" may refer simply to the nomadic habits of the inhabitants, for I.H., 221, uses the same term "Kurds" even with regard to the Kūfich of Kirmān (§ 28, 7.).¹ The Arabs mentioned in Sulṭān Maḥmūd's troops

¹ I.R., 128, says that the Lombards lived "in the Kurdish way" in the steppes round B.lāṭīs (in the plains of

Pavia, according to Marquart's ingenious correction, *Streifzüge*, 240).

were very probably recruited from among such nomads, cf. *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxiv, p. 92.

IV. Province of Balkh.

Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 87-91, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 420-3, R. Hartmann, *Balkh* in *EI*, P. Schwarz, *Bemerkungen zu d. arabischen Nachrichten über Balkh*, in *Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry*, London, 1933, pp. 434-43. See Map ix.

67. Only for a short time were the Sāsānians masters of Balkh, Marquart, *o.c.*, 47-70, but the discovery of Sāsānian antiquities on the Khulm river renders plausible the existence of Sāsānian vestiges in Balkh as well. The detail about the paintings in the Nau-bihār is very curious. It is not mentioned in the description of the Buddhist Nau-bihār (*Nū-bahār*) in Ya'qūbī, 288, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 48, Yāqūt, i, 713, iv, 817-18 (after 'Omar b. Azraq al-Kirmānī). The products of Balkh are enumerated after Iṣṭ., 280. Ya'qūbī, 288, who wrote a century before our author, says that outside the walls of Balkh nothing but sands was found. The existence of marshes in the suburb agrees with the observations of a recent traveller who mentions marshy places in the neighbourhood of Balkh, see Vavilov, *Agricultural Afghanistan*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 504.

68. Khulm which our author seems to reckon still to Balkh is the present-day Tāsh-Qurghān.

IVa. Ṭukhāristān.

On Ṭukhāristān see Marquart's penetrating chapter in *Erānšahr*, 199-248; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 66-8, and *Ṭokhāristān* in *EI*; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 427-8. Burhān al-dīn Kūshkakī, *Rāh-numā-yi Qataghan va Badhakhshān* (quoted: *Kūshkakī*), Russian trans. by A. Semenov and others, Tashkent, 1926 [this valuable and detailed description of the north-eastern corner of Afghānistān was compiled under the orders of the sipahsālār Muḥammad Nādir Khan who later became King of Afghānistān].

The notion of Ṭukhāristān varies with different authors, Marquart, *o.c.*, 229. Barthold in *EI* quotes Ṭabarī, ii, 1180, where Shūmān and Akharūn belonging to Khuttal and lying north of the Oxus are reckoned to Ṭukhāristān, but usually only the region east of Balkh and south of the Oxus is understood by Ṭukhāristān. Neither Ya'qūbī, 292 (where Khuttal is distinguished from the Upper Ṭukhāristān) nor I.R., 93 (of which the reading must be improved, see note to § 6, 8.) can be interpreted otherwise. Arab authors usually distinguish between the Lower (western) and Upper (eastern) Ṭukhāristān. Ya'qūbī, 290, places the beginning of the latter at Bāmiyān (*v.i.* 78). Yāqūt, ii, 518, is evidently wrong in locating the Lower Ṭ. to the east of the Upper Ṭ. Iṣṭ., 275, 279, has two short paragraphs on Ṭukhāristān. Our author very probably follows Jayhānī but may also use his personal materials.

The order of enumeration is the following: 68. (lying on the frontier of

Ṭukhāristān) and 70. north to south up the Khulm river; 71. (?)–73. south to north down the Darghām (Kunduz) river; 74.–76. west to east; 77.–79. in the south, in the neighbourhood of the Hindukush passes; 80. north-east of 79., more or less in the direction of 77. This arrangement clearly reflects the erratic reading off a map.

69. *Khallukh* standing in the text must be right in view of notes to § 15. Ṭabarī, ii, 1612, mentions a Khallukhian jabghūya whom he also, ii, 1604, calls Ṭukhārian jabghūya, cf. notes to § 15. However in § 24, 22. our author is certainly led astray by the similarity of the names *Khallukh* and *Khalaj* in Arabic script.

70. Simingān [so according to Yāqūt, iii, 142, but 'Abdul-Qādir Baghdādī's *Lexicon Shanamianum*, ed. Salemann, p. 131, gives Samangān and this corresponds to the common use] and Ru'b (usually mentioned together with Simingān) correspond respectively to Haybak and Rūy which lie upstream from Khulm, on its river. The very curious description of the rock-dwellings evidently refers to the site now known as *Qal'a-yi Nūshirvān* and *Dukhtar-i Nūshirvān*, which has been recently explored and described by J. Hackin in *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, by A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, P. 1928, 65–74.

71.–76. situated in the basin of the Darghām river (Qunduz, cf. § 6, 12.) now form the district of Qataghan (so called after a Turkish tribe which, coming from Samarqand, occupied this region towards A.D. 1700), see Kūshkakī, p. 9.

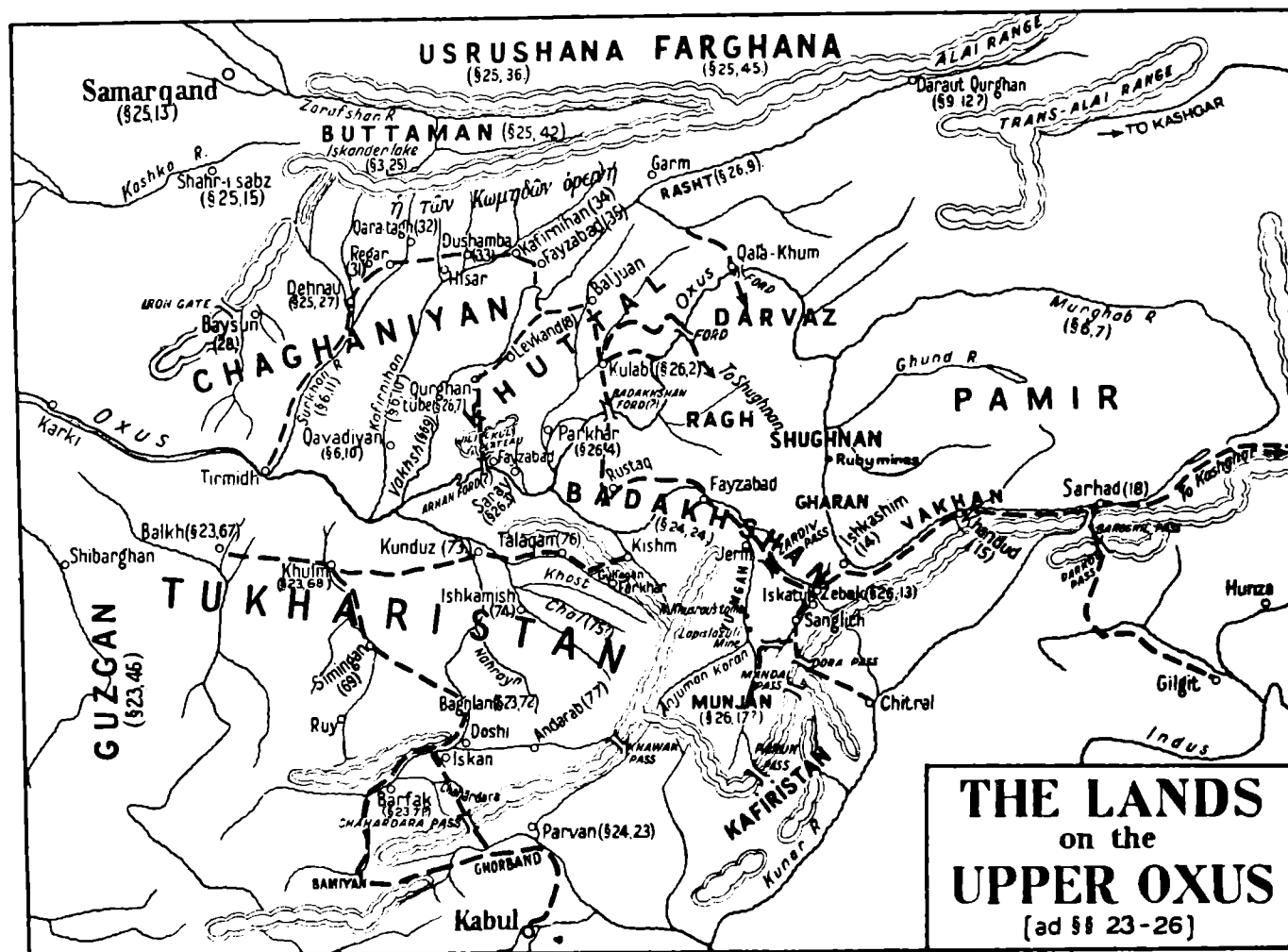
71. Sakalkand. In the enumeration of the localities of Ṭukhāristān, Ya'qūbī, 288, Iṣṭ., 275, this town is mentioned between Baghlān and Valvālij but its place in our author is rather in favour of Marquart's surmise, *o.c.*, 229, 237, that Sakalkand lay south of Baghlān.¹ Bīrūnī, *India*, 149 (transl. 299) says that in the revenue books Sakalkand figured as Fārf.za.² It is possible to identify Sakal-kand with Iskar (Kūshkakī: *Iskan*?) lying in a side-valley, at the entrance to the district of Barfak whose name could be an echo of Bīrūnī's فَارْفَز (sic) < * فارفك [this restoration seems preferable to Marquart's فارغر based on a suspect passage, *v.s.*, § 6, 8.].

[*Additional note.* Some light on the situation of Sakalkand is thrown by Ṭabarī's report, ii, 1218, of Qutayba's expedition against Nīzak³ Ṭarkhān. The latter having taken up his position in Baghlān, near the source called فنج جاہ, was expecting the attack from the direction of Khulm but the Arabs aided by the Ru'b-khān, master of Ru'b and Siminjān, succeeded in taking the fort protecting the road. Nīzak, obliged to flee, sent his baggage to the Kābul-shāh and himself crossed the Farghāna (?) river and went to *Alkrz* (قطع وادی فرغانه ومضى حتى نزل الكرز). From *Alkrz* there was only one road of escape for Nīzak but it proved too difficult for his horses. Here he

¹ Cf. also § 5, 9B. (Hindūkush).

² I.Kh., 37, quotes a فارواف under Kābul (the latter being said to lie on the frontier of Ṭukhāristān). I quote the

name merely as a parallel. (In his *Das Reich Zābul*, 269, Marquart repudiates his former hypothesis (*Fārwāf* = *Qūzān*) in *Ērānšahr*, 256). ³ *Nīžuk, Chin. *Ni-chou*.



was besieged by Qutayba's brother and finally had to surrender. Most probably Nizak sent his heavy loads along the usual Bāmiyān road up the Doshī river (on which Baghlān is situated). He himself could not help following the same direction by some short cut. He undoubtedly crossed from the left to the right bank of the same Doshī river of which the upper course is now called *Barfak*. This name must correspond to Bīrūnī's *بارفک* mutilated in Ṭabarī's MSS. into *فرغانه*.¹ Above its junction with the Andarāb, this river receives from the right side a small tributary on which stands the village of *Iskan* (Map: *Iskar*). Over it climbs the road to the Chahār-dar valley, and to the Chahār-dar pass leading to Ghorband and situated near a Hindukush peak which stands 16,466 feet. Ṭabarī distinctly says that the winter season was well on and Nizak must have been blocked here by the snow. The name *الكرز* accepted in the printed text has several variants *الكرن* *الكر* *الكرن* and it is quite possible that its *ل* has been misread from a *س* written in a straight line, while the group *رز* may represent *ند*. With the form *اسكند* we decidedly approach the form *اسكلکند* *Iskalkand*, attested in Maq., 49. The difficult name may have been contracted in usual pronunciation, as its present-day avatar *Iskan* seems to indicate. If this theory is right, the place of Sakalkand in our enumeration is right, showing that it lay upstream from Baghlān. Marquart's hypothesis (*o.c.*, 219) that Nizak fled in an easterly direction (*die Burg Kurz (sic) auf dem Wege zwischen Baghlān und Andarāb*) is less satisfactory for it does not explain the names and does not take into consideration Nizak's natural desire to rejoin his baggage train.

[However, Bīrūnī's *Canon* gives:

Baghlān	long.	92°35'	lat.	35°40'
Sakalkand	„	92°50'	„	35°50'
Ṭāyaqān	„	93°0'	„	36°0'

and consequently the position of Sakalkand, between Baghlān and Ṭāyaqān (Ṭālaqān), if right, would be considerably to the north of Iskan.]

72. Baghlān, on the middle course of the Doshī river (formed by the Surkhāb (= Barfak) and Andarāb).

73. Valvālij corresponds to Qunduz (*Kuhan-diz* "the fortress"), situated at the junction of the Doshī river with that of Ṭālaqān. Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "Valvālij, the capital of Ṭukhāristān, which in the days of old was the country of the Hayṭal (Hephthalites)".

74. Maq., 303, Iskīmisht, now Ishkamish, on the western affluent of the Ṭālaqān river. Not to be confused with Ishkāshim, § 26, 14. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 86, identifies Ishkīmisht with the old Tokharian capital, in Chinese *Kien shih* (< **Kam šīg*) or *Shēng Kien shih*.

75. The small mountainous kingdom of *Yūn* (?) is perhaps identical with *وړی* which Ya'qūbī, 288, mentions between Ṭarakān and Badhakhshān. The Ṭālaqān river, formed by the streams of Gulfagān and Farkhār, receives from the left side an important affluent formed by the rivers of

¹ Different from *فرغانه* < Farkhār, *v.s.*, p. 330, line 39 [?].

Khost, Chāl, and Ishkāmish. The district Chāl [now united with Ishkāmish], is well known for its salt-mines (*kān-i namak*), situated near the confluence of the three rivers. This is an important detail for the identification of Yūn. The Chāl valley itself does not seem to have ever risen to prominence, but the Khost valley (خوست or خست) adjoining Chāl immediately to the east and to the south and communicating with it by several roads, is well known on account of its inexpugnable character, Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 28. Consequently it is probable that by the prince of Yūn the ruler of Khost is meant. The fact that in our enumeration Khost is not mentioned can be explained by its having been included in Yūn. A lord of Khost could easily have extended his power to Chāl, or, at least, to the salt-mines situated almost at the mouth of his own valley. Another interesting detail is that the king of Yūn was a feudatory of the amīr of Khuttal. Our author is positive in mentioning Ṭālaqān as the easternmost town of Ṭukhāristān, and apparently all the localities of the Kokcha basin (left out in the description of the rivers!) were also reckoned to Khuttal, *v.i.*, § 26, 12., 18. A branch of the Khuttal family ruled even in Balkh, *v.i.* 77. However, the special title of our ruler seems to indicate that he belonged to a local family.

76. Ṭāyaqān (Ṭālaqān, Ṭārakān), entirely distinct from 52., is the well-known town lying on the river coming from Farkhār, above its junction with the left affluent mentioned above. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, also gives Ṭāyaqān. On its position *v.s.*, p. 330 *ult.*

77. Andarāb lies on the south-easternmost headwater of the Doshī river (*v.s.* 77.-79.). This important valley leads up to the Khāvak pass south of which Panjhīr is situated. On the north-east Andarāb adjoins Khost. Iṣṭ., 279, names the two rivers of Andarāb: Andarāb and Kāsān (the latter is a right affluent of Andarāb). Our items on the mint and the king are new. The title may be of local origin but in the later part of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth Andarāb was chiefly held by the Abū-Dā'ūdids of Balkh (a branch of the Khuttal family, § 26, 1.). See on this little-known dynasty R. Vasmer, *Beiträge z. Muham. Münzkunde in Wien. Numism. Zeitschr.*, Band 57 (1924), pp. 49-63. Among the coins struck in Andarāb, Vasmer finally recognizes as belonging to the Abū-Dā'ūdids the dirhams of 264-78/877-91, 288/900, 290-4/902-6, and 310-13/922-5. According to Codrington's *Manual* coins were struck in Andarāb also by the 'Abbāsids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids. On the dynasty of Balkh, cf. note to § 24, 12.

78. The statement that Bāmiyān lay "between" Gūzgānān and the marches of Khorāsān (§ 24) must be understood *cum grano* (*v.s.* 46.). The *shēr*¹ of Bāmiyān is mentioned both in I.Kh., 39, and Iṣṭ., 280. On this dynasty see Marquart, *o.c.*, 93. Yāqūt, i, 481, has the same Persian terms for the famous statues.

79. Iṣṭ., 286: Andarāba to Jārbāya 3 marḥalas, thence to Panjhīr one

¹ Certainly not "lion" as Ya'qūbī, represents Old Persian *xšaθriya*, Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 79. 289, translates it but, like *shār* (*v.s.* 47.),

day, thence to Parvān (§ 24, 21.) 2 marḥalas. Maq., 296, gives جارياب but, 346, كارياب (**Gārpāya*?).

80. Iṣṭ., 286: Balkh to Madhr 6 marḥalas, thence to Kah one manzil, thence to Bāmiyān 3 marḥalas. Madhr is situated in the basin of the Surkhāb which after its junction with the Andarāb coming from the east, forms the Doshī (*v.s.* 76.-79.). Mūy corresponds perhaps to Kah which is now called Kā-Mard. The combination مدر و موی figures in the report of Sabuktegin's death, *Ṭabaqāt*, Raverty's trans. 75, cf. M. Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 32. [Mūy can hardly stand for Rūy (Ṭabarī, ii, 1219: *Ru'b*) lying upstream from Simingān on the Khulm river.]

§ 24. Khorasanian marches

By the *hudūd*, in a special sense (see Barthold, *Preface*, p. 30), our author means the frontier regions (marches) of Khorāsān (§ 24) and Transoxiana (§ 26).

Maq., 337, speaking of the "Eastern Clime", says that over its whole extent the provinces and *khutba* belonged to the Sāmānid family; but the princes of Sijistān, Khwārazm, Gharj al-shār, Jūzjān, Bust, Ghaznīn, and Khuttal sent only presents (*hadayā*) and the Sāmānids were gratified with this substitution for the *kharāj*. "The (Sāmānid) commander of the army resides at Nishāpūr; Sijistān is in the hands of the family of 'Amr b. Layth, Gharj in those of the *shār*, Jūzjān in those of the Farighūn family and Ghaznīn and Bust are in the possession of the Turks."

In spite of the introduction to § 23 where he mentions the *mulūk-i aṭrāf*, our author seems to treat the subject of § 24 not so much from the political as the simply geographical point of view. Therefore Gūzḡānān and Ghar-chistān, though enjoying a particular feudal status yet being hemmed in by the provinces of Harāt, Marv, and Balkh, are described under Khorāsān (§ 23). In § 24 only the more southern zone is described (chiefly the basins of Sīstān and Kābul) with the addition, in the east, of the buffer territory of Badhakhshān stretching between Ṭukhāristān [of which the frontier-points were Ṭāyaqān, Andarāb, Bāmiyān, and Panjhīr, § 23, 76.-79.] and the southern dependencies of Khuttal (§ 26, 12.-20.).

The order of enumeration is the following: 1. (and 14., 15.) Ghūr; 2.-8. Sīstān; 9.-13. Bust and Zamīn-dāvar; 16., 17. Rukhudh (region of Qandahār); 18. Bālis (region of Sībī); 19.-23. Ghaznīn; 24. (and 25.-27.?) Badhakhshān.

I. Ghūr.

1. Although our author had, in Gūzḡānān, exceptional opportunities for collecting information on Ghūr, the present paragraph is desultory. It is not at all clear in what relation Ghūr stood to Darmashān¹ which (§ 23, 48.)

¹ *D.rm.shān* or *V.rm.shān* may be a popular expression ("dominions of the family of D.rm.sh/Varmish"), whereas

Ghūr as a merely geographical term may be due to literary sources.

occupied the space between Gūzgānān and Bust. L. Dames, *Ghūr, Ghōr* in *EI*, admits that in the beginning there must have been several clan chiefs in Ghūr but considers as its central region the basin of the left affluent of the Farah-rūd which still bears the name of Ghōr. This locality is exactly within the area of our "Darmashān" and consequently for all practical purposes Darmashān looks identical with Ghūr. Iṣṭ., 272, 281, 285, defines the limits of Ghūr as follows: the Harāt province down to Farah, then to Baladay-Dāvar (*v.i.* 12.), then to Ribāṭ-i karvān (§ 23, 63.), then to Ghar-chistān, then back to Harāt. In any case Ghūr comprised the upper part of the Harī-rūd for (Iṣṭ., 285) one entered Ghūr at خشت situated to the east of Aufa (now Oba). The name خشت must undoubtedly be جشت, as in *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 154, and correspond to the present-day Khwāja-Chisht. The name of the old capital of Ghūr is not found in Arabic geographers, but Āhangarān was considered as its important place at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaigns, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 321, and Muḥammad Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, pp. 70-3, as well as in Mongol times, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 150. As the latter source assigns to Āhangarān the position of long. 99° and lat. 35° (Gūzgān lay at long. 98°, lat. 35°20'), it is clear that this capital is identical with the present-day Āhangarān, situated at 260 Km. east of Harāt, at a point where a road coming from the north (from Maymana = Yahūdḥān) crosses the Harī-rūd (to the south of the Shorak pass).¹ As the home of the ruling Shanaspid dynasty very often is named *M.n.d.sh* or *M.ndysh* (probably **Mandēsh* to judge by the popular etymology in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 308); it lay at the foot of the lofty mountain Zār-i Murgh but its exact position is not known, *ibid.*, 318.

Bayhaqī's report on Mas'ūd's campaign in Ghūr in 411/1020 contains many valuable details, but the geographical and personal names in the printed edition are in a very unsatisfactory state. Mas'ūd reached the frontier of Ghūr in 6 stages by the road up the Harī-rūd described by Iṣṭ., 285, and Maq., 347 (cf. also Maq., 307). He entered Ghūr at Bāgh-i Vazīr, the first ribāṭ of Ghūr beyond بنخست (**Bun-i Chisht?*). Mas'ūd was accompanied by two chiefs of Ghūr: Abul Ḥasan Khalaf (*v.s.*, § 23, 49.) and Shīrvān (*v.s.*, § 23, 50.). After the conquest of the fortresses of رزان and رتر (or زران) Mas'ūd marched to his chief goal جروش (**Mandēsh?*) the residence of رئیس بت (**Varmash-bat, Varmash-pat?*) situated at 10 farsakhs' distance (from R.zān?). Varmash-bat was subdued and had to surrender the fortresses of Gharchistān, which he had seized. See Bayhaqī, pp. 127-35 [Tehrān ed., 111: *Chisht, f.rws, V.rmysh-b.t*], cf. *Ṭabaqāt*, 326.

Iṣṭ., 272, particularly insists upon Ghūr being a *dār al-kufr* and finds an

¹ In Birūnī's *Canon* two points are mentioned in Ghūr: كجوران **K.jūrān* lying in the mountains and "Rūf, capital of Āhangarān, also lying in the mountains":

K.jūrān long. 89° 0' lat. 33° 0'
Rūf ,, 89° 0' ,, 33° 30'

Cf. the co-ordinates quoted under § 23, 47. In the description of Ghūr the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Raverty, p. 319) places in the mountain of *V.r.nī* "the territories of Dāvar (?) and Vālisht [§ 24, 18. ?], and the castle of K.jūrān".

excuse for mentioning it in the fact that it was surrounded by Islamic lands (cf. also *ibid.*, 281). Some people outwardly pretended to be Muslims on the eastern (*sic*) border of Ghūr [I.H., 323: on the border towards the Muslim territory]. Consequently our author's assertion that the people of Ghūr were "mostly" Muslims looks exaggerated, and still more so in the light of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaigns against the heathens of Ghūr, cf. M. Nāẓim, *l.c.* The stubborn resistance of the inhabitants to the famous conqueror makes it equally doubtful that, some forty years before, the Ghūr-shāh could, without demur, accept the suzerainty of the local ruler of Gūzgān. 'Utbi-Manīnī, i, 185, distinctly mentions the Farīghūnid amīr of Gūzgān and *al-shār malik Ghūr* [if only Ghūr is here not a mistake for Gharchistān]. On the genealogy of the Ghūrīds see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 29, 49 (transl., p. 302, 312); cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 455, and Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul in Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, p. 289.

The language of Ghūr according to Iṣṭ. differed from that of the "Khorāsān people", the latter expression suggesting some dialectical differences only.

II. Sīstān.

2.-18. This description of Sīstān is but a meagre abstract of Iṣṭ., 238-52, with very slight additions. On Sīstān in Islamic times see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (445 A.H., continued in 725 A.H.), ed. by Malik al-shu'arā Bahār, Tehrān, 1314/1935; *Iḥyā al-mulūk*, Brit. Mus., Or. 2779 (written towards 1027 A.H.); G. P. Tate, *Seistan, a Memoir of the History, Topography, Ruins, and People of the Country* (Parts I-IV), Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1910-12; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 334-51; V. F. Büchner, *Sīstān in EI*.

4. Iṣṭ., 238: *Kiss*, Maq., 297: *Kishsh*.

5. The detail not found elsewhere.

9. Bust (now Qal'a-yi Bist) was situated at the confluence of the Hilmand with the Arghandāb (Maq., 304, calls the latter خردروی). The Turkish ruler whom Maq., 337 (writing in 375/985) mentions in Bust, is certainly Maḥmūd's father Sabukteḡīn, who had seized Bust soon after 366/977, cf. M. Nāẓim, *o.c.*, pp. 29-33. Our author must also have in view Sabukteḡīn while speaking of "Bust" as being conterminous with Gūzgānān, § 23, 46. and § 24, 12. The Farīghūnids lived at first on excellent terms with the Ghaznavids, *v.s.*, notes to § 1. The following route in Iṣṭ., 252, is useful for the understanding of our text: "from Bust [*via* Firūzqand] to Sarvān 2 marḥalas along the road of Balad al-Dāwar; then the *Hīdhmand is crossed at a marḥala beyond (*min*) Sarvān and the traveller enters Till; thence a marḥala to Darghash lying on the Hīdhmand on the same bank; from Till to Baghnīn 1 day in the *qiblī* (western, or south-western?) direction; Bishlang lies in the southern direction of Baghnīn", cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, Map viii.

10. حالكان. Iṣṭ., 248, spells Ṣālaqān (Zālaqān), Maq., 297: جهالكان Chālakān (*jh* = *č*?). The place lay at one marḥala from Bust.

11. On the road from Bust to Zamīn Dāvar (v.s. 9.) Išt., 248, mentions as the first stage Fīrūzqand (v.i. 17.) from which, Maq., 349, a road branched off towards Ghaznīn. In spite of some outward likeness *البن* cannot be *نکین اباد* which lay far too east beyond Panjvāy, perhaps on the site of Qandahār, cf. Išt., 251, and Gardizī, ed. M. Nāẓim, p. 14, where Ya'qūb b. Laith marches from Sīstān to Bust and then to Panjvāy, Tekīnābād, and Ghaznīn. On the other hand Maq., 304, says that at half a farsakh from Bust in the direction of Ghaznīn there was a township called *al-'Askar* in which the governor resided. Perhaps this *العسكر* or *عسكر* (? the reading does not seem certain) is responsible for our mysterious *البن* which, then, ought to figure under 9. and not 10. Another suggestion is found in Ya'qūbī's, 281, interesting list of *kūras* of Sijistān: Bust, Juvayn, Rukhkhaj, Khushshak, *لمر*, Khwāsh, Zaranj. Is *لمر* = *البن* ?

12. Išt., 244, speaks of Bilād al-Dāwar under Sīstān, whereas Maq., 305, writes: "There are some people who reckon this *kūra* to Sijistān, and such is the opinion of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, but the minority discriminates between its towns and Sijistān." Maq. himself describes it under Bust. At the time of the Arab conquest Zamīn Dāvar had a separate marzubān, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 37. It is also possible that a special position for this region was created by the still obscure expedition of the governor of Balkh Dā'ūd b. Abī Dā'ūd (b.) 'Abbās (of the Khuttalān family, § 26, 1.) against the king of Zābulistān Fīrūz. This expedition must have taken place before 258/872 when the Šaffārid Ya'qūb occupied Balkh where Dā'ūd b. 'Abbās was ruling. See I.Kh., 180., Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 42, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 40, 302. In his description of the frontier of Ghūr I.H., 323 (= Išt., 272) curiously enough replaces Išt.'s unexpected *Baladay Dāwar*, "the two districts of D." (?), by *Balad banī Dā'ūd b. 'Abbās*. This substitution suggests that for a time some members of the Khuttalān family remained in possession of Zamīn Dāvar until they were dispossessed probably by Sabuktegīn.

Till and Durghush (many variants) lay on the right bank of the Hilmand. Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, p. 271, locates these two towns at Daravāt, east of Baghnī, cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, Map viii. Here, too, he places the site of the famous sanctuary of the [Indian] god Zūn (Žūn) in whose honour the king of Zābul was called *Zunbīl (so instead of *Rutbīl*!),¹ and of whom a second sanctuary was known in Ubulla (§ 33, 9.), *ibid.*, 285. Marquart thinks that Zamīn(-i) Dāvar means "the land of the Just One", i.e. of Zūn (cf. *Τζουνδαδεέρ* and *Zundaber* of the Christian authors), cf. Minorsky, *Zūn* in *EI*. Bayhaqī, 125, says that peacocks were bred in Zamīn Dāvar in great numbers (*khāna-zād-and dar Z.-D.*) and adds, 123, that Maḥmūd considered Zamīn Dāvar as "blest" (*mubārak*) "for it was the first governorship which Sabuktegīn gave him". It is not clear whether Zamīn Dāvar originally belonged to the region traditionally called Zābulistān, see *Ērānšahr*, 37, 39. The term Zābulistān is very vague, see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*,

¹ The consonantal resemblance of *Zābul* and **Zunbīl* looks merely fortuitous.

p. 146 (*Zābul*), cf. Barthold, *Zur Gesch. d. Šaffāriden* in *Festschrift Nöldeke*, p. 188, note 4. As however Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, 282, connects the name *Zābul* (Maq., 299 جابلستان, Chinese *Tsau-kü-ta*) with the Indian name for saffron (*jāguḍa*) the special mention of saffron in Darghush found in our author is a suggestive detail.

13.-15. belonging to Ghūr seem to represent the part of “Darmashān” (§ 23, 48.) depending on Bust. Here the practical identity of “Darmashān” and Ghūr is obvious. Iṣṭ., 244, says: *wa Bilād al-Dāwar iqlimun khiṣbun wa huwa thaghrun lil-Ghūr wa Baghnīn wa Khalaj wa Bishlank wa Khāsh* (var. حاس) *wa laysa ‘alayhā (?) sūrun wa lahā qal’atun*. Though the text is out of order (cf. Marquart’s tentative restoration, *Ērānšahr*, 252) the mention of these places after, or under, Bilād al-Dāwar must be attributed to the latter’s situation on the frontier of Ghūr. Baghnī and Bashling are still shown on the maps. Our خوانين certainly corresponds to Iṣṭ.’s حاس and must be distinguished from 8. خواش (lying on the left bank of the river Khwāsh and placed by Iṣṭ., 252, at 1 marḥala from Qarnīn). Bayhaqī, 127, also describes خوانين as “a province of Ghūr adjoining Bust and Zamīn-Dāwar in which the unbelievers were filthier (*palīdār*) and stronger (than elsewhere)”. In 405/1015 Maḥmūd led an expedition against it.

16. Rukhudh, Iṣṭ., 244, and I.H., 303, spell Rukhkhaj, but Maq. has Rukhūdh (according to Marquart, *o.c.*, 225, **Rakhwad*). It is the ancient Arachosia, i.e. the region of Qandahār watered by the Arghandāb and situated between 12. and 18. Qandahār is mentioned in I.Kh., 56, and Ya’qūbī, 281, but not in Iṣṭ., I.H., or Maq., who, like our author, name پنجوای Panjvāy as the chief place.

17. Kuhak, Iṣṭ., 244, belonged to Rhukhkhaj, while Rūdhān, Iṣṭ., 248 [= Balādhurī, 396, *R.zān*?], was situated in the neighbourhood of Firūz-qand (var. *Firūzfan*; v.s. 11.), to the left of the road leading to Rukhkhaj, and its produce was salt.

18. بالس as in Iṣṭ., 244 (var. *Bālīsh*). Maq. has both this form, 486, and *Vālishtān*, 297. Cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, p. 124, note 6. This is the well-known region of Balūchistān south of Quetta and the Bolan pass, of which the rivers, though not reaching the Indus, belong to the latter’s basin. Sīvī (Maq., *Sīva*) lay at 2 marḥalas south of Isfinjāy. Our *Kūshk*, as usual, stands for Arabic *Qaṣr*. Iṣṭ., 239, gives *Isfinjāy*.

III. Ghaznī and Kābul.

19. *Ghazaq* غرق, see Barthold, *Preface*, 30, is a clerical error for *Ghaznī* (غزنین) for lower down (22.) Ghaznī is explicitly referred to. Iṣṭ., 280, calls Ghazna the trade-port of India (*furḍat al-Hind*). Our author (v.s. 9.) wrote at the momentous epoch when Sabuktēgīn was spreading his rule from Ghazna (see Maq., 337, quoted supra, p. 342); but only the words about Ghazna having joined Islam contain a remote echo of the events, v.s. 9.

20. Entirely after Iṣṭ., 280, with the difference that the latter speaks of the local shāh [I.H., 328, *malik*] while our author makes the raja of Qinnauj receive his investiture in Kābul! Iṣṭ. speaks of Ghazna and Kābul under

the Bāmiyān province ('amal), but Maq., 296, echoing the successes of the Ghaznavids, speaks of a *kūra* of Ghazna which comprised Kābul and numerous other places (lying chiefly in the south).

21. Cf. Iṣṭ., 280 and Maq., 296. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, mentions "the fortress of *Sukāvand in the لهوگر **Lahōgar* > *Logar* rustāq"; the latter is the valley of the southern affluent of the Kābul river. In Sukāvand stood the temple of an Indian goddess (Marquart, *Catalogue*, 89: Sukhavati = Lakṣmi) which was plundered by 'Amr b. Layth circa 283/897, cf. *Ērānšahr*, 296. Maq., 349, gives the following route: Ghaznīn-Ribāṭ al-Bārid-حسن-اساخ-Bāmiyān. Consequently Istākh (Asnākh, &c.) lay at two marḥalas to the north of Ghaznī towards Bāmiyān.

22. As regards Ṭukhāristān the name خلع Khallukh standing in our text is right and confirms § 23, 69. On the contrary, with reference to Ghaznīn, Bust (and probably Gūzgānān, cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254, and v.i. quotation from the *ḡhān-nāma*) it must be taken for *خلج *Khalaj*. Like حرر standing both for خزر Khazar (§ 50) and جرز Jurz (§ 42, 15.) the complex حح is a source of endless confusion for Muslim geographers. The locus classicus on the Khalaj is Iṣṭ., 245: "The Khalaj are a kind of Turks who in the days of old came to the country (stretching) between Hind and the districts of Sijistān, behind Ghūr. They are cattle-breeders (*ahl al-na'am*) of Turkish appearance (*khilaq*), dress, and language."¹ Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251-4, sees in the "Khalach, or better Kholach" remnants of the Hephthalite hordes (cf. Khuwārizmī's curious passage quoted in the note to § 26, 10.) and he further connects the restored form **Kholach* with the names *Khulas* (mentioned in a Syriac source under A.D. 554) and *Χολιάται* (used by the ambassador Zemarchos in 569). This development (based chiefly on Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254, v, 302) still awaits further confirmation. I.Kh., 31, says: "The lands of the Turks are as follows: the Toghuzghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks and borders on China, Tibet, and Kharlukh (الخولج var. العولج); the Kīmāk, the Ghuzz, the J.f.r, the Bajanāk, the *Türgish, the Adhkish, the Khifshākh, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharlukh and the Khalaj, and these (latter) are on this side of the river." In this statement the Khalaj are distinctly separated from the Kharlukh No. 1 (to whom the variant حولج belongs). In another passage, *ibid.*, 28, I.Kh. seems to contradict himself: having placed the winter quarters of the Kharlukh near Kaṣrā-bās (in the neighbourhood of Ṭarāz, § 25, 93.) he unexpectedly adds: "and near them are the winter (*sic*) quarters of the Khalaj (var. الخلج)". To say nothing of the distance, it is absolutely unimaginable that a tribe living on the western side of the Oxus could travel to its winter quarters across two such rivers as the Oxus and Jaxartes! Either the names

¹ It is noteworthy that in the oldest Arabic poems the names *Turk* and *wa Kābulu* are constantly used together though perhaps only as a sort of "Ultima

Thule", cf. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *Kōrōsi Csoma Archivum*, ii/1-2, pp. 38-41.

Kharlukh and *Khalaj* in this passage are only two variants of the same name (خلنج and خرنج), or the second name refers to some small and otherwise unknown tribe, distinct from the *Khalaj*. Only such a tribe (in view of the variant), and not the *Khalaj*, could be a remnant of the hypothetical **Kholach*. As regards *Mas'ūdī*, *Murūj*, iii, 254, and v, 302, where the Turks, الغوز و الخرج are mentioned in the region adjoining *Sīstān* and stretching towards **Gharch* and *Bust*, it is possible that the term *Ghūz* refers to the *Khalaj*. *Kāshgharī*, iii, 307, precisely says that the *Oghuz* consisted of 24 clans but the two *Khalaj* clans separated from the federation, and "therefore these two are not [evidently: now] counted as of the *Oghuz*". *Mas'ūdī* could have in view only the language and the general appearance of the *Khalaj* and not their intertribal policy and relations. In this case *Mas'ūdī's Kharlaj* stands not for *Khalaj* (**Kholach*) but simply for the *Kharlukh* who were not *Oghuz* but whose early penetration into *Ṭukhāristān* is a well-known fact. From *Ṭukharistān* a group could easily push farther to the south [?].

The *Khalaj* Turks are the putative ancestors of the well-known Afghan tribe *Ghalzay* (*Ghilzā'i*, *Ghiljā'i*). This fact has been doubted by L. Dames in his article *Ghalzai* in *EI*, but reaffirmed by Barthold, *Khaladj*, and T. W. Haig, *Khaladjī*, in the same Encyclopedia. In favour of the latter opinion may be quoted an interesting passage from the rare *Jihān-nāma* written circa A.D. 1200–20 by Muḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān (fol. 17 of the copy bound together with the *H.-'Ā*. MS. and fol. 206 of *Bibl. Nat.*, anc. fonds pers. 324):

خلج قومی از ترکان از حدود خلج بحدود زابلستان افتادند و در نواحی غزنین صحراست
انجا مقام کردند پس بسبب گرمی هوا اون ایشان متغیر گشت و بسیاهی مایل شد و زبان
نیز تغیر پذیرفت و لغتی دیگر گشت و طایفه از آن جمله بحدود باورد افتادند و بهره کی
مقام ساختند و خلج را مردمان بتصحیف خلج میخوانند

"The *Khalaj* (*Kh.l.j*) are a tribe of Turks who from the *Khallukh* limits emigrated to *Zābulistān*. Among the districts of *Ghaznī* there is a steppe where they reside. Then on account of the heat of the air their complexion has changed and tended towards blackness; the language, too, has undergone alterations and become a different dialect. A tribe of this group went to the limits of *Bāvard* and founded some settlements. By mistake (in writing) the people call the *Khallukh Khalaj*."

23. *Parvān* situated at the confluence of the *Ghōrband* and *Panjhīr* rivers ought to come geographically after § 23, 79., but just between them must have passed the frontier of *Ṭukhāristān* and *Kābul*. *Parvān* is still shown on the maps to the north-east of *Chārikār*. There may be possibly another *Parvān* in the upper *Logar* valley between *Ghaznī* and *Bāmiyān*, where Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 288, 1021, and 1042, places the battle between the Mongols and *Jalāl al-dīn*, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 441, note 6. No such name, however, figures in the itinerary quoted in the note to 21.

IV. *Badhakhshān*.

24. The itineraries of Arab geographers to the east of Balkh usually stop at Ṭālaqān (§ 23, 76.). However, Ya'qūbī, 288, in his enumeration of the towns of Balkh, and following on the towns of Ṭarakān (Ṭālaqān), وری, and Badhakhshān mentions "the town of Jirm (*v.i.* 25.) which is the last of the eastern towns following on Balkh, towards the country of Tibet (*mimmā yalī Balkh ilā nāḥiyati balad al-Tubbat*)". Here the territory of Badhakhshān is implicitly reckoned to Balkh. Coming another time from the north Ya'qūbī, 292, winds up his description of the road Tirmidh–Chaghāniyān–Khuttal as follows: "and from Khuttal [the road goes] to Upper Ṭukhāristān and the kingdom of *Khumar-bīg, king of Shiqinān,¹ and Badhakhshān, and from it [*i.e.* Khuttal] the great river [Oxus stretches up] to Shiqinān, and this all is Upper Ṭukhāristān."

Iṣṭ., 279, speaks of Badhakhshān (or Balakhshān) and its products (garnets, lapis-lazuli, musk from Tibet and Vakhān) jointly with Khuttal, but a little above, 278, assigns to Badhakhshān a more special position: "it is a clime (*iqḷīm*) with rustāqs; its town is Badhakhshān; it is the kingdom of Abul-Faṭḥ." I.H. drops this passage and nothing more is known of this prince (who must have been one of the scions of the Khuttal house, Marquart, *o.c.*, 302).

Maq., 296, places Badhakhshān under Balkh but outside the towns of Ṭukhāristān, and adds, 303: "Badhakhshān which is con-terminous with the country of the Turks [Ya'qūbī's *Khumār-beg*?] lies above Ṭukhāristān; there is a mine in it of the precious stone resembling the ruby (*yāqūt*) and there are no other mines of it except this one, and this (place is called) "Ribāt Fāḍil" (وہی رباط فاضل). There (also) stands a wonderful fortress (built) by [Hārūn al-Rashīd's wife] Zubayda,² and there (also) are found mines of lapis lazuli, (rock)-crystal, bezoar-stone, wick-stone (asbestos) . . . and a stone which being placed in a dark house lights up the smallest objects."

Our author in this short paragraph follows Iṣṭ. only adding that there are merchants in Badhakhshān and that silver is found in it. He solves the difficulty about the special position of Badhakhshān by including it in his category of "Khorāsānian marches". In § 23, 75., we have an important indication as to the little kingdom of Yūn (?) depending on Khuttal. If Yūn, belonging still to the system of the Qunduz river, was under Khuttal, one cannot help admitting that the Kokcha basin situated east of Yūn

¹ Such is the editor's vocalization confirmed by the Chinese *Shih-k'i-ni*, Chavannes, *Documents*, 162; but starting from the present-day *Shughnān* one could read the name as **Shuqnān*.

² Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 64, says that the Jayhūn rises beyond the ribāt of Badhakhshān situated at 20 days' distance from Balkh at the very end of its province. This ribāt stands over against various kinds of "Turks", *viz.* Aukhān

(**Vakhān*), Tubbat (Tibet), and Ayghān (?), cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 100. Nizām al-mulk, *Siyāsāt-nāma*, 128, confirms the statement that Zubayda built "on the frontier of Kāshghar (*sic*) a mighty town which she called Badhakhshān, as well as several strong ribāts in the same region". [*Ayghān* < possibly **Abghān*, as I. Athīr, xi, 108, 110, calls the Afghāns.]

could not escape the same suzerainty (see above Iṣṭ., 278, on the prince Abul-Fath).

25.-27. *prima facie* are unknown, but as they follow on Badhakhshān they must be sought in the neighbourhood. See on them also § 26, 12.-17.

25. The "Gate of the Arabs" built by Ma'mūn stood perhaps near Jirm which is described by Ya'qūbī, 288, as the last of the towns of Balkh in the direction of Tibet. Jirm lies in Badhakhshān, south of its present capital Fayḍābād, see Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 120-34. The place of the gate would be between Jirm and Zaybāk (§ 26, 12.), *e.g.* at Bahārak or in the Zardīv valley, so as to intercept the traffic coming from Vakhān and the countries neighbouring on the latter (Chitrāl, Gilgit, Kāshghar). As regards the construction of the gate it is not known whether Ma'mūn himself ever visited Badhakhshān, but in 196/811-12 he appointed Faḍl b. Sahl, governor of the eastern provinces "from Hamadān to the mountain of Shiqinān and Tibet", Ṭabarī, iii, 841. Very probably Maq.'s Ribāṭ Fāḍil (*v.s.*) stands for **Ribāṭ al-Faḍl*. However, if we leave aside Ma'mūn's name it will be easier to suppose that the ribāṭ of Badhakhshān was, at an earlier date, built by the Barmakid Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd as a counterpart to the gate built by him in Rāsht (see note to § 26, 9.). The advantage of this hypothesis would be that we know for certain (Ya'qūbī, 304) that Faḍl b. Yaḥyā whom Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed governor of Khorāsān in 178/794 "conquered a number of *kūras* of Ṭukhāristān, of Kābulshāh, and of Shiqinān", *i.e.* exactly in the region interesting us. Ṭabarī, iii, 631, says of Faḍl's activities in Khorāsān: *wa banā bihā al-masājīd wal-ribāṭāt*. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 492, mentions Faḍl's victory over the Turks near Ṭālaqān.

26. The special mention of Muslims shows that S.ng.s lay amid an infidel region. A pass called سنګر does not seem to exist in the Hindūkush unless this name be identical with *سنګلج *Sanglich* quoted under § 26, 16.? It is possible that our author has twice over described the same locality, once as an extension of the Badhakhshān territory and another time as a branch of the road from Khuttal to Kashmīr (§ 26, 12.-20.). In this case our *Dar-i Tāziyān* would be identical with *Dar-i Tubbat* (§ 26, 12.) and the pass of سنګر (perhaps *سنګلج which is a possible Arabic rendering of *Sanglich*) would be the Dora pass.

27. The simplest solution is to restore شاقینا as سقله *Shaḳīna* for *Shughnān*, the region lying downstream from Vakhān on both banks of the Upper Oxus where the latter having changed its course flows south to north. The usual spelling is شقنن, cf. Ya'qūbī, 292, I.Kh., 37 (in the revenue list of the Ṭāhirid 'Abdullāh), and I.R., 89, but I.Kh., 178, mentions a ford on the Oxus leading to "the Turks' called *Shakīna*" and Iṣṭ., 290, gives exactly *Shaḳīna*. Our author only occasionally mentions *Shaknān* (§ 5, 9A and 9B, § 6, 6.) coupled with Vakhān but forgets to describe this country. See Minorsky, *Shughnān* in *EI*. As the name of "a large village" *Shaḳīna* at

¹ See note to § 26, 1A: road from Khuttal.

this place would refer probably to Ishkāshim, see note to § 26, 14. A less satisfactory alternative would be to identify *سقلتا* **S.qlta* with Iskitul, a village lying 14 Km. south of Zaybāk and 22 Km. north of Sanglich, see Vavilov, *Agricultural Afghanistan*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 519; (on the map of Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to NW. India*, Oslo, 1932, the position of Iskitul is not quite exact).

§ 25. Transoxiana

Tomaschek, *Sogdiana*, in *Sitz.WAW*, 1877, Band 87, pp. 67-120; Barthold, *Report*, passim; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 64-179 (and in much greater detail in *Irrigation*); Marquart, *Erānshahr*, pp. 226-37, and *Wehrot*, passim; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 433-89; Kurakichi Shiratori, *A Study on Su-t'e, or Sogdiana in Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, pp. 81-145 (only ancient times). Many of the places mentioned in this chapter will be found on Le Strange's Maps IX and X, and on the Map at the end of Barthold's *Turkestan*.

The chief source of this chapter is Iṣṭ.'s (<Abū Zayd Balkhī's) excellent account (pp. 286-346) of the Mā-warā' al-nahr. Farther to the east, especially in Farghāna, I.H.'s additions (in his account of Transoxiana, pp. 335-406) offer some useful parallels, and for the regions lying beyond the Jaxartes several names could be found only in Maq. In the region of Chaghāniyān there are some points of special likeness with I.Kh. and I.R.

Contrary to the enumeration of the countries which in principle goes *min al-mashriq ilā al-maghrib* the description of Transoxiana (similarly to that of Khorāsān, § 23) proceeds from west to east: Bukhārā: 1.-4., 6. (plus Karmīna); Sughd: 5., 7. (minus Karmīna), 8.-10., 12., 14.; Kashka-daryā: 15., 16. (?), 17.-21.; upper course of the Oxus: 21.-35.; Ustrūshna: 36.-43.; Farghāna: 45.-62.; Ilāq and Shāsh: 44., 63.-83.; Ispijāb: 84.-93.

The bearings of the frontiers are again (as in § 23, &c.) given as if the author was facing north-east:

	<i>H.-'A.</i>	Real bearing
Tibet (<i>v.i.</i> 58.)	E.	SE.
Khorāsān	S.	S. to SW.
Ghūz and Khallukh (?)	W.	W. to NW. (?)
Khallukh	N.	NE. (?)

Iṣṭ., 286, shows a similar peculiarity of orientation while he quotes as the Transoxianian frontiers in the east (in a straight line): Pāmīr, Rāsht, and the parts of Hind adjoining Khuttal; in the west [?] (in a semicircular line): the Ghuzz and Kharlukh from Ṭarāz to Fārāb, Biskand, Sughd, and then the districts of Bukhārā up to the Khwārazm lake; in the north: the Turks and Kharlukh from the extreme limits of Farghāna to Ṭarāz; in the south (in a straight line): the Jayhūn from Badakhshān to the Khwārazm lake.

The term Turkistān, cf. Ya'qūbī, 295: تركستان is applied by our author to the lands beyond Transoxiana, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān* in *EI*.

Of the general remarks very few are not in Iṣṭ., 286-95, 312-13, such as the mention among the products of sulphur and arsenic (*v.i.* 66.).

I. Province of Bukhārā.

1.-4., 6., and 7., cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 305-19. In our text "king of the East" corresponds to "wālī of Khorāsān from the family of Sāmān" in Iṣṭ., 306. Among the products, saltpetre is not mentioned in Iṣṭ., 314-15. *Būmkath* stands probably for Bamiykath but its form may have been influenced by the old name of Bukhārā itself: *Nūmijkath, cf. Iṣṭ., 313 and 305, corrected in Maq., 267*b*. Narshakhī, *Histoire de Boukhara*, p. 20, gives as the ancient names of the town both نمجک and بومسک. A painstaking analysis of these names is given in Marquart, *Wehrot*, pp. 161-4, cf. also Barthold, *Bukhārā* in *EI*. The details of 3. and 4. not in Iṣṭ. On Paykand see also § 3, 33. Cf. Zimin, *Razvalini starago Peykenda*, Tashkent, 1913, 31 pp. On the market in 6. Iṣṭ., 313. 7. According to Iṣṭ., 313, Karmina was reckoned still to Bukhārā. Dabūsī is the present-day Ziaudin < *Ḍiyā al-dīn*.

II. Province of Sughd.

5., 8.-12., cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 316-25.

9. Zarmān (numerous variants), Iṣṭ., 334, 343, between Rabinjan and Samarqand at 1 farsakh's distance from Ishtikhan.

11. This Farinkath, now Prinkant, not mentioned in Iṣṭ., I.H., or Maq., but found in Yāqūt, iii, 885, is entirely different from 74. It lay north-west of Samarqand towards Ishtikhan, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96. Ganjkath must lie in the same region.

12. دران probably وذر, Vadhār, at 2 farsakhs' distance from Samarqand, Iṣṭ., 342.

13. Samarqand, cf. Iṣṭ., 316-21 (*nahr min al-riṣāṣ*), 288 (paper from Transoxiana). Our record on the Manichaeans (*Mānavī*) is extremely curious.

From the *Fihrist*, 337, we know that under Muqtadir (A.D. 907-32) the Manichaeans, in fear for their lives, fled to Khorāsān. Some 500 of them gathered in Samarqand and the [Sāmānid] ruler of Khorāsān would have killed them, but for a warning from the "king of China, but I think [says al-Nadīm] from the lord of the Toghuzghuz", who threatened to take reprisals against the Muslims living in his country. This diplomatic protection may account for the security which the Manichaeans in Samarqand enjoyed perhaps down to our author's times.

III. Basin of the Kashka-daryā.

On 15.-21. see Iṣṭ., pp. 324-5, 343. On Nakhshab see particularly L. Zimin, in the *Iqd al-jumān* (Festschrift to V. Barthold), Tashkent, 1927, pp. 196-214, cf. Minorsky, *Nakhshab* in *EI*. Iṣṭ. does not mention mules and red salt in Kish and spells *Nasaf* (cf. *Nakhchuvān* > I.Kh., 122, *Nasawē*) and *Nūqad Quraysh*. Sūbakh is the present-day Guzār (Khuzār).

IV. *Basins of the Chaghān-rūd and Kāfirnihān.*

See Iṣṭ., 298, Maq., 283-4. Cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 234, 299, Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 72-4. See Map ix.

22.-24. See Barthold, *Tirmidh*, in *EI*. Maq., 324, mentions soap and asafoetida in Tirmidh. On the various Arabic transcriptions of Charmangān, Marquart, *o.c.*, 235; on the presumable founder of Hāshim-gird Hāshim b. Bānījūr, *ibid.*, 301. Cf. Deinike, *Termez*, in *Nov. Vost.*, No. 22, p. 208.

25.-35. Cf. Barthold, *Chaghāniyān*, in *EI*. Maq., pp. 283, 290, says that there were 16,000 villages and 10,000 warriors in Chaghāniyān, though economically it was inferior to Khuttal (§ 26, 1.). On the rulers of Chaghāniyān of the Āl-i Muḥtāj dynasty see Muḥammad khān Qazvinī in his edition of the *Chahār-maqāla*, pp. 163-6. For the position of 27.-33. the following "route of Chaghāniyān" quoted in I.Kh., 33-4 (Qudāma, 211) is essential: Tirmidh to Ṣarmanjān (Charmangān) 6 farsakhs; thence to Dārzanjī 6 f.; thence to B.rnjī 7 f.; thence to Ṣaghāniyān 5 f.; thence to بوندا 6 f.; thence (across a *wādī* which is 2-3 f. wide?) to H.mvārān 7 f.; thence to *Abān Kasavān 8 f.; thence to Shūmān 5 f.; thence to Vāshjirt 4 f.

26., 28.-31. Cf. Iṣṭ., 339-40 (without our details). The town of Chaghāniyān corresponds to the present-day Denau (*Dih-i nau*). 26. lay certainly south of the town of Chaghāniyān (in view of Ya'qūbī, 289, دارنکا the name must be **Dārzanḡē*) and the other four towns on the various roads diverging from the Chaghāniyān town in westerly and northerly directions. 28. in view of our detail is Baysun. 29. may be Zīna-āb (north of Denau). 30. نوران perhaps better than بوران, Iṣṭ., 340, Maq., 268 (many variants). 31. دگر must be Regar (half-way on the road from Denau to Qaratagh, see note to § 6, 11.); Iṣṭ. gives ریکدشت (var. ریکد) and Maq., 268, *Rykdsht* < **rēg-dasht*. [*Rēg-ar*, cf. *lang-ar*, *Cand-ar*.]

32. Hamvārān is not in Iṣṭ. but has a parallel in I.Kh., v.s. 25. On the river K.s.vān "near" (?) which our author places Hamvārān see § 6, 11. Hamvārān may be identified with Qaratagh and *Abān-Kasavān with Hiṣār which already lies in the Kāfirnihān (Kasavān?) basin.

33. Shūmān mentioned usually together with Akharūn was a considerable principality, Marquart, *o.c.*, 226, probably comprising the Kāfirnihān basin, or rather its upper part. The town of Shūmān may have lain on the site of Du-shanba (now Stalinābād), capital of the small Tājikistān republic. Gardizī, ed. M. Nāẓim, p. 36, counts 12 farsakhs from Chaghāniyān to Shūmān, probably by a short cut.

34. افريزان mentioned between 33. and 35. corresponds to افریسان which Iṣṭ., 340, places between Shūmān and Vāshjird at a distance of 1 day from each of them. This detail is in favour of its location at the present-day Kāfirnihān. Cf. also Ya'qūbī, 291: الاحدلی.

35. ويشگرد (in Arabic: واشگرد and ويشگرد) *Vēshgird or Vēshagird is explained by Marquart, *o.c.*, 227, as **Vēsagird*, i.e. the legendary town of Vaēsa, Frañrasiyan's henchman, which *Yasht*, v, 57, places in the Xšaθrō-suka defile, high up in Kañha (Sughd). Vēshgird must correspond to Fayḍābād

on the İlāq, left affluent of the Kāfirnihān river. İlāq is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 340, as the *next* station situated at one day's distance from Vēshagird towards the east, but from Vēshagird on the road may have followed this river. On Shaqīq Balkhī see 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, i, 196–202. Ibn al-Athīr, sub 194/809, says: "in this year was killed the hermit (*zāhid*) Shaqīq Balkhī during a Muslim expedition (*ghazāt*) to Kūlān in the Turk country", cf. § 15, 1.

The identification of 27., 32.–35. would roughly follow the distances indicated in Arabic sources, at the rate of 4 Km. to one farsakh:

	fars.		Km. (<i>circa</i>)
Şaghāniyān		Denau	
	13 (2 days)		55
Hamvārān		Qaratagh	
	8		30
Abān Kasavān		Hişār	
	5		20
Shūmān		Du-shanba	
	one day		28
Afdiyān (?)		Kāfirnihān	
	one day		22
Vēshagird		Fayḍābād	

V. *Usrūshana*.

The name has several readings. De Goeje in Iṣṭ., I.H., and Maq. gives the variant *Ushrūsana* but in I.Kh., 29, and Ya'qūbi, 293, *Usrūshana*. Consequently it is safer to render our سروشنه as *Surūshana* though the frequent occurrence in Iranian of the group -*šn*- would favour the pronunciation **Surūshna*. The district, Iṣṭ., 225–7, lay to the west of the Jaxartes on the northern slopes of the Buttamān mountains (ranges of Turkestān and Zarafshān). Our author says nothing on its former kings called *afshīn*, I.Kh., 40. The last *afshīn* was the famous Khaydar (?) b. Kāvūs executed by Mu'taṣim in 226/841. Iṣṭ. and Maq., 323–6, are silent on the produce of Usrūshana. On the market of 39. Marsmanda, cf. Maq., 278. Instead of 41. Faghkath, Iṣṭ. spells Vaghkath (now Vagat, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 167). Sābāt means in Arabic "covered passage, awning". Kurkath, perhaps ancient Cyropolis (Benveniste)? On 42. Buttamān, cf. § 5, 9a. Iṣṭ., 327, mentions in the Buttamān mountains mines of gold, silver, vitriol, and ammoniac. 43. Barghar now Falghar (not to be confused with Pārghar, § 6, 8.). This upper part of the Sughd river was indeed reckoned to Usrūshana, Barthold, *o.c.*, 168. On the lake see § 3, 24.

VI. *Province of Farghāna*.

45.–62. see Iṣṭ., 333–4, Maq., 362, 371–2, cf. Barthold, *Farghāna*, in *EI*. A classical description of Farghāna is found in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. GMS, f. 1b–f. 5b.

44. Khūjand (or Khujanda) belonged to Shāsh but lay on the frontier of Farghāna.

45. On the minerals of Farghāna, cf. Iṣṭ., 313 and 334 where *al-jirāgh-sank* [sic] is also mentioned. The kings of Farghāna bore the title of **ikhshēd*, I.Kh., 40 (Maq., 279, gives this title to the kings of Samargand, cf. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 344).

47. On the Jaxartes see note to § 6, 17.

48. Vāthkath, Iṣṭ., 346, places Vān-kath (?) at 7 farsakhs to the north-east of Akhsikath on the frontier of Ilāq.

49. There is nothing corresponding to this paragraph in Iṣṭ., but I.H. (who, according to de Goeje, *Preface*, p. viii, has reproduced the "complete" text of Iṣṭ.'s description of Transoxiana) writes, p. 397: ويرفع الزئبق بسوخ من جبالها "quicksilver is produced in Sōkh (*sic*, cf. BGA, iv, 438) from its mountains". Our author took بسوخ for a special name (cf. variants in I.H., 395) and separately mentioned it almost immediately before Sōkh.

50. Iṣṭ., 347: Bāmkakhush. The two villages of the Isfara district in southern Farghāna, I.H., 395, cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 159, 161. The Sōkh river (51.) is the left affluent of the Jaxartes, watering the Kokand (54.) region, and the Isfara river is the following affluent downstream, parallel to the Sōkh.

52. Iṣṭ., 347, Avāl, 10 farsakhs from Sōkh, south of Margelan, Barthold, *o.c.*, 161. Our author follows I.H., 396, in mentioning the villages of Avāl.

53. سسكان must be مسكان which according to I.H., 396, was the town of the Naqād district (نقاد, var. بغان) mentioned immediately after Avāl.

54. All three in Iṣṭ., 335. خواکند *Khawākand* is the present-day Kokand (*خوکند).

55., 56. Qubā (now: Quvā) and Ōsh, Iṣṭ., 333 (I.H., 394): *marqab al-ahrās 'alā al-Turk*.

57. The rivers of Khurshāb and Ūrasht are found in I.H., 392. Cf. § 6, 18. and 19. where the Ōsh-river (Barthold, *o.c.*, 159) is said to flow between Ūrasht and Ōsh.

58. Iṣṭ., 334. Our author's data on the rivers are new, cf. notes to § 6, 17., § 15, 11. At the time of I.Kh., 30, Ūzgand had a chief called Khūr-tegin (**Chūr-tegin*). Soon after our author's times Ūzgand became one of the residences of the Qara-khānids, see § 13, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 157, Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 17-20 and plates x-xvi (the Qara-khānid buildings), I. I. Umniakov, *Arkhitek. pamiatniki Sredney Azii*, Tashkent, 1929, pp. 27-9.

59. Iṣṭ., 334: Khaylām (this reading adopted in Barthold, *o.c.*). Its river is the present-day Narin (§ 6, 21.).

60. The name كشوك appears in Idrīsī at one day's distance from Akhsikath (towards the east?), Sprenger, *Postroueten*, 27. One must distinguish between *Bāb-Akhsikath* "the Gate of A.", Iṣṭ., 335, in which Barthold, *o.c.*, 162, sees a suburb of A. lying on the left bank of the Jaxartes, and *Bāb* (in our source and at present *Pāp*), a village lying at 4 farsakhs from A. on the right bank of the river, Iṣṭ., 336, I.Kh., 30.

61., 62. In spite of the concluding formula following on 60., these places, too, must have lain in Farghāna. The only certain place is Sh.lāt, Iṣṭ., 346, *S.lāt* (with variants). According to I.H., 396, S.lāt and Biskant lay beyond Miyān-rūdhān, *i.e.* the district between the two headwaters composing the Jaxartes. I.H. adds that the locality was called Haft-dih "Seven villages" and our 61. may enumerate the remaining five villages.

VI. Province of *Īlāq* and *Shāsh*.

63.-83. Cf. Iṣṭ., 328-33. See Map in Barthold, *Turkestan*.

63. The province *Īlāq* lay on the Āhangarān river (in Russian: *Angren*) and was hardly distinguishable from *Shāsh* (Chāch) situated on the Chirchik, both rivers being right affluents of the Jaxartes, downstream from Farghāna, Barthold, *o.c.*, 169. Some "dihqāns" struck coins in *Īlāq* even in 388 and 399 A.H., see Markov, *Inventarniy Katalog*, SPb., 1896, pp. 218-19, and Barthold, *o.c.*, 307.

According to the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, p. 28, the *mubayyiḍa* "wearers of white raiment" (in Persian *safid-jāmagān*) were the supporters of al-Muqanna' ("the Veiled Prophet of Khorāsān") who, as I. Athīr, vi, 25-6, says, placed Abū Muslim above the prophet Muḥammad and denied the death of the imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd (*v.s.*, note to § 23, 50.). Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 197, and Marquart, *Histor. Glossen*, in *WZKM*, 1898, 177. On the other hand in Bīrūnī's *Canon*, f. 25, the Zoroastrians of Īrānshahr living to the west of the river of Balkh (*i.e.* Oxus) are distinguished from those who lived beyond that river and were called *Mubayyiḍa* or *Isfandiyāriya*, cf. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte von Khwārizm*, Sitz.WAW, 1873, lxxiii, p. 485 (15). [In MS. Or. 1997, fol. 25a below, the name is spelt المجوس الاسفنداريه. Sachau's interpretation may refer to Isfandiyār's exploits in Tūrān, but it is more likely that the reading is **al-isfidh-yāriya* (< *al-isfidh-dāriya*, cf. **shahradār* > *shahriyār*)¹ of which *al-mubayyiḍa* is the exact Arabic rendering.]

64. Iṣṭ., 331, calls the provincial capital Tūnkath (variant تونك), cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 172. According to Russian papers (14.vii.1934) its imposing ruins were found at 90 Km. from Tashkent; the town was well planned and had wide and straight streets, large squares and huge water-tanks; the town walls reached the height of 7 metres.

65. Iṣṭ., 332, I.Kh., 28, *ma'din al-fidda*. The spelling *saym* would indicate the pronunciation **sēm* instead of the usual *sīm*. The word is derived from (ἀργύριον) ἄσημον, in Latin (*argentum*) *infectum*, *i.e.* "not-finished, not-coined silver". The Syriac form is *sēmā*, cf. H. H. Schaefer, *Iranica*, 1934, p. 35.

66. Iṣṭ., 332, 345: Dakhkath. The mention of arsenic gives more precision to Maq.'s mention (p. 326) of it (*dhul-fār* [sic]) in *Īlāq*.

67. Iṣṭ., 331: N.mūdhlugh, *Arpalikh (Maq., 265); [*Itlukh*, "the Dog village" abest]; Banjkash (Maq., Bānkhash), cf. also under 75.

¹ According to Melgunov, the aspen is called, in the Caspian provinces, both اسفیدار ("white tree") and اسفیار.

68. Išt., 345: Sāmsīrak. 69. حنج, perhaps حنج, Maq., 265 (in Shāsh). Khās, Išt., 332, Maq., 265 (in Ilāq). 70. Išt., 329: Gharjand (in Shāsh). 71. Išt., 331: Tukkath; cf. 79.

72. Išt., 329: K.l.shj.k, Ardalānkath, and Ishbīnghū (in Shāsh); *ibid.*, 331: Khumrak (in Ilāq). حجاج perhaps حجاج, Išt., 329 (in Shāsh).

73. Išt., 330: K.dāk, Ghazak. خيال unknown? Išt., 229: Vardūk, K.b.rna, Gh.drānk,—all in Shāsh.

74., 75. Išt., 330: Anūd-kath, Baghunkath, Farankath, Jabghūkath, all in Shāsh. In view of several other Turkish names in the region Baghūy-kath could contain the Turkish name Baghūy; cf. *Dib-Baqy* (one of Oghuzkhan's mythical ancestors). Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, i, 10, explains that *dīp* means "the place of a throne" and *baqy* "the leader of a nation" (*il-ulughi*).

76. Išt., 331: Sh.kākath, Bānjikāsh (in Ilāq), cf. 67. 77. This Tunkath is decidedly different from 71.

78. Išt., 331: Bālāyān (in Ilāq). On the river see § 6, 22. The name is not found either in A. Markov's *Inventarniy Katalog*, nor in the list of mints in Codrington's *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, 1904. The presence of the mint must probably be connected with the silver-mine of 65.

79. Chāch, Arabic *Shāsh*. On the trees *khalang* and *khadang* see *BGA*, iv, 222, 229. *Khadang* is mentioned in *Transoxiana*, Išt., 289a, but not *khalang*. [Cf. also notes to § 52.] On the Shāsh bows see Maq., 325.

80.–83. Išt., 328, 330, gives, in a different order, the following parallels: Binkath, Nūjakath, Barkūsh, Khātūnkath, D.nf.ghānkath, Banākath, Kharashkath, Biskath, Najākath, K.nk.rāk (all with numerous variants). 80. Binkath is the present-day Tashkent. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* writes: "سک **Bīnkath*, chief place of Shāsh; in Turkish and in Greek (called) Stone Tower (*burj al-ḥijāra*)". The hint is at the popular Turkish etymology *tash* "stone" + *kand* "village" brought into relation with Ptolemaic λίθινος πύργος, *v.s.*, § 9, 12. However **Tāsh-kand* most probably contains the name of the province Chāch (*v.s.* 79.): *Chāch-kand* or *Shāsh-kand* > *Tāsh-kand*, with a dissimilation similar to *čaθr* > Middle Persian *tas* "four"; *Shūshtar* > Arab. *Tustar*; **sarpūsh* > Arab. *tarbūsh* [see *s.v.* *Turban* in *EI*]. 81. Nūjakath near the Chirchik railway station, Barthold, *o.c.*, 174. 83. حرکت probably خرجانک which Išt., 332, places in Ilāq. Shutūrkath, Maq., 342, at a marḥala from Binkath. On the rivers of 81. see § 6, 17. and 22., cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 163.

VII. Region of Ispījāb (**Ispēchāb*).

The original part of the Ispījāb region occupied the basin of the Aris, a right affluent of the Jaxartes, downstream from Shāsh, but in a larger sense it comprised also the adjacent territories on the Jaxartes (though not its lower course, cf. § 26, 27.) and the Talas valley, Barthold, *o.c.*, 176. Ispījāb belonged to the Turks and, though subjugated in A.D. 840 by the Sāmānid

Nūḥ, still enjoyed great privileges. The town of Ispījāb is the present-day Sayram; on their identity cf. Kāshgharī, i, 78.

84.-93., cf. Iṣṭ., 333-4.

85. For Sānikath, Iṣṭ., 346, gives Usbānikath, and Maq., 263, Arsubānikath; it lay at 2 days' distance to the north-west of Ispījāb (in Kunjīda, cf. 89.).

86. دخک, I.H., 390, Budakhkath, Maq., 263, Adhakhkath (in Isfijāb); different from 66. Dhakhkath in Ilāq.

87., 88. Pārāb (Fārāb) occupied a small area on both banks of the Jaxartes. Its chief place Kadir is also in Iṣṭ., 346, Barthold, *o.c.*, pp. 176-7. For Sutkand I.H., 335, 391, gives Biskand; its ruins lie near the Qara-kul lake, Barthold, *o.c.*, 177.

89. I.H., pp. 390-1: Kunjīda; see 85.

90. Šabrān, Iṣṭ., 346, details in I.H., 391.

91. Dharnūkh may correspond to Maq., 263*f*, 274: Turār-Zarākh: "a town belonging to a *rustāq* lying behind Saurān [cf. 90.] in the direction of the Turks; it is small and fortified; it possesses a citadel; Zarākh is a village in this *rustāq*". It is possible that this ترار is but another spelling for طرار (*v.i.* 92.) and corresponds to اطار Otrar where Timur died in 807/1405. It must be carefully distinguished from طراز (*v.i.* 93.).

92. Sūnākh corresponds to "Sughnaq, town of the Ghuz", in Kāshgharī, i, 392; cf. Maq., 323*k*: طراز و صنناخ read: "طرار و صنناخ", *i.e.* Otrar and Sighnakh. In Turkish *sighnakh* means "place of refuge"; cf. the name of a town in Georgia and of several places in Qara-bāgh (Transcaucasia). The ruins of Sighnakh are situated at 20 Km. north of the Tūmān-aryq post station, cf. Yakubovsky, *Ruins of Sighnak* (in Russian) in the *Soobshcheniya Gosudar. Akademii materialnoy kulturi*, Leningrad, 1929, pp. 123-59. (It is open to doubt whether سوس or سوسن in Iṣṭ., *BGA*, iv, 424, and Maq., 263*g*, mentioned under Ispījāb may conceal the name of Sūnākh).

93. These places belonging to the Talas and Chu basins were situated in the locality which our author calls the "Khallukh Gate". They lay along the road from Ispījāb to Barskhān, on which see I.Kh., 28-9, and Qudāma, 105-6 (*v.s.*, § 15, 10.). Maq., 263, 274-5, describes them under Isfijāb, though all of them certainly did not belong to the latter. Ṭarāz (Talas) was situated on the Talas river near the site of the actual Auliyā-Ata and is entirely different from Otrar on the Jaxartes (*v.s.* 91.). Shaljī stood in the mountains at 4 farsakhs to the south of Ṭarāz, Barthold, *Report*, 14-17. P. P. Ivanov, *K voprosu o drevnost'akh v verkhov'yakh Talasa*, in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg*, Leningrad, 1934, p. 241-51, identifies Shaljī with the ruins of Aq-tapa (near the village Dmitriyevskoye) on the upper course of the Talas. Farūnkath (Afrūnkath) is not in the Arabic texts unless it is the ribāt انفرن **Anfarun* (?) which Iṣṭ., 336-7, places in the Qalās steppe, on the frontier between Shāsh and Ispījāb. Between Takābkath and Mirkī, Maq. mentions Kūlān; both Kūlān and Mirkī will be found in the description of the Khallukh territory, § 15, 1.-2. Their mention in the present paragraph may refer to the time after Nūḥ's campaign of A.D. 840.

§ 26. Transoxanian marches

These "marches" consist of two entirely distinct groups: the eastern [*south-eastern] one, comprising the localities on the upper Oxus (1.-16.) and the upper Indus (17.-18.) and the western [*northern] one, to which belong Khwārazm (19.-26.) and the localities on the lower Jaxartes (27.). Briefly the two regions can be called Khuttalān and Khwārazm respectively.

As in §§ 23 and 24, the difference between Transoxiana and its marches is more geographical than political, for the amīr of Chaghāniyān (§ 25, 27., to say nothing of 46. Farghāna, 63. Ilāq, and 79. Chāch) is mentioned in Transoxiana whereas his neighbour of Khuttalān ruling over the south-eastern wedge of the territory is included in § 26. See **Map ix**.

1. Khuttalān, Iṣṭ., 349: Khuttal, occupied the area east of the Vakhsh river down to the Panj (cf. § 6, 6.-9.). The principal authorities for the region are: Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 289, I.Kh., 37, I.R., 92, Iṣṭ., 297, 339, Maq., 283, 290. The pronunciation Khuttalān is confirmed by the popular song quoted in Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, which is considered as one of the earliest specimens of Modern Persian.¹ The princes of the Bānījūr family bore the title of Shēr-i Khuttalān, I.Kh., 40, Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 300-2 (genealogy),² Barthold, *Khuttal* in *El*. On the celebrated Khuttalān breed of horses (*v.i.* 3.) see I.Kh., 180 (and transl. 141); cf. Marquart, *o.c.*, 300-1 (Chinese sources), *Wehrot*, 88 (myths connecting horses with springs).

Following on Saghāniyān, Kharūn, and Māsand (§ 25, 27., 33., 28.) Ya'qūbī, 289, enumerates without any clear system باساران (I.Kh., 37, باسرا, I.R., 92, باسار), کبرسرار, Qubādhiyān, وز (= Nūdiz, Iṣṭ., 298, *v.s.*, § 6, 10.), Vakhsh (= Lēvkand), Halāvard, Kārbang, Andishārāgh, Rustā Bīk, Hulbuk, and Munk. More useful are the distances quoted by Iṣṭ., 339, under "Khuttal and Saghāniyān and the region between them". Marquart, *o.c.*, 232, has analysed these data, but I believe that two emendations are necessary in the text to render it intelligible. Iṣṭ. starts from the two fords on the Jaryāb (Oxus); the one lying higher up on the river is (A) *Ma'bar Badhakhshān* (*v.s.*, note to § 24, 24.), and the other (B) *Ma'bar Ārhan*. The former almost certainly is the ford of Bahārak crossed by the road from Rustāq (in the Afghān Badhakhshān) to Kulāb = Hulbak (in the Soviet Tājikistān); the latter lay near Ḥaḍrat-Imām-Šāhib, Marquart, *o.c.*, 233, Barthold, *o.c.*, 70. Iṣṭ.'s passage consists of several distinct items.

From the Badhakhshān ford (A) to Munk 6 marḥalas, thence to the Stone Bridge (on the Vakhshāb) 2 ditto; thence to Lēvkand 2 ditto; (thence) downstream to Halāvard 1 ditto (both Lēvkand and Halāvard lying on the Vakhshāb).

From the Ārhan ford (B) to Halāvard 2 marḥalas.³

¹ The name Khuttal as well as several other names of the region (Hulbuk, Munk) sound non-Iranian (Tokharian, Hephthalite?).

² More specially on the Abū Dā'ūdīd branch *v.s.*, § 24, 12.

³ This sentence is probably an interpolation. To complete his east-to-west semicircular description Iṣṭ. would have better said: "and from Halāvard to the Ārhan ford".

From "the" ford (*al-ma'bar*)¹ to Hulbuk 2 days; thence to Munk 2 days.

Kārbanj lies above the Ārhan ford, *circa* 1 farsakh.

Tamliyāt to the Stone Bridge 4 farsakhs (along the Munk road).²

From the Badhakhshān [read: **Ārhan*]³ ford to Rustāq Bik 2 marḥalas; thence across the Andīchārāgh river [= Ṭā'ir-su] to Andīchārāgh 1 marḥala; thence across the Pārghar river to Pārghar 1 day; (thence) across the برسان river [p. 296, برسان, I.H., 401, بلبان read *تلبار Talvār = Munk river] to Hulbuk (distance left out).

2. At present Hulbag to the south of Kulāb, cf. § 6, 8.

3. "Nuchārā" coupled with Rustā Bik certainly corresponds to Andīchārāgh (the name has several variants and the alternating of ج and ش in them confirms the ċ of Nuchārā), see Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, 279, Iṣṭ., 296, 339, Maq., 290r. Misunderstandings in the available manuscripts and editions have complicated the identification of Andīchārāgh,⁴ but Barthold, *o.c.*, 69, is certainly right in placing it near the Ṭā'ir-su (a small river between the Pārghar and Vakhshāb). In our text we must certainly assume that Nuchārā lay between "وختاب *Vakhshāb (not خرناب Kharnāb) and Jayhūn", for placing it between the Kharnāb (= Bārtang, § 6, 7.) and Jayhūn would upset Iṣṭ.'s distances and, as regards the other indications of our text, would be contrary to the order of enumeration and to the item on Nuchārā being the store-place of Khuttalān. Maq., 291, confirms that Andījārāgh lay close to the Jayhūn, and as regards the mountain mentioned in our text, the hills stretching east of the Ṭā'ir-su (3,700 feet high) would fulfil this condition as well. Russian sources evaluate at 124 Km. the distance between Ayvaj (situated at the estuary of the Kāfirniḥān river, cf. Maq., 292, اوزج فی) and Saray lying upstream from it (opposite the Afghān settlement of Ḥaḍrat-Imām-Ṣāhib). Beyond the Qaraul-tübe post (*circa* 97 Km. upstream from Ayvaj) the road "ascends the Jili-kul plateau, famous for its pastures, on which the Qirghiz and Uzbeks successfully breed horses", and then near Fayḍābād [different from the one mentioned in the note to § 25, 35.] descends into the thickly inhabited Sarāy plain, see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan'skiy kray*, SPb., 1913, p. 738. Therefore I should more exactly identify Nuchārā to Sarāy and Rustā-Bik to Jili-kul (lying to the east of the Vakhsh river). The Jili-kul pastures must still carry on the Rustā-Bik

¹ Marquart takes it for the just mentioned (B). I decidedly take it again for (A) in view of the distances: 6 marḥalas from (A) to Munk easily = 4 days, with Hulbuk lying half-way; moreover Hulbuk and Munk are on the road leading up from (A) and not from (B).

² Tamliyāt adds another detail to the road first described roughly from (A) to Munk and thence to the Stone Bridge.

³ I decidedly think that the route stretched entirely on the right bank of

the Oxus in a SW. to NE. direction.

⁴ Marquart, *o.c.*, 234, following his interpretation of I.R., 92 (*v.s.*, § 23, 69.), placed it on the left bank of the Oxus. Le Strange, *The Lands*, 435, identified the Andīchārāgh river with the Bārtang (= Aq-su, Murghāb, Sarēz in the Pamir) having taken it for the *first* affluent of the Oxus, whereas Iṣṭ., 296 (= I.H., 347) and Maq., 22, assign to it only a *fourth* place.

traditions, now one thousand years old! Some coins struck in Andīchārāgh have come down to us. See Markov, *Invent. Katalog*.

4. Now Pārkhār, east of the river formed by the streams of Baljuvān and Kulāb, cf. note to § 6, 7.

5. Having mentioned separately the capital of Khuttal (2.) our author seems to carry his enumeration from the south-eastern corner of the province (3.), in a north-easterly direction (4.) to 5. Munk, thence to turn back southwards along the course of the Vakhshāb (Tamliyāt, Halāvard, and Līvkanḍ). In this case Bārsārāgh (not otherwise known) ought to be looked for somewhere between Pārghar and Munk on the Munk-Hulbuk river. If, however, we examine the outward form of the name the only parallels are باساران and کبرسراع which Ya'qūbī, 289, names somewhere in the Kāfirniḥān basin. I.Kh., 39, names *Bās.rā* between Ṣaghāniyān and Vāshjird. In I.R., 92, *B.sār* seems to be due only to de Goeje's surmise, cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 234. *Bāsārān/Bās.rā* lay outside the Khuttalān proper but it could be an acquired fief of a member of the Khuttalān family. Ya'qūbī names a Ḥātim b. Dā'ūd in وز which comes in the enumeration immediately after Qubādhiyān. It may correspond to our Nūdiz (§ 6, 10.) which in this case must be looked for on the lower course of the Kāfirniḥān river.

As regards the other two names of our 5., according to Iṣṭ., 297, Munk (= Baljuvān) was larger than Hulbuk. Tamliyāt (in Iṣṭ., but not in Ya'qūbī) lay probably at Shīr-guzār near the loop of the Vakhsh.

6.-8. Halāvard = Qurghan-tübe; Lēvkand = Sang-tūda, both on the Vakhsh, the latter upstream from the former. Cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 69.

9. Our source clearly spells راشت and so does Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 35. The usual reading is راشْت (Rāsht) and a *sukūn* over ش could be taken for the three dots over ژ. More curious is the fact that Ya'qūbī, 290 *e* gives حاسب **ḡāsb* < **ḡāsh*t which is a good parallel for *Zhāsht*. Yāqūt mentions separately, ii, 733: Rāsht and ii, 907: Zāsht, though he does not even explain where this latter locality (*mauḍi'*) was situated. I.Kh., 34, says that Rāsht is the farthest distant point of Khorāsān in the [north-eastern] direction; Rāsht lay between two mountains and the Turks used to penetrate through it on their raiding expeditions; therefore the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd constructed (*'allaqa*) there a gate. The thirteenth-century Spanish geographer Ibn-Sa'īd pretends that this *ḡabal bāb al-Faḍl* was connected with the well-known wall in the Qalās steppe, see Barthold, *Ibn-Sa'īd*, p. 239, and *Turkestan*, 175. According to I.R., 92, the Vakhshāb rising in the Kharlukh region flowed through the lands of Fāmir (Pāmir), Rāsht, and Kumēdh. Iṣṭ., 340, continues his route from Vāshjird (*v.s.*, § 25, 35.) to Īlāq (the Fayḍābād river is still called *Ilak*) 1 day; thence to Darband 1 day; thence to Jāvkān 1 day; thence to the fortress of Rāsht 2 days. Rāsht is certainly Garm (in Turkish Qara-tegin, see Barthold, *Karategin* in *El*). Zhāsht had an amīr of its own, *v.i.*, under 11.

10., 11. The Kumijī and the K.njīna-Turks were evidently remnants of some earlier population or wave of invasion. Both our text and Bayhaqī,

611, 696, mention these two groups distinctly. Only the K.njīna-Turks (whose number was small and who occupied only one valley between the Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān) are classed as "Turks" in our author as well as in Maq., 283, Bayhaqī, 696 (ترك مكيه), and the *Mafātih al-'ulūm* (written in 365 or 381 A.H.). The latter, p. 110, has a curious passage: "The Hayāṭila (Hephthalites) are a tribe of men who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Ṭukhāristān; the Turks [called] Khallukh (cf. notes to § 15, § 23, 69., and § 24, 22.) and K.njīna (ازراك خلخ و كنجيه) are their remnants." The use of the term "Turk" in early Muslim literature is loose and even the Tibetans are considered as Turks, see Bīrūnī, *India*, 101, 207, cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 102-3; therefore the racial appurtenance of the Hephthalites is still obscure. Marquart derived the name of Chaghāniyān from Mongol *tsaghān* "white" and took it for an indication as to the Hephthalite origins, *Wehrot*, 93, note 3, and *Komanen*, 73. In his *Wehrot*, 93-4, he boldly restores Maqdisi's (p. 283) كنجيه (var. كنجيه) as **Kamijīna* in order to compare this name with that of the *Kamičik* Hephthalites whom the Armenian historian Moses Kalankatvats'i mentions in the Caucasus (i, ch. 27, Patkanian's trans., p. 70). [Cf. also Marquart in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, 1929, p. 98: "die hephthalitischen Kamičij-ān in Čaghāniyān und Kamičik Hep't'alk' im nördlichen Daghistan, die wohl nach ihrer Heimat am Kām (Jenissei) benannt sein werden".]

The question of the K.mijī is still more complicated. Two earlier authors, Ya'qūbī and I.R., refer to a locality of which the name may be restored as **Kumēdh*. Ya'qūbī, 290, says that Munk (§ 26, 5.) was the frontier "towards (*ilā*) the lands of the Turks, towards the locality called Rāsht, **Kumēd* (كماد), and Bāmir (Pāmir)". This awkward sentence, if considered in the light of the parallel passage in I.R., 92 (*v.s.* 9.), seems to refer separately to the [Khallukh-] Turks and the three last mentioned localities. I.R. (*v.s.* 9.) certainly places the *Kumēdh* downstream of Rāsht. On the other hand our author, Maq., 283, Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, Index, and Bayhaqī, 499, 576, 611, 696, speak of the people K.mijī (*K.mējī*?). Maq., 283, somewhat vaguely says that "neighbouring on Ṣaghāniyān are the people called *K.mijī and the K.njīna Turks (قوم يقال لهم كيجي و ترك كنجيه)",¹ whereas our author not only clearly separates these two peoples but among the K.mijī distinguishes two groups, of which the one (that of Chaghāniyān) occupied the locality of Saylākān between Shūmān and Vēshgird (وشگرد read: وشکرد), *v.s.*, § 25, 35., and the other (that of Khuttalān) lived between Tamliyāt and Munk (on a distance hardly exceeding one marḥala, *v.s.*, Iṣṭ., 339). It is added in our § 6, 10. that the Kāfirniḥān river rises from the limits of the K.mijī. [Shaykh Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī draws my attention to Nāṣir-i Khusrāu's *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Berlin, p. 53, where the كجبان of Khorāsān and the *Kūfichān* of Kirmān stand for barbarity, as they have no divine book. The first name is certainly **Kumijiyān*.]

¹ Here the Turkish *K.njīna* are mentioned distinctly from the tribe (*qaum*) called *K.mijī.

The term *Kumēdh* undoubtedly corresponds to the mountainous tract (ὄρεινή) which according to Ptolemy, vi, 12-13, was inhabited by the Saka tribe *Κωμηῆδαι*. More particularly ἡ τῶν *Κωμηδῶν* ὄρεινή must be distinguished from ἡ φάραγξ (defile) τῶν *Κωμηδῶν*, of which the former comprised the region of the so-called Buttamān mountains (§ 5, 9.) and the latter might correspond to the upper Vakhshāb valley (Rāsht) through which, as accepted by Marquart, *Wehrot*, 63, and Sir A. Stein, *v.s.*, § 9, 12., ran the silk trade route described in Ptolemy. Our *K.mījī* can hardly be detached from *Kumēdh*. The indications of the *H.-'Ā.* are particularly precious as showing that the *K.mījī* were scattered along the whole of the Comedian ὄρεινή. Therefore the name *K.mījī* must be read **Kumēji* < **Kumēd-jī* with the Iranian suffix of origin -*jī*, -*zī*, &c. The *Kumēji* were certainly remnants of the former inhabitants of the region and more probably of the ancient Saka than of the later Hephthalites. Muslim sources (*v.s.*) do not distinctly call the *K.mījī* "Turks" which they probably would have done had the *K.mījī* been regarded as Hephthalites. In any case, pending a proof to the contrary, it is safer not to dissociate the **Kumēji* from the territory *Kumēdh* which in its turn is connected with the Saka (*i.e.* Iranian) *Κωμηῆδαι*.¹ On the historical role of the *Kumijīs* see Barthold, *Turkestan*, Index. Very characteristic is the following passage in Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, p. 36: *pas Abū 'Alī* (lord of Chaghāniyān) *az amīr-i Khuttalān yārī khwāst va khud lashkar jam' kard . . . pas madad andar rasīd Abū 'Alī-rā az Kumijīyān va amīr-i Zhāsht*, which confirms our *yārī khwāstan* in the sense of "ask for aid".

Ia. Road from Khuttal to Kashmīr.

This is the road the beginning of which is hinted at by Ya'qūbī, 396, and vaguely described in I.Kh., 178. The latter says that the merchants starting from the "town of Khuttal" (*madīna Khuttalān*) travel one farsakh to some ribāt (*ribāt fulān*). Thence by a narrow path their goods are carried by the local people up a mountain situated on the bank of the great river (right bank of the Oxus?). From the top of the mountain the carriers make signals to the people of Shikinān and the latter arrive with camels specially trained for fording the river. A contract is then made with the merchants and the camel-men recross the river. "Thereupon (*'alā hādhā*) every merchant takes his route travelling (*al-rā'ih*) towards China or Mūltān." I.Kh. adds that the said ford is situated at 3½ days' distance [?] from the place where the Oxus splits into two branches of which the one is supposed to flow towards Sind and the other is the Jayhūn (Oxus, *v.s.*, § 6, 15.). The terms Shikinān and "Shikīna Turks" undoubtedly refer to the subjects²

¹ Less certain is their relation to the name of *K.mrūdh* (**Kum-rūdh*?), as I.R., 93, calls one of the headwaters of the Chaghāniyān river (Surkhān). In any case, our author, § 6, 10., places the sources of the Kāfirnihān river in the

territory of the *K.mījī*. The Kāfirnihān flows between the Vakhsh (coming from Zhāsht (9.) and the Surkhān.

² And rather to his Turks (camel-men!) than to the real Shighnī Tājiks.

of the Turkish chief whom Ya'qūbī, 292, calls *Khumār-bik (*v.s.*, § 24, 24.). *Shikinān* in a larger sense is applied here to the whole wedge of Afghān territory round which the Oxus sweeps to the north-west of the Pamir. Khumār-bik's possessions are mentioned in Ya'qūbī separately from Badhakhshān, and the reason for the choice of a difficult ford¹ was probably the desire to deal only with the one chief whose territory could, in no case, be avoided, and who controlled many important roads. There is a number of roads on the left (Afghān) bank of the river representing a short cut between Khuttal and the Shughnān, properly so called.² Once in Shughnān (usually merged in Vakhān) the merchants could follow up the stream³ or cross into Chitrāl and Gilgit by the well-known passes in the Hindūkush (Dora, Baroghil). See Map ix.

As an appendix to his account of Khuttal our author describes the route to Kashmīr,⁴ but he omits its first stretch (luckily preserved in I.Kh.'s account) and starts his description from Shughnān. It is possible that using two different sources he did not remark the identity of some points belonging to the said road (going N. to S.) with those mentioned as the extreme extension of the road from Balkh and Badhakhshān to Shughnān (W. to E.). Following his habit of reading the names off his map in a straight line he may have also merged the data belonging to different branches of the road. The following list enumerates all the points mentioned to the east of Badhakhshān:

§ 24, 24. Badhakhshān

- 25. Dar-i Taziyan
- 26. Dih-i S.nk.s
- 27. S.qliya

§ 26, 2. Hulmuk

- 12. Dar-i Tubbat
- 13. R.kht.jab
- 14. Sikāshim
- 15. Khamdādh
- 16. Sanglnj
- 17. Bljm
- 18. Samarqandāq
- 19. Bolor
- 20. Andrās

§ 10, 57. Kashmīr

¹ This ford undoubtedly lay considerably upstream from the Badhakhshān ford, *v.s.* 1., somewhere in Darvāz, for example near Larān (whence a road runs to Baljuvān over Langar), or still higher upstream, near Qal'a-yi Khum.

² The roads passing through Rāgh and the Afghān Darvāz. The roads on the right bank were and are much more difficult.

³ I.Kh., 178, has in view this road when speaking of the sources of the Oxus rising from the mountain "of

China and the regions beyond China" and flowing in a rocky bed. Hsüan-Tsang travelled that way. See now the description of the road over the Vakhjir pass in Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, 1912, pp. 84-8; and *On Ancient Tracks past the Pamirs*, in the *Himalayan Journal*, iv, 1932, with a clear sketch map.

⁴ This may be one of Jayhānī's lists of "little-known stations and far-distant halting places" referred to in Maq., 4.

Here § 24, 25. may be identified with § 26, 12.; § 24, 26. with § 26, 16., and § 24, 27. with § 26, 14. In § 26 the road to Gilgit (over the Baroghil pass) is represented by 12., 14., 15., 18.-20., whereas 13., 16., and 17. must refer to the branch going to Chitrāl (over the Dora pass). Some useful parallels to our names are found in Bīrūnī's *Canon*, where much the same sources are utilized. See Map ix.

12. The "Gate of Tibet" standing apparently west of 13. is very possibly another aspect of the "Gate of the Arabs" (see details in § 24, 25.), unless there were two gates: one between Jerm¹ and Zaybāk (near Bahārak) and one between Zaybāk and Ishkāshim (near Zīrkhān, where now stands the ribāṭ Sirājiya?).

13. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (towards the end of the 4th climate) enumerates in a NW. to SE. direction:

	long.	lat.
Badhakhshān	95°10'	30°0'
district of K.rān	95°20'	34°50'
رجال	*96°0' ²	37°30'
Sikāshim	96°20'	37°0'

From the geographical point of view it is very likely that رجال stands for زيباك Zaybāk which is the only important point between Jerm (*v.s.*, note to 12.) and Ishkāshim. Zaybāk lies in the valley of the Vardoj river which rises from the neighbourhood of the Dora pass in the Hindūkush, and after having flowed past Sanglich, Zaybāk, Tīrgarān, and Chākarān joins from the eastern side the river of Munjān (downstream from Jerm). The present high road from Jerm and Bahārak to Ishkāshim running in an easterly direction seems to leave Zaybāk somewhat to the south, but Zaybāk certainly lies on the road which branches off in the southern direction and, farther up the Vardoj valley (in the neighbourhood of Sanglich), splits into two: one branch of it running SE. towards Chitrāl and the other (by an easy pass) leading in a SW. direction into the upper part of the Munjān valley. The Afghān scribes spell زيباك, see Kūshkakī, *Rāhnumā*, p. 138, which very closely resembles رجال, whereas Sir G. Grierson, *Ishkāshmī, Zebakī, and Yāzghulamī*, London, 1920, spells throughout (see p. 4) *Zebak*, *i.e.* زيبك. There is hardly any doubt about our رختج being identical with Bīrūnī's رجال, but it may be a distortion of the slightly different arabicized form زيبق **Zaybaq* "quick silver" which a popular Arabic etymology might have easily substituted for the Iranian زيبك.

Much more thorny is the interpretation of the caption accompanying Bīrūnī's co-ordinates: (؟) سدهان (؟) رحال في حدود معادن اللؤلؤ وحلاوه. As regards the script the best restoration is that suggested to me by Shaykh Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī: *رحاوه³ for سدهان and *بخشان³ for رحال. I must

¹ Called by Ya'qūbī, 288₁₅, the last town to the east of Badhakhshān before Tibet.

² Or. 1994 gives as the longitude 97°0', but the Berlin MS. has 96°0', *i.e.* 97°0', but the Berlin MS. has

a better reading 96°0'. As Bīrūnī's tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitude "97" cannot precede "96".

³ [See Appendix B.]

add that on the Map 13 of Sprenger's *Postrouten* the reading *وحدان* is inexact: the text of the Or. 1997 runs as quoted above and the Berlin Or. 8° 275, fol. 102r., of which Dr. W. Gottschalk has kindly procured me a copy, has *مدحان* . . . *رحان* . . . *وحدان*. Leaving aside the first letters the group . . . *دحان* strongly reminds one of (*Ba*)*dhakhshān*.¹ The tentative translation would consequently be: "*رحان* lies within the limits (or on the frontier) of the ruby mines and opposite it is *Badhakhshān*". The mention of the ruby mines in connexion with *Zaybāk* can be explained² but the meaning of *حدان* is decidedly vague. In a caption where every word must have a clear sense, what would mean the indication that *Badhakhshān* (already mentioned before it) lies "opposite" it?³ In view of this vagueness I suggest the reading *ووراء مدحان* "and beyond it is *Mundajān*" which involves more alterations in the text but gives a more satisfactory reading. The form *مدحان* is attested in I.Kh., 37, and looking from the road *Munjān* would appear as lying "beyond" *Zaybāk*. In more detail this hypothesis will be developed under 16. [See Appendix B.]

14. In the later *T'ang-shu* the capital of *Hu-mi* (= *Vakhān*) is also **Sai-kia-shen* (so instead of *Han-kia-shen*), Marquart, *o.c.*, 224, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 164, but in *Bīrūnī*, *Canon*, *Sikāshim* (now *Ishkāshim*) is distinctly called *قبة سکنان* "capital of **Sh.knān*". Under § 6, 6. and § 10 (introduction) our author seems to include "*Shaknān*" in *Vakhān*. *Shaknān* (*sic* in our text) has no separate description in the *H.-'Ā.* unless we take for it § 24, 27. (evidently borrowed from a different source). In the course of time the extent of the *Shughnān* territory considerably changed. *Hsüan-tsang* (seventh century) evaluates its circuit at 2,000 *li* (20 days). The basic territory of *Shughnān* lies on the *Oxus* downstream from *Ghārān* and upstream from *Darvāz*, see Minorsky, *Shughnān* in *EI*.

15. *Khamdādh* is undoubtedly *Khandūd*, a considerable village in *Vakhān* (on the Afghan side), opposite which (on the Russian side) are situated the ruins of an ancient fort to which our description may refer (as the description runs south-east, "left side" means north), cf. *Kūshkakī*, *o.c.*, 165: *Qal'a-yi Sangī*; Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, pp. 402-3, and pl. 47: ruins of *Zamr-i atash-parast* near *Yamchin*, opposite *Khandūd*, on the

¹ It is strange though that, after having correctly spelt and dotted the name of *Badhakhshān* two lines above, the scribe should have mis-spelt it at this place. This is an argument in favour of a different name in the original.

² [The explanation may be that, though *Zaybāk* is separated from *Ishkāshim* by a watershed, the whole *Zaybāk-Ishkāshim* tract forms one geographical area shut off by narrow gorges from *Badakhshān*, *Vakhān*, and the present-day *Shughnān*. The *Ghārān* district ("the caves") lies in the defile through which the *Oxus* forces its way

northwards to *Shughnān*, see Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 873, and it is noteworthy that *Kūshkakī*, 140 and 148, mentions *Ghārān* both under *Zaybāk* and *Ishkāshim*.]

³ *Ghārān* (*v.i.* 16.) lying on the banks of the upper *Oxus* outside the basin of the *Badhakhshān* river might perhaps be said to lie "opposite" *Badhakhshān*, but the exact wording of the caption is "and opposite *it* lies *مدحان*". Why should the author in an enumeration going NW. to SE. have defined a point "backwards", with reference to the already-mentioned *Badhakhshān*?

Russian side. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yü-ki*, St. Julien, ii, 425, describes *Hun-t'o-to* as the capital of Hu-mi (Vakhān): "In the centre of the town there rises a convent built by the first king of the country. For its construction the hill-side has been cut and a gully filled in." In the great vihāra of the convent there was a canopy of gilt copper suspended over a stone statue of Buddha, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, 1921, i, 60-71 (Vakhān), and *Innermost Asia*, 1928, ii, 863-71. The present-day Khandūd possesses a famous ziyārat of "Shaikh Beg", which seems to confirm the "tenacity of local worship", *Innermost Asia*, p. 866.

16. سنگلج, read: **Sanglich* or *Sanglēch* (perhaps identical with § 24, 26.), lies to the south of Zaybāk (v.s. 13.) on the road to Chitrāl. A crucial test for *S.ngl.nj* = **Sanglich* is the identification of the hot lake near its mine. Our maps show the little "Dufferin lake" at the northern foot of the Dora pass but unfortunately no description of it seems to be available. Badhakhshān was ever associated with rubies (old English *balas*, old French *balais* < *balakhsh*, i.e. *badhakhsh*, with eastern-Iranian *l* for *δ*); however, geographically speaking, the best-known mines lay in Ghārān outside the Kokcha basin which alone constitutes the territory of Badhakhshān proper. On the Russian bank the mines (according to Serebriannikov) lay south of the junction of the Shākh-dara¹ and Ghund rivers (south of the Russian post of Khārōgh). The inhabitants of the village of Ghārān (غاران, Russian transcription *Goron*) remembered in 1911 that from a grotto near-by rubies were extracted even in the nineteenth century but now the mines are abandoned, see Barthold's note *ad* Semenov in *Mir Islama*, 1/3, 1920, p. 300. Further 80 Km. upstream from Khārōgh lies the village Kūh-i la'l where some garnets are still found, cf. *Tājikistān*, p. 261.² As regards the Afghān side Kūshkakī, p. 148, says that the ruby mines "in Ghārān" were closed down as economically unprofitable. Ghārān lies entirely apart from Sanglich and in order to give credit to our author we ought to admit the existence of other ruby mines in the Vardoj valley, now exhausted and forgotten. Apart from the above-mentioned passage from Birūnī's *Canon* where Zaybāk is placed in the region of the mines,³ our text may be supported by Qazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, ii, 325, where silver and garnet mines are mentioned in يۇمگان Yumgān. This valley (Nāsir-i Khusrau's home where he was born and buried) lies on the middle course of the Munjān river. On the mountain separating Yumgān from Zaybāk lapis lazuli mines are situated, and besides them Yumgān now possesses only lead mines, Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 134.

17. The rūstā رستم or رستم is most probably Munjān⁴ lying on the river of

¹ H. Sköld, *Mater. z. d. iran. Pamirsprachen*, Lund 1936, p. 17, spells *Šahdara*. But Sayyid Haydar Shāh's *History of Shughnān* translated by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent 1917, gives Shākh-dara.

² As a rumour Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 179, mentions the presence of a ruby mine near Qal'a-yi Sangī (v.s. 15.).

³ [v.s. p. 366, n. 2, for a new explanation of this item.]

⁴ Unless it refers to some unknown name in the Afghān Kāfiristān (Nūristān) to which also a road leads from Sanglich. [Kūshkakī, p. 235, mentions a road connecting Fayḍābād with Nūristān over a difficult pass called منډال (alt. 15,300 f.). The road, *ibid.*,

the same name upstream from Yumgān (v.s. 16.) and communicating with Sanglich by an easy pass. This suits perfectly our text which after *Sanglich (*i.e.* evidently continuing the road Zaybāk-Sanglich) adds: *va az ānjā bigudharī nāḥiyatī āyadh ū-rā rūstā* *M.lj.m *khwānand*, "and when you are out of it (= beyond it) comes the district called *M.lj.m".¹ Remembering now Bīrūnī's caption (v.s. 13.) which accompanies Zaybāk: وحلاوة سدحان ووراءه "and beyond it is Mundajān". That Bīrūnī speaks of *Zaybāk and our source of *Sanglich makes no difference: Bīrūnī leaves out Sanglich for which he has no co-ordinates but both Zaybāk and Sanglich lie on the same road and in the same Vardoj valley. In Bīrūnī's copy the name *مندجان may have been influenced by the better-known *Badhakhshān*, but the form المندجان is attested in I.Kh., 37, where it comes after Karrān, Shiqinān, and Vakhkhān, and even now the Sanglichī neighbours of Munjān call it *Mandežān*. It was not a rich district for its contribution in taxes (2,000 dirhams) looks insignificant next to the 20,000 of Vakhān and the 40,000 of Shiqinān.² Marquart suggested the identification of Munjān with the land of the Sakāh-Haumavrgah (Σακαυράκαι), Markwart, *Das erste Kapitel des Gāthā uštavatī*, p. 42; cf. now Morgenstierne, *The name Munjān*, *Öc.* in *Bulletin SOS*, vi/2, 1931, pp. 438-44.

[*Additional note.* In the easternmost part of Badhakhshān the revenue list of 211/827, I.Kh., 37, mentions the following group of districts:

البنقان (var. السعان)	3,500	dirhams
Karrān (<i>sic</i>)	4,000	"
Shiqinān	40,000	"
Vakhkhān	20,000	"
al-M.nd.jan	2,000	"

Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 222, restored the first name as **Yanbaqān* > *Yamgān* (better *Yumgān*), and the second one as *Kurān* (with a *ḍamma* for the *tashdīd*). As mentioned above, Yumgān occupies the middle course of the river of which the upper part waters Munjān, and the lower part is called after the borough of Jerm. The Kurān tributary joins this river from the left, upstream from Yumgān. If the identifications are right, I.Kh.'s list does not follow any strict system, for beginning with Yumgān it runs south-west to Kurān, then skips to the Oxus valley (Shughnān and Vakhān, enumerated N. to S.) and finally returns westwards to the upper course of the Yumgān valley.

Iṣṭ., 297, says that the following districts neighbour (*yutākhim*) on the Vakhsh (v.s., note to § 26, 1.): "al-Khuttal, Wakhkhān, *al-Sh.qīna, and

137, seems to run up through the Munjān villages Magnul, Takāb, and Vilav. The Mandāl pass is very clearly shown on the map in Sir G. S. Robertson's *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 1896.]

¹ منجم may be a comprehensible misspelling for *منجم.

² Hsüan-Tsang's *Mung-kien* (Beal, *Si-yü-ki*, ii, 288-9: *Mung-kin*) is still difficult to identify and locate, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 231.

Karrān, which [the latter three ?] are lands of infidels". At another place, p. 279, he makes "the infidel countries Wakhkhān and Karrān" follow on Munk and Hulbuk. It is not very clear whether Karrān refers here to the little-known Kurān, but in the affirmative case Iṣṭ. seems to give to this term an extensive meaning covering the whole of the headwaters of the Yumgān-Jerm river.

The enumeration in our source may be confronted with Bīrūnī's *Canon* in the following way:

	<i>nāhiya K.rān</i>
13. R.kh.tj.b	رجال
14. Sikāshim	Sikāshim
15. Kh.mdād	
16. S.ng.lnj	
17. M.lj.m.	
18. Samarqandāq	
19. B.lūr	<i>Tubbat al-dākhil</i>

As K.rān is located by Bīrūnī to the south-west of رجال there is a probability (a) that it refers to some of the districts left out in his table (e.g., 17.) and (b) that it is used in the sense in which Iṣṭ. uses it.]

18. *S.m.rq.ndāq* looks like a derivative of *Samarqand*.¹ A village of Samarqand existed in Western Mongolia at 7 days' distance from Bish-baliq, cf. Juvainī, *GMS*, xvi, 215, xviii, 250. Barthold, *Die histor. Bedeutung*, p. 4, note 2, and *K voprosu o yazikakh soghd. i tokhar.*, in *Iran*, i, 35, took this name² as an indication of the existence of a Soghdian colony in western Mongolia. The name "Samarqandāq" could be explained in a similar way, particularly as the presence in it of a motley population suggests its commercial importance. Most probably Samarqandāq lay in the Vakhān district now called *Sarḥadd* ("Frontier") and situated opposite the Baroghil pass, over which goes the traffic with Gilgit and the neighbouring countries. It is not improbable that *Sarḥadd* is a remote popular etymology of the ancient *Samarqandāq*. [In the Russian translation of Kūshkakī, p. 150, the name is spelt in Arabic characters سرخند. Is it a mis-print?]

19. Cf. *Bolor* in Marco Polo, 3rd ed. by Yule-Cordier, i, 172, 178-9. In the words of Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i Rashidī*, Engl. transl. E. D. Ross, 385, B.lūr was "bounded on the east by the provinces of Kāshghar and Yārkand; on the north by Badhakhshān; on the west by Kābul and Lamghān; and on the south by the dependencies of Kashmīr". N. Elias *grosso modo* includes in Bolor "Hunza, Nagar, possibly Tash-Kurghan, Gilgit, Panyal, Yasin, Chitral, and probably the tract now known as Kāfiristān", as well as some small states south of Gilgit and Yasin, but excludes from it Baltistān. This latter view is corroborated by our author who treats the "•Bolorian Tibet" (§ 11, 2.) separately from •Bolor (§ 26, 19.). A very curious light is thrown on the story of the descent of the kings

¹ Cf. *Buqaraq* = Bukhārā in Orkhon Turkish.

² Pelliot contests the reading and says

the place was really called *Qum-singir*, see *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, p. 460.

of Bolor from the Sun by the legend recorded in Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yü-ki*, St. Julien, ii, 109-116; Beal, ii, 298. A Chinese princess betrothed to the king of Persia (Po-la-ssü) was on her way to join her fiancé. For fear of some troubles which broke out at that time the princess was placed on some inaccessible peak and there became enceinte from a knight who, at noon, came down from the Sun. The attendants dared not continue their journey with the princess who remained on the peak and became the founder of the local dynasty of K'ie-p'an-t'o. This latter name refers, most probably, to Sarikol situated on the south-eastern slopes of the Pamirs, on the road from Kāshghar and Yārkand both to the Pamir and to the region of the northern sources of the Indus, which is known under the name of Bolor. [Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, 251, interprets **Hat-pan-t'o* as **Gharband* "angustiae".] Sir A. Stein identifies the peak of Hsüan-Tsang's story with the Qiz-qurghan "The maiden's castle" in Taghdumbash-Pamir, *Serindia*, i, 1921, p. 73, and *On ancient Central-Asian tracks*, 1933, p. 47. See Map iv.

20. اندراس lying on the road to Kashmīr could be tentatively identified with Drās (east of the Zoji-La pass) situated at c. 100 Km. to the east of Srinagar, in the Indus basin, on the road leading up to Gilgit (*v.s.* 19.).¹ As this part of the *H.-'Ā.* has several points in common with Bīrūnī's *Canon*, one can postulate the identity of اندراس with Bīrūnī's رهاں (or برهان) which is said to be "the Gate of Kashmīr, situated in the direction of several of its roads" باب کشمیر الی بعض دروہ. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 485, mentions a fort Andarkūl (اندرکول), which also may be identical with our *Andrās*. The next stage south of Andrās must be Kashmīr which is mentioned as the last place in India (§ 10, 57.).

[*Additional note.* N. Elias identifies Andarkūl (or *Indrakot?) with Bārāmūla (circa 40 Km. to the north-west of Srinagar, on an important road to Gilgit, &c.) whereas Bīrūnī, who describes the western approaches of Kashmīr, gives the following co-ordinates:

B.rhān (?) long. 98° 0' lat. 33° 25'
Srinagar „ 98° 40' „ 33° 20'

After all Andrās, Andarkūl, and B.rhān may be different places. Sir A. Stein in an additional note to his *Memoir on map . . . of Kaśmīr*, Calcutta 1899, p. 222, finally admits the identification of Bīrūnī's place "lying halfway between the rivers Sind and Jaylam" with *Babarhān*, as the basin of the three rivers uniting near Chamhad is still called. Chamhad lies south-west of Abbotabad in the Mian Khaki Nullah drained westwards to the Indus.]

II. Khwārazm.

Barthold, *Turkestan*, 142-55, *Irrigation*, 77-102, *Nachrichten über d. Aral See*, Leipzig, 1910 (Russian original in *Izv. Turkest. Otdel. Geogr. Obshch.*, iv, 1902), *Khwārizm* in *EI*.

21.-22. The description of Khwārazm is extremely brief. The author says nothing of the destruction of Kāth by the Oxus, cf. Iṣṭ., 131, I.H., 351,

¹ Mīrzā Iskandar invaded Kashmīr over Zoji-La, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 423.

and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 145. In our author's days the old dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs descended from the legendary Siyāvush and from Afrigh (said to have flourished towards A.D. 305) was living its last days. Abū 'Abdillāh, the 22nd and last of the shāhs, was killed in A.D. 995 by Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, the eponym of the Ma'mūnid dynasty, see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte von Khwārizm*, Sitz.WAW, 1873, lxxxiii, 500 (30). Cf. also M. Nāẓim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, pp. 56-60 and 184-5. In common with the detailed list of products in Maq., 325, our list has only *rukḥbīn* and, perhaps, *qazhāgand* (if the latter stands for *durū* "armour").

23. Khushmīthan (Ardakhusmīthan), 24. Nūzhābān (Nūzvār), and 25. Gurgānj (Arabic: *ḡurjāniya*) follow each other in Išt., 341. Maq., 287 and 289, has a variant Nūzābān and also speaks of the iron gate of this town. The description of Gurgānj in our author contains some original traits: double town, a separate amīr. The old rivalry (*ta'aṣṣubī qadīm*) between the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs of Kāth (on the right bank of the Oxus) and the amīrs of Gurgānj (on the left bank of the river) is an interesting portend of the events of A.D. 995, see Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, p. 57. Cf. notes to § 1. [On the ruins of Gurgānj see A. Yakubovsky, *Razvalini Urgencha* in *Izv. Akad. Mater. Kult.*, vi/2, 1930, 68 pp.]

26.-28. The form کردنارخاس is nearer to Maq., 287: کرد رانخاس than to Išt., 299: کرد ران خواش. For مدینه Išt. and Maq. give مدینه (with variants) and for Qara-tagīn, B.rā (F.rā)-tagīn. The details of 27., 28. are new.

29. This paragraph exactly corresponds to I.H., 393. Neither Išt. nor Maq. mention these three towns on the lower course of the Jaxartes. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 178, and *Irrigation*, 149. Jand is identified with the ruins of Khisht-qal'a, in the locality of Tumar-utkul, on the left bank of the Jaxartes at *circa* 25-30 Km. west of Perovsk (now Turkestan). The "new Settlement" (in Arab. *al-qaryat al-jadīda*) = the ruins of Jankent, situated at 5-6 Km. south of the old Khivan fort Jan-qal'a (which latter stands at 22 Km. downstream from Kazalinsk), see Barthold, *History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1927, p. 68, and Barthold, *A Historical Sketch of the Turkmens* (in Russian), 1929, p. 15. See Map vii.

§ 27. Sind

In addition to the works enumerated in the notes to § 10 (India), see H. G. Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi, part i, 1892, pp. 155-297 (2 maps); Le Strange, *The Lands*, 329-33; many arduous problems connected with the Muslim itineraries across *Mukrān (Makrān) and Sind have been studied in detail by Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 177-99: "Zur historischen Topographie von Kermān und Mukrān"; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, vol. 46 of *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (with a detailed map of the ancient course of the Indus); N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, 1934, vol. 48 of the same series (map); Sir A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in Southern Persia*, in *GJ*, Feb. 1934, pp. 119-35 (clear sketch map).

By "Sind" (as distinguished from *Hind*, cf. § 10) Muslim geographers mean Balūchistān and the lower region of the Indus, up to Aror. It must be borne in mind that formerly the Indus (Mihrān) followed a more easterly course (the Eastern Nara or Hakra river-bed stretching straight south of Rohri) and emptied itself into the Kori creek, and that already the Arabs found it flowing much more to the west (past Brahmanābād = Maṣūra) but still to the east of its present course, Cousens, *o.c.*, plate ciii (general map).

The present chapter is a brief résumé of Iṣṭ., 170–80, but the region is better defined, inasmuch as the Indus is taken for its eastern frontier, while Iṣṭ., with the usual displacement of bearings, names in its stead the "Fārs sea"; cf. also Maq., 484. [See p. 246, l. 16.]

1.–4. are in the Sind proper; 5.–11. Mukrān (Balūchistān); 12. the Ṭūrān district; 13.–14. the بده Bud-ha district.

On the products of Sind our author has more details than Iṣṭ. Somewhat unexpectedly Maq., 481, mentions Kanbāya-shoes (*al-mi'āl *al-kanbā'iyā*?) exported from Maṣūra (*sic*).

1. According to Iṣṭ., 172, the local name of Maṣūra was Brahmanābād (< *Bahman-ābād*). Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "سهنوا (?) or the Greater منه M.nha [perhaps *تهه Ṭhaṭha, *v.i.* 4.] is (called) Maṣūra because its conqueror said: *naṣartu*". The ruins of Maṣūra lie 47 miles to the north-east of Ḥaydarābād, Cousens, *o.c.*, 48–73, and plates iv–v. Iṣṭ., 173, calls the Quraishite king a descendant of Habbār b. al-Aswad. Cf. notes to § 10.

2. Manjābarī (?), Iṣṭ., 175, lay opposite Maṣūra on the right bank of the Indus, and Sadūsān west of Manjābarī, perhaps between Sahbān (now *Sahwan*) and the Indus, cf. Elliot, i, 401, Marquart, *o.c.*, 188, 190.

3. ووزر stands evidently for بیرون, Iṣṭ., 174, which lay half-way between Daybul and Maṣūra, probably on the site of the present-day Ḥaydarābād. On the various forms of the name (Iṣṭ. نیروز نیرون) see Elliot-Dowson, i, 396–401, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 188. The form *Bīrūn* is attested in Ibn-Sa'īd (610–673/1214–74) quoted in Abul-Fidā, 346–7: "al-Bīrūn, to which belongs Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī". This statement has a very relative value, for Bīrūnī's *nisba* refers to the *Bērūn* (> Arabic *Bayrūn*) suburb in his native Khwārazm and generally speaking the thirteenth-century Spanish geographer was hardly in a position to improve the reading of a doubtful Indian name. Abul-Fidā speaks of the town as "a port of Sind, situated by a salt-water gulf, separating from the sea of Fārs" (?). M.svāhī (?) stood to the west of the Indus.

4. Daybul (Dēbul). Its ruins are differently identified with the localities lying south-west of Tatta (< *Ṭhaṭha), cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 331, Cousens, plate ciii. The Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī (1556) speaks of the port of Tatta called بندر لاهوری *Bandar Lahori, situated on the site of the former دولی سند (*sic*. Portuguese Dioli-Çindi), see Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 9, and *Mohīt*. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, immediately after Daybul mentions separately a place called لهرانی *Lohrānī "which is the Lesser منه M.nha [*Ṭhaṭha? *v.s.* 1.], situated at the place where the Indus disembogues into the sea".

All the localities in Balūchistān are quoted after Iṣṭ. with a noticeable tendency to iranize the names.

Iṣṭ. gives the following itineraries (which are from place to place and not in one line, see Marquart, *l.c.*): Tiz (6.) to Kiz (7. Kiz and Kij) *circa* 5 marḥalas; thence to Fannāzbūr (10. Panjbūr)—2 m., thence to Dizak (7.)—3 m., thence to Rāsk (8.)—3 m., thence to Fuhlafahra (11. Puhlpara)—3 m.; thence to Isfaqa (7. Isk.f with metathesis)—2 light m.; thence to Bind (7.)—1 m.; thence to Bih (7.)—1 m.; thence to Qašrqand (7. Kūshk-i Qand)—1 m.; thence to Qanbalī (5. F.nikī)—2 m.; thence to Daybul—4 m.; thence to Maṣūra—6 m. Most of these places still exist in Balūchistān.

6. Tiz (Ptolemy vi, cap. 8, *Tῆσα*) is situated in the bay of Chahbār, a short distance to the west of the Chahbār village; 7. *Kēch (Kiz, Kij) is the name of a district east of the Nihang river. Kūshk-i Qand (Qašrqand, north of Chahbār), Bih (Geh), Bint, and Dizak follow in good order, but Iskaf (now Ispaka, south of Bampūr) ought to precede Dizak (situated south-west of Jālk). 8. Rāsk lies on the middle course of the Sarbāz river, but the original Rāsk lay probably more to the north on the site of the town of Sarbāz. Its district in Iṣṭ. is called Kh.rūj (I.Kh., 55, Kharūn, read: *Kharūz*, as suggested by Marquart).

9. مَشْكَی (Iṣṭ., 178, مَشْكَی) hardly corresponds to the Mashkai river. As, according to Iṣṭ., it lay near to Kirmān, it may be more likely identified with the important district of Mashkēl (also Mashkēdh). Iṣṭ. distinguishes Mashkay (a district stretching for 3 marḥalas and possessing some palms) from Māsakān (belonging to the Khārijites and producing some sugar-candy). 10. Panjbūr, now the Panjgūr district, south of Mashkēl. 11. Puhlpara (**pahra*), "the bridge watch", now Pahraj, east of Bampūr. Iṣṭ. says nothing about its belonging to Kh.rūj. Less clear are the names 5. Armābīl and Qanbalī (F.nikī). According to Iṣṭ., 178, Armābīl lay at half a farsakh from the sea.

12. See Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. Quzdār, now Khuzdar, 85 miles south of Kalāt, altitude 4,050 feet. Kizkānān (= *Qiqān*, Balādhurī, 432?) where the local ruler resided is probably identical with Kalāt. Shora-rūd is the name of the lower course of the Kalāt-river (off Quetta).

13., 14. The capital of the district belonging to the people called Bud-ha was Qandabīl, now Gandāwa, 75 miles (120 Km.) north-west of Khozdar, north of the Indus, altitude 314 feet (102 m.). Ayl (*Utl*, &c.?) was the district between Kizkānān and Qandabīl, named after its conqueror.

§ 28. Kirmān

Le Strange, *The Lands*, 299-321; Schwarz, *Iran*, 211-88. On the tribes of Kirmān see Marquart's survey in *Catalogue*, pp. 74-81: Balūch, Kōfich, Bāriz, Muzāj, Rasūkh, Jut (ancient *Yutiya*, not Indian *Zuṭt*). To their number must be added the Indian اِنْدَغَار settled in a district of Kirmān in

the direction of Sistān, see Balādhurī, 375–6. [In this and the following chapters bearing on Persia references are made chiefly to the 1:2,000,000 *Map of Persia and Adjacent Lands*, Survey of India.]

Except for some insignificant details this chapter is entirely based on Iṣṭakhri, 157–70. On the mountains of Kirmān see § 5, 10.

1. I.Kh., 49, says: “Jiruft is the largest of the towns of Kirmān, but the wālī lives in Sirjān”, although already Ya’qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 286, considers Sirjān as the greatest of the towns of Kirmān. Our author probably substitutes *king* for I.Kh.’s wālī in view of later information regarding the semi-independent rulers of Kirmān, viz. the short-lived dynasty of the Ilyāsids (of Soghdian origin) who ruled from 317 to 359/929 to 969. Under 324/936 Ibn Miskawaih, ed. Margoliouth, i, 350, 353, ii, 249, while speaking of the seizure of Kirmān by Ibn Ilyās, already names Jiruft as the capital and the fortress Bardasir as the treasury of Ibn Ilyās. Sirjān was only the residence of a son of this ruler, *ibid.*, ii, 250 (under 357 H.); cf. Le Strange, 304. For the rest our text follows closely Iṣṭ., 167 (wells, houses with āzāj). No special mention is found in the older geographers of the Qamādīn suburb of Jiruft (Marco Polo’s *Camadi*) frequently mentioned in the History of the Seljuks of Kirmān, cf. Houtsma, *Zur Gesch. d. Seljuken v. Kermān*, in *ZDMG*, 1885, p. 380 and Houtum-Schindler, *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 43–6.

2. Mentioned together in Iṣṭ., 160. *Khīr* is perhaps *Khabr* on the Fārs frontier.

3. Iṣṭ., 166. On the river see § 6, 28.

4. Iṣṭ., 159–60, 163. Our Bahrūgān seems better than Iṣṭ.’s *N.hrz.njān*. Manūgān (Manūjān) lies south of Jiruft on the river Jagin, cf. under 7. On dates Iṣṭ., 167.

6. The Balūch whose language belongs to the north-western group of Iranian dialects are apparently later immigrants in the Kirmān region, see L. Dames, *Balōčistān* in *EI*. One of the typical traits of Balūchī is the initial *gv* corresponding to Persian initial *b* (cf. *gvād/bād* “wind”). Traces of the same phenomenon in the dialects spoken in the central desert of Persia and in Khorāsān toponymy (cf. Bākhharz < Iṣṭ., 256: *Gwākhharz*) may indicate the stages of Balūch migrations. Maq., 471, says that the Qufš lived in terror of the Balūch whom ‘Aḍud al-daula finally defeated. However, ‘Aḍud al-daula also defeated the Kūfich and in the long run the Balūch must have profited by the weakening of their neighbours.

7. On the Kūfich mountains see also § 5, 10. **Kōfich* means in Persian simply “mountaineer”; in Arabic transcription *Qufš* with *š* for *č*. Iṣṭ., 164, says nothing about their agriculture but Maq., 471, mentions palms and fields in the Qufš mountains. On the peculiar language of the Qufš see Iṣṭ., 167. Maq. compares it (as well as Balūchī!) with Sindī. Very possibly the Kūfich were of Brahōī origin. About our author’s times the power of the Kūfich was crushed by ‘Aḍud al-daula, *v.s.*, p. 28. The details on the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim not in Iṣṭ. Under this term our author seems to understand the hills round Khānū to the east of the sources of the Mīnāo

river (Rūdhān, now Rūdbār). However, Iṣṭ., 162, places the *Ḥauma Qūhistān Abī Ghānim* in the neighbourhood of the Bāriz range.

9. Iṣṭ., 167: Shahrū, var. *Shahrūwā* [*Shahrō* ?].

10. All in the cold zone of Kirmān, Iṣṭ., 159: Jīruqān, K.shistān, Rūbīn, Surqān, M.rz.qān with many variants.

11. Iṣṭ., 161, places Ḥasanābād and Kāhūn between Sīrjān and Dārāb-gird.

12. Cf. § 5, 10. Iṣṭ., 162 *g* (Gothan Persian version) gives دمج و قنبر. The name Dihaj also in I.H., 220.

13. Iṣṭ., 161, after enumerating the localities mentioned under our 15. (and ending with Dārjīn) goes on: "and between Jīruft and Bam the town of *Hrmz* (many variants) is situated known under the name of *Qaryat al-jawz*". This last name ("the Walnut village") is found in our text in the Persian form *Dih-i gōz*. The name Dārjīn coupled with it has been erroneously repeated from the preceding paragraph instead of *Hrmz*. The cinnamon (*dārchīnī*) coming from Dārjīn seems to be due merely to a popular etymology. [According to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, p. 541, the cinnamon tree is a native of the Ceylon forests.]

14. Iṣṭ., 162, says that some people placed Khāsh (or Khwāsh) under Sīstān; he himself places it on the frontier of Kirmān and immediately after it mentions Rīqān (now *Rīgān*) near the Bāriz mountains. The inhabitants of Khwāsh (الخواش) were tent-dwellers and evidently belonged to the Bāriz tribes who, besides Persian, possessed another language, Iṣṭ., 167-8. Khwāsh probably lay in the neighbourhood of the Bazmān-kūh (= *Dunbāvand* in I. Faqih, 106, this latter appellation hinting at some migrations from Māzandarān to Kirmān). Cf. Schwarz, *o.c.*, 252.

15. Iṣṭ., 160: Shāmāt, B.hār, Khannāb, Ghubairā, Kūghūn, Rā'in, Sarvistān, Dārjīn.

16. In Iṣṭ., 166, *madīna* corresponds to our author's *shahristān* and *ahl al-jamā'a* to our "Muslims" (the latter substitution is suggestive for our author's sunnite confession). The turbans and handkerchiefs do not figure in the lists of products of Bam, cf. Schwarz, *o.c.*, 237.

17.-19. Iṣṭ., 162, gives no details on Narmashīr and only Maq., 463, speaks highly of its commerce, but our author does not necessarily depend on Maq. Sibih is evidently a popular form (Iṣṭ., 162, *S.nij* **S.bij*); the Balūches still give the name Ispī to the present-day Nuṣratābād, Le Strange, 325. *Nhla* seems to stand for **Fahla* < *Fahraj*.

20.-21. Iṣṭ., 161, Firzīn, Māhān, Khabīṣ, Bardashīr, Janzrūdh on the road from Sīrjān to the desert. Bardasīr (**Bih-Ardashīr*) is the present-day Kirmān. [Le Strange, 303, considers the form *Yazdashīr*, under which it sometimes appears, a clerical error. But the continuator of Miskawaih, iii, 190, mentions '*Ays Ardashīr* "forest (?) of Ardashīr" in the immediate neighbourhood of Bardasīr. This can be a popular Arabic etymology of a name like **Yazdashīr*.]

22. For this group Iṣṭ., 161, gives Unās, K.rdakān, and Bīrmand. Under § 29, 44., too, Anār stands in our text for Iṣṭ.'s *Unās* (but cf. *Tās* in § 5, 11.).

The name Bimand (Mimand) is firmly attested in numerous Muslim writers; our کومبند may be a compound **Kūt-Mimand* or **Kūh-Mimand*. Maq., 464, particularly speaks of the strong position of Mīmand.

23. The mountains between Sirjān and Kirmān reach the height of 13,000-17,500 feet.

§ 29. Fārs

Le Strange, *The Lands*, 248-98, and Schwarz, *Iran*, 1-211, contain very good descriptions of Fārs according to Muslim geographers. See also the *Fārs-nāma*, ed. by Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson and the excellent *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, by Ḥasan Fasā'ī, Tehran, 1314 A.H.¹ (the illustrative map was separately printed and is very rare; I owe a copy of it to the courtesy of the author's grandson, the present Minister of Public Instruction of Irān, A. A. khān Ḥekmat). Prof. C. Haussknecht's series of maps *Routen im Orient*, 1865-9, published by Kiepert, contains also numerous valuable details. For the coastal region see C. G. Constable and A. W. Stiffe, *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, London, 1864; the subsequent editions of the *Pilot* (the latest 8th edition, 1932) pay less attention to the problems not directly bearing on navigation. Numerous points of the geography of Fārs are discussed by E. Herzfeld in his thesis *Pasargadae*, Berlin, 1907 (with a carefully prepared map), reprinted in *Klio*, viii, 1908.

The present chapter is a mere abridgement of Iṣṭ., or perhaps, of a Persian translation of the Arabic original (see below under 39.). The abundant toponymy of Fārs in Iṣṭ. is not devoid of doubtful points and the names in our text appear in an aggravatingly mutilated form.

With some inevitable inconsistency the author follows his habitual system of enumerating the places as they come on the map in straight lines. He begins with the two capitals, giving the first place to the Islamic Shīrāz, then skips to the south and follows the coast westward, then through Arrajān returns eastward to Shāpūr, then goes on eastward to Dārābjird and after a leap towards the south winds up with the enumeration of the northern districts. This arrangement disregards the administrative divisions as can be seen from the following distribution of the names quoted in the text, according to the five great provinces (*kūra*) of Fārs: Iṣṭakhr (A): 1., 20.-24., 36.-44.; Ardashīr-Khurra (B): 2., 3.-11., 29., 30., 33.; Arrajān (C): 13.-17.; Shāpūr (D): 12., 18.-19.; Dārābjird (E): 25.-28., 31.-32. The provinces are quoted below respectively under the abbreviations: A., B., C., D., E.

On the products of Fārs see Schwarz, 158-67. Iṣṭ., 155, denies the existence of gold in Fārs, but the Leiden epitome (*BGA*, iv, 399) and I.Ḥ., 215, mention gold in Sardan, *v.i.*, under 41. Some curious information on Fārs is found in the sections on the lakes (§ 3, 13.-16.), on the mountains (§ 5, 11.), and on the rivers (§ 6, 29.-36.).

¹ G. de Morgny's *Les tribus du Fars* in *RMM*, 1913, xxii, pp. 85-150, xxiii, pp. 1-108 is entirely based on Ḥ. Fasā'ī.

1. Shirāz, Iṣṭ., 125. The flower is called *rayḥān* "sweet basil" in Iṣṭ., 152.
2. Iṣṭ., 123, admits that his native town was only middle-sized. On the apples Iṣṭ., 150.
3. Ḥiṣn ibn 'Umāra, Iṣṭ., 105. This famous castle (cf. § 36, 18., Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 45) was the easternmost point belonging to Fārs on the coast, 160 farsakhs distant from the westernmost 15., cf. Iṣṭ., 135.
5. Iṣṭ., 105, 108. حرمك **Khurmuk* may stand for خريق or خرمق, chief place of Aghristān, cf. *Khurmuḡ*, north of the estuary of the Mānd.
6. Gūr, renamed Fīrūzābād under the Būyids. Iṣṭ., 153, seems to indicate that only the *qaisūm*-water was the exclusive speciality of Jūr.
7. These four names look badly mis-spelt. Tentatively one might suggest as parallels to بجرىكان **Chīmkan* صيكان (the *Bundahishn* places Yama's castle Yamkert near the Chīmkan mountain in Fārs), cf. also *Fārs-nāma*, p. 139; to حره **Khabr* (Khafr) خبر; to بانو **Nāband* نابد (i.e. the inland Nāband (Maq., 422 p) and not the one lying on the coast south of Ṭāhirī); and to مهران **Samirān* (but see 32.). All these places are mentioned in Iṣṭ., 104-6, I.H., 182, Maq., 422, as appertaining to B. in which lies Jūr.
8. According to the distance Najīram lay on the coast south of the Mānd estuary, near the present-day Dayyir (Iṣṭ., 135: twelve farsakhs from Sirāf), Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 58; however, the indication of our § 6, 29. supported by the *Fārs-nāma*, p. 141, is in favour of Le Strange, who on his Map vi, places Najīram north of the Mānd river.
9. Iṣṭ., 106, places صفاره var. صعاد in the Dasht-i Dastaqān (?) district crossed by the Shādhakān, see § 6, 31. Contrary to Le Strange, 259, note 1, it is impossible that this **Ṣufāra* should have anything to do with the "shore" *Sif banī Ṣaffār* (or *Ṣaffāq*) which bordered on the territory of the Kāriyān Kurds (this territory, Iṣṭ., 115, lying in Ardashīr-Khurra and extending eastwards towards Kirmān). Our بهلوان (indistinct) cannot be بهلو (placed by Iṣṭ., 111, in D.) and stands perhaps for کهرجان mentioned in Iṣṭ., 106, under B. soon after **Ṣufāra*.
10. On the Qarmaṭian Ḥasan Abū Sa'īd, the flour-merchant (*daqqāq*) of Jannāba, and his son Sulaimān, see Iṣṭ., 149. Schwarz, 126, places the death of the father *circa* A.D. 900, and that of the son *circa* A.D. 944. Cf. also Nizām al-mulk, *Siyāsāt-nāma*, p. 195.
11. Tavaz or Tawwaj [Bīrūnī, *Canon*, gives also the form *Tava*] lay on the river Ratin (now Rūd-i Ḥilla), probably near the junction of its headwaters coming from Shāpūr and Dālikī, cf. Iṣṭ., 120. Cf. § 6, 30. and 31.
12. On the two fire temples of Kāzarūn see Iṣṭ., 118.
13. Le Strange, 273, places the ruins of Sīnīz at Bandar-i Daylam and Ḥ. Fasā'ī at some distance to the north of this port. However, south of Bandar-i Daylam the maps show a small inlet (*khor*) called Sini, which is most likely Sīnīz. The *Pilot*, 1864, p. 222, says: "Khor Sini is a small creek about midway between the tomb [of Sabz-pūshān] and Ra's at-Tamb, with deep water inside it. To the southward of it is an old tomb or mosque called Imām Ḥusain. . . . There is a small village and some trees near it. Cap. Brucks states that there are extensive ruins at Khor Sini."

14. In view of Iṣṭ., 112 and 119, both at this place and under § 6, 32. *Rīshahr* must be read for ریشهر. According to Iṣṭ. the Ṭāb river after having flowed past Arrajān *yāsqī rustāq Rīshahr thumma yaqī'u fil-bahr*. I think that here "rustāq of Rīshahr" must be taken for what it stands and distinguished from the town belonging to it which according to Maq., 426, bore the name of درجان **Dayragān*? This town, which is not explicitly mentioned on the Ṭāb, may have lain to the south of it and nearer to the Shīrīn river. This may account for our author's puzzling transfer of Rīshahr to the Shīrīn basin (see note to § 6, 32.) with the usual disregard for the smaller administrative divisions. Incidentally this explanation facilitates the interpretation of Maq.'s route between Arrajān and Mahrūbān (*v.i.* 15. and 16.). If only Mahrūbān lay where we have located it the road could not fail to cross the Shīrīn river. In Sāsānian times Rīshahr¹ was the seat of a Nestorian archbishop, Sachau, *Vom Christentum in der Persis*, Berlin, 1916, p. 9. The name of the town درجان may be a derivative of در "convent"?

15. In Iṣṭ., 113, Maq., 422, *Mahrūbān*, but I.R., 97, gives *Māhīrūbān*. Iṣṭ., 135, fixes the western maritime frontier of Fārs at Mahrūbān. Maq., 453, counts from Arrajān to Rīshahr 1 marḥala, and thence to Mahrūbān 1 ditto, and further says: "and from Mahrūbān to Sīnīz, or to the river (*al-nahr*), 1 marḥala, and from the river to Arrajān 1 ditto." It is not impossible that in the second passage النهر stands for ریشهر, or that, Rīshahr lying near the Shīrīn river, the distance to Rīshahr, or to the river, was practically the same. [The traveller in both directions could like to cross the river not in the evening but in the morning of the second day.] According to our author Māhīrūbān was situated "in the sea between (the bends or branches of) the Ṭāb river" (§ 6, 35.), but as explained in the notes the courses of the Ṭāb and Shīrīn (§ 6, 32.) rivers have got confused in the text. The estuary of the river Ṭāb (Jarrāhi), *i.e.* the Khor-Mūsā, lies too far west for the distances indicated in Maq., and most probably was reckoned to Khūzistān and not to Fārs. Therefore the only estuary at which Mahrūbān could lie is that of the Shīrīn. The Shīrīn may have changed its course but approximately Mahrūbān should be sought in the region of Hindiyān and Tuwaysha. Still more curious is the fact that on the older maps (see Russian 40 verst map of Persia, German 1:800,000 map of 1918) a place "Mahruiak" appears on the left bank of the Shīrīn (Hindiyān) river quite close to the latter's estuary. This name unmistakably reminds one of Mahrūbān, though the *Pilot*, 1864, p. 223, mentions no such name near the entrance of the "Tab river" (by which the Shīrīn river is meant).²

16. This curious popular form for *Arragān* is confirmed by Yāqūt. In the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 600, the river Ṭāb is called Āb-i Arghūn (popular Mongolian etymology?). The town stood north of the present-day

¹ This *Rīshahr* must be clearly distinguished from Reshīr (on our maps *Rīshahr*), situated south of Būshīr. See Marquart, *Ērānfahr*, 147, who tentatively restores its name as ریشهر پارسهان.

² The Shīrīn (Hindiyān, Zuhra) river is still called "Ṭāb" on our maps. Our author's confusion of the names *Ṭāb* and *Shīrīn* may point to an ancient origin of this ambiguous use.

Behbehān mostly on the southern bank of the Tāb (now Kurdistān, Jarrāhī) at about one farsakh's distance from the gorge through which this river comes out into the plain. On the well near the Chāhuk village, Iṣṭ., 151. On *dūshāb*, Iṣṭ., 95.

17. As under 7., this residue of information on Arrajān is in a desperate state. Cf. Iṣṭ.'s lists of localities of Arrajān, pp. 112-13. Our *فرک* is *فرک* on the upper course of the Shīrīn, Iṣṭ., 119. *برک* might be (?) a simple repetition of the mis-spelt 14. *برشهر*. Lārandān and Vāyagān are mentioned under § 6, 32. near the sources of the Shīrīn. *لاردگان* may stand for *لوردگان* Lūrdagān, the chief place of Sardan (the Lūrdagān lake is shown on Haussknecht's Map between the two headwaters of the Kārūn I). Vāyagān, though not impossible as a name (cf. Vāyghān in the north-eastern corner of the Urmiya lake), is not found in Iṣṭ., and stands perhaps for *رویکان*, mentioned under § 6, 29. in a region where several rivers rise.

19. Bishāpūr < *Bih-Shāpūr*, see Le Strange, *o.c.*, 262. On the two fire temples, Iṣṭ., 118. On the images of kings, Iṣṭ., 150. On the well of Hindijān near Sābūr, from which smoke rises, Iṣṭ., 151; Schwarz, 34, places it near the oil-wells of Dālikī.

20. In Iṣṭ., 110, after Kumārij (*sic*) follows H.ndijān but Vāyagān is perhaps a repetition of *Rūyagān (cf. above under 17.).

21. Iṣṭ., 104. The Persian form is Gūyum, as given for its homonym under 32.

22. Maq., 430, says that the best water of Shīrāz was from Jūyum, just mentioned under 21. Under 32. the name may have been repeated in the Persian garb of Gūyum.

23. B.rsarkān, B.rs.kān, perhaps *Kāskān*, Iṣṭ., 102. On the term *kauristān* see p. 255, note 1. The only Kauristān mentioned in the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī* is the one on the road from Lār to Bandar-i 'Abbāsī, but this does not suit our case. Here the name may stand for *Kavar*, mentioned under § 6, 29. as lying on the river Sakān.

24. On Hallāj see Iṣṭ., 148. 25. Hazār between Shīrāz and Māyīn, Iṣṭ., 102. Zarqān, north of the Tasht lake, Iṣṭ., 129. Khīr, perhaps *الحيره* (*sic*), Iṣṭ., 102.

26., 27. All lying in E. (see under 27.) and found in Iṣṭ., 107-8, Schwarz, 101-5. On the tables (*mawā'id*) made of rock-salt see Iṣṭ., 155. On *mūmiyā* see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 207.

28. Ramm [Shahriyār], Shāqq (or Sūq) al-Rustāq, Furj, Tārm (now *Tarom*) in Iṣṭ., 109, but Maq., 428, gives a nearer form to ours: *Rustāq al-Rustāq*.

30. Kārzīn, having a *quhandiz* and a *rabaḍ*, Iṣṭ., 106, 116.

31. Kāriyān, with a fortress and a temple, Iṣṭ., 117, 118, both in B., cf. Schwarz, 70, 91. On the temple see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus pers. Akten*, p. 286. [A. Pagliaro, *History of the Sacred Fires in Oriental Studies in honour of C. E. Pavry*, Oxford 1933, p. 383, instead of *Kāriyān* reads in the Iranian *Bundahishn*: *dēh-i kanārakān*, or *kanārangakān* and is inclined to place the Farnbagh fire in the "border province" of Armenia. Doubtful.]

32.-34. Išt., 106-9, mentions under E.: Mādavān, Jūyum (our text at this place gives the Persian form *Gūyum*, see above 21., 22.), and Jahrum, but places under B.: Samīrān, Īraz (now Īraj, south of Nīrīz), and Kīz. Rūfta is obscure.

35. Kurdiyān, Išt., 107. Khīr (not in Išt.?), lies in E. between Nīrīz and Fasā (now Mubārakābād).

36. Išt., 108-9, under E. Khīyār was the town of Nīrīz. Išt. spells Ištahbanāt with š.

37. Abādha belonged to E., Išt., 107, but B.rdagān (Išt., 101 p) and *Chāhuk (Išt., 102, *Ṣāhuk*) belonged to A.

38. All under A., Išt., 101-3, except Khurra, placed by Išt., 112, 118, under D. Išt., 102, also writes *شهر فاك* for *Pāpak*.

39. All under A. in Išt., 101-3, who gives the forms M.shkān, Iqlīd, Arkh.mān, S.rm.q. The Persian translation of Išt., edited by Ouseley, confirms that Iqlīd and Surmaq "in Persian are called *Kilīd* and *Surma*", Išt., 101 b.

40. Išt., 101, 151. 41. Nāyīn. The name supplied from Išt., 155, who places it in the district of Yazd. Cf. twice over under 45.

42. The district Sardan lay in the Kūh-gīlū mountains between the provinces A. and C. The details given under § 6, 36. show that the district belonged to the Ṭāb basin (cf. Išt., 119, on the two headwaters of the Ṭāb uniting near Misin), but it is possible that it included also the region of the headwaters of the Kārūn. Išt., 103, calls Lūrdagān capital of Sardan.¹ On the mine of *ṣufr* in Sardan see Išt., 155. *Ṣufr* is "copper" and, though occasionally it means "gold", Išt. at this place clearly distinguishes it from *dhahab*.

43. Išt., 102, under A. The form Abraj (not *Īraj*) is correct, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 281. Instead of *كبا* some of Išt. MSS., 102 k mention *كه* (?).

44. Išt., 102, under A. Our D.rkān corresponds to *الاذكان*.

45. Our clear Anār, for Išt., 102, *ابان* is rather against Le Strange's theory about *Anār* being an error for *Unās*, *o.c.*, 266. The remaining four names are given by Išt., 100, in the Yazd district of Ištakhr (he spells *Fahraj*). Katha is the present-day Yazd.

§ 30. Khūzistān

Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 232-47, Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 289-455.

This chapter, too, (cf. §§ 28-9) is almost entirely based on Išt., 88-96 (see under 14.) and shows no trace of acquaintance with I.H. or Maq. The details in 7. and 8. are borrowed from I.Kh.

On the rivers of Khūzistān see § 6, 35.-40.

The description of 1.-4. follows Išt.'s route, p. 95, in the opposite direction: Arrajān to Āsk (two easy marḥalas); thence to Zaydān (1 ditto); thence to Dauraq (1 ditto); thence to Khān Mardawaih (1 ditto); thence

¹ On the Lūrdagān lake *v.s.*, under 17.

to Bāsiyān (1 ditto); thence to Hiṣn Mahdī (2 ditto); thence to Bayān [cf. § 33, 11.] on the Tigris (1 ditto); thence on to Baghdād.

1. Iṣṭ., 90, places it in the centre of several waterways of which the course is now difficult to trace, for hydrographical conditions in Khūzistān have greatly changed. Schwarz, 330, places it near Sabla, upstream from Muḥammara.

2. Iṣṭ., 95, Dauraq, Khān-Mardawaih, Bāsiyān, all three on the road from Arrajān to Bašra, cf. § 6, 39.

3. Iṣṭ., 95: Zaydān (var.: *Dayrā*), on the road Arrajān-Āsk-Zaydān-Dauraq.

4. Iṣṭ., 92 (the fire seen on the Āsk mountain is due to some burning naphtha), 94 (battle of the Azraqī Khārijites).

5. Iṣṭ., 93: Abū 'Alī, imām of the Mu'tazilites (d. in 303/916), see *Djubbā'i* in *El*.

6. Iṣṭ. has nothing on the position of Sūq al-arba'ā but our author derives his record from Iṣṭ.'s Map, cf. § 6, 37., where Sūq al-arba'ā is placed upstream from Ahwāz (?).

7. Iṣṭ., 88, is extremely brief on Ahwāz which he calls Hurmuz-shahr, and this particular detail is not in our author who at this place transcribes I.Kh., 170. Vullers, ii, 451, explains *mār-i shikanj* as *mār-i surkh*. Our author translates I.Kh., 170: افاعي.

8. Iṣṭ., 89: Azam. Its mention at this place (before 9.) shows that our author followed I.Kh., 43 (road: Ahwāz-Azam-'Abdīn-Rām Hurmuz).

9. Iṣṭ., 93 (Mānī). The form of the name Ramh.z is half-way between the official form (cf. under 12.) and the popular pronunciation Rāmiz. The northern river of R.-H. (*Rūd-i A'lā*, or Gūpāl) is not mentioned under § 6. See Minorsky, *Rām Hurmuz* in *El*.

10. Iṣṭ., 91 (sugar from Masruqān comes to 'Askar Mukram). The specification of sugar not in Iṣṭ.

11. Masruqān is a locality, not a town, Iṣṭ., 90.

12. Rām Ūrdmizd اوردمزد is probably a simple error for Ūrmizd, cf. § 6, 39.

13. Iṣṭ., 89: Sūq Sanbīl.

14. Idhaj, now Mālāmīr, is barely mentioned in Iṣṭ., 89, 90, 92. This paragraph in reality describes Shūshtar (Tustar), Iṣṭ., 92₁₈. I.H., 175, explicitly says that at his time the cover for the Ka'ba was no more prepared at Tustar. Cf. § 6, 37.

15. V.ndū-shāvūr is an interesting form [cf. 12.] for Junday-sābūr, Iṣṭ., 93 (*Gundē-Shāpūr). The town founded by Shāpūr I, according to Ṭabarī, i, 826, was named *Bih az Andēw Shāpūr*. Nöldeke considers this explanation (probably hailing from Ibn Muqaffa') untenable. Marquart interpreted it first as "better than Antiochia is (the town) of Shāpūr", *Erānshahr*, 145, and later as "better (is) the Antiochia of Shāpūr", *Catalogue*, p. 98. In the Middle Persian list of towns edited in the latter book, the name of Gundē-Sābūr has the form of *V.ndwy* (or *V.ndwg*)-*Shahpuhr* which Marquart emendates into *Vand<iy>ōg-Shahpuhr*. But whatever the learned

etymologies of the original Sāsānian name may have been, the fact is that *V.ndw^z* exactly corresponds to the first part of the Byzantine *Βενδοσαβόρων* and to our *ودوساور*, which all agree in showing that the people simplified the name into a compound *Vindōy-Shāpūr*. On the well-known name *Vindōy* see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 370. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 85, explains the Armenian form *Vndoy* (borrowed from Middle Persian) as a pet-form of some name like the Old Persian *Vindafarnah* ("he who obtains glory"). Ibn al-Qiftī, ed. Lippert, 133-4, confirms that the name of *جندی ساور* was regarded as a combination of the names of *جندا* (? *جندو*), a former master of the land, and *Shāpūr*. For the explanation of *شوش وندشاور* in § 6, 40. see note to it. [However, a simpler restoration might be *شوش [و] وندشاور*.]

16. Išt., 92: long story on Daniel's coffin; 93: *khazz*-textiles and *sham-māmāt*-citrons.

17. Išt., 39, Mattūth and Birdhaun were known only as places producing textiles, cf. Schwarz, 365-7. 18. Išt., 93: *Başunnē* (*sutūr*). Maq., 417: *al-sutūr al-jayyida*. 19. Išt., 94 (*tikak* in Tīb). 20. Išt., 93: *sūsanjird*-textiles produced in Qurqūb, on them see special treatise by Karabacek (Karabaček), *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, Leipzig, 1881.

§ 31. The Jibāl

Le Strange, pp. 185-231, Schwarz, pp. 445-957 (an amazingly detailed analysis of Arabic sources).

This chapter, too, is based on Išt., 195-204, drastically abridged. Of the original details some could, as a matter of fact, have been found by the author in the MSS. of Išt.'s work which, as usual, contain many additions (cf. notes in *BGA*, i and iv). The description has been arranged according to Išt.'s itineraries (or his Map). 1. the capital; 2.-7. the road from Isfahān to Hamadān (the latter town forgotten!); 8.-12. ditto from Hamadān to Khūzistān; 13. ditto from Hamadān to Kirmānshāh; 14.-15. western localities; 16.-18. the road from Qazvīn to Tabriz; 19.-21. Rayy and its neighbourhood; 22. the road from Rayy to Hamadān; 23. ditto from Rayy to Isfahān.

1. Išt., 198, I.H., 241, give the distance of 2 miles (variant: 1 mile), which is approximately equal to half a farsakh. The list of textiles is a crucial point. Išt., 199, speaks of *al-'attābī wal-washy wa sā'ir thiyāb al-harīr wal-qūṭun* but the Gothan epitome (ed. Moeller) adds *والحلل والسلاطون*, cf. also *BGA*, iv, 407 (from the Leiden epitome): *والسلاطونيات*. Our author omits *وشى* and incorporates the addition which is interesting, for no other writer seems to speak of *siglaton* being fabricated in Isfahān, see Schwarz, 888-90. This heavy figured silk stuff was chiefly produced in Armenia and Baghdād (where it was of blue colour), though Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 700, admits that some of it came to Europe from Persia. See now G. S. Colin, *Latin "siglatun", &c., in Romania*, 1930, lvi, 178-90 and

418. The Zarīnrūdh is not in Iṣṭ., but in I.Kh., 20, 176 (whose story on its reappearance in Kirmān is not reproduced in our author).

2. Iṣṭ., 198. This Khān Lanjān has been wrongly taken for the place of refuge of Firdausī, cf. Le Strange, 207. In fact the details found in the MS. Br. Mus. Or. 1403, described in Rieu's *Catalogue*, ii, 535, refer not to Firdausī but to the scribe (who apparently wrote in 779/1377).

4., 5. Iṣṭ., 199, cf. Qudāma, 199, under *Ighārayn*. The mention of the ruin of Burj may have been suggested by what Iṣṭ. says of the past glory of Abū Dulaf's dynasty in Karaj.

7. No details on Rāmin in Iṣṭ. but I.H., 258, calls it مدینه صالحه.

8., 9. This Karaj was the minbar of the Rūdrāvar rustāq, Iṣṭ., 199. The indistinctly written سر in view of the explanation seems to be پسر "cheese", but no other author mentions cheese in Rūdrāvar, Schwarz, 504. Perhaps the word was misread from منبر. 10. cf. Minorsky, *Nihāwand* in *EI*.

11. Lishtar, Iṣṭ., 197 and 201 (hazelnuts). Now Alishtar, in Northern Luristān, one of the localities of the ancient Kassite country where the "Luristān bronzes" have been discovered. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 107, there stood (formerly) in Alishtar the fire temple of اردخش, certainly < اذرخش*, i.e. either *ādharakhsh* "a thunder-bolt", or *ādharakhush* "the 9th day of the Ādhar month". [Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 82, and *Streifzüge*, 347, restores *Ādharkhush* in I.Kh., 120, &c., as *Ādhar-jushnasf*. He adds in *Wehrot*, 88: "der Hengst *wiṣnasp* ist das Symbol des Blitzfeuers, das aus dem Wasser geboren wird." However, the famous temple of *Ādhar-gushnasf* lay in Ādharbāyjan, and with regard to Alishtar we may hardly go beyond the restoration *آذرخش.]

12. Shāpurkhāst, as results from Maq., 401, is Khurramābād (surnamed probably after the Khurramī sectarians who, in the tenth century, were very numerous in this locality, cf. Ibn Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse*, i, 278). See Minorsky, *Luristān* in *EI*.

13. Iṣṭ., 195-6, writes in Arabic *Qarmasīn* (perhaps a non-Iranian local form). Marj al-qal'a lay probably near Kirind, Le Strange, 192.

14. Iṣṭ., 200.

15. The words on the sociable character of the inhabitants belong only to Dīnāvar, Iṣṭ., 198. On the other hand both Shahrāzūr and Suhravard are described as having fallen into the hands of the Kurds. This is the only ground for coupling the two towns of which the one lies west of the Zagros (cf. Minorsky, *Shehrizūr* in *EI*) and the other between Hamadān and Zanjān. The spelling شهر زور (cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Veliāminov Zernov, i, p. 20 *ult.*, شهر زول) shows that the name was not considered as an *idāfat* construction. It rather confirms the etymology **Shah-razūr* "the Kingly Forest", for *Siyā-razūr* "the Black Forest", in view of the Byzantine τὸ Σιασοῦρων, τὸν Σιάζουρον, and the similar Pahlavī and Syriac forms, see Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 1929, p. 558, and Herzfeld, *Mitt. aus Iran*, ii, 2, 1930, pp. 73-4.

16.-18. Iṣṭ., 200-1. The popular form *Auhar* instead of *Abhar* is interesting, cf. note to § 49.

19. Ṭālaqān, district on the upper Shāh-rūdh; not to be confounded with § 23, 52., and 76.

20. Iṣṭ., 208, under Daylam.

21. Iṣṭ., mentions Rayy both under Jibāl, 202, and Daylam. 208-9. The famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī died in 311 A.H., cf. Ibn Khallikān, Tehrān edition, ii, 93-4 (م No. 156), Browne, *Arabian medicine*, 1921, pp. 43-53, Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 609-10. Of the three other savants, 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'i and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, contemporaries of Harūn al-Rashīd, died on the same day in the village of Ranbūya in 189/805, Ibn Khallikān, i, 358 (ع No. 114) and ii, 26-7 (م No. 18), whereas Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī was a contemporary of the caliph Manṣūr (A.D. 754-775) who commissioned him to translate the Indian Siddhānta; he died *circa* A.D. 796-806, see Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 530.

Of the produce of Rayy, our author borrows from Iṣṭ., 210: cotton and cloaks (*abrād*) and *ibid.*, 208 c (in the Gothan epitome): cotton stuffs. Maq., 396, mentions precious *ṭaylasān*-scarves, produced in Sudd near Rayy, and Ibn al-Faqīh, 253, glazed plates (*al-aṭbāq al-mudahhana*). It is curious that our author speaks of غصارة وروغن "china and oil (?)". *Ghaḍāra* means "greenish plastic clay", "big plate", and "china". The word روغن in our author's source very probably (**raughan kashīda*?) echoes the term *mudahhan* which in the first place means "covered with oil (glaze?)". The mention of china in Rayy has certainly in view the famous "Rayy potteries" and confirms the fact that they were fabricated long before the Seljuks. Cf. also the name of the poet Ghaḍā'irī who was a native of Rayy and died in A.D. 1034.

22. Iṣṭ., 214, places Sāva on the road from Rayy to Jibāl. Āva (usually coupled with Sāva) is mentioned several times in Maq., 386, 401. Rūdhā and Būsna (?), Iṣṭ., 198 b, belong to the same locality.

§ 32. Daylamān

For a long time the knowledge of the Caspian provinces was considerably behind the general standards of Muslim geography. Balādhurī's and Ṭabarī's remarks, valuable as they are, have a fragmentary character. I.Kh. and Qudāma do not describe the Caspian provinces. Ya'qūbī, 276-7, and even I.R., 149-51, are too brief. I. Faqīh, 101-14, chiefly follows Balādhurī and gives little purely geographical information. The oldest systematic accounts available until now were Iṣṭ., 204-17, I.H., 267-76, and Maq., 353-73. Even in comparison with Maq.'s interesting data, our author considerably increases our knowledge of the country. His extremely exact information on the neighbourhood of Lāhijān suggests the idea that he might himself have sojourned there, or perhaps been a native of that region. Our author's description is separated by some three centuries from the next independent and valuable account of Gīlān found in 'Abdullāh Qāshānī's *Tārikh-i Uljāytū*, Bib. Nat., supplément persan 1419, ff. 38b-45a (partly and inadequately edited in Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii,

94-8). Cf. also the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 159-63 (Māzandarān, Qūmis, Ṭabaristān, Jilān), and the *Masālik al-abṣār*, transl. by Quatremère in *Notices et extraits*, xii, 292-300 (on Qutlū-shāh's unfortunate expedition into Gilān in Uljāytū's reign). Of outstanding importance are the local histories of the Caspian provinces published by Dorn (in the series of the Russian Academy) as well as by E. G. Browne and H. L. Rabino (see bibliography in Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*). Still very important are Melgunov, *On the Southern Shore of the Caspian sea*, SPb., 1863 (in Russian, German trans. by Zenker) and B. Dorn's *Caspia*, SPb., 1875 (of which there exist a Russian and a German edition and which is a prodigious collection of fragmentary notes). Of the later European works on the region see especially the very useful map [H. L. Rabino and Capitaine Faure] *Perse. Province du Guilan*, published by the Société Lyonnaise séricole et des soies d'Extrême Orient, Lyon, 1914 [quoted: *RFG*]; Rabino, *Le Guilan*, in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1915-16, vol. xxxii (particularly valuable for giving detailed lists of villages) [quoted: *RG*]; A. F. Stahl, *Die orographischen Verhältnisse des Elbursgebirges in Persien*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1927, Heft 7/8, pp. 211-15, and Map 13 (the article sums up the previous works by this explorer of great merit); Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād* GMS, N.S., vii [quoted: *RM*]; R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber*, in *Islamica*, iii/1, 1927, pp. 86-150, is a very detailed analysis of historical and geographical data; Minorsky, *Māzandarān* in *EI* (bibliography). See Map x (after *RFG*).

The tenth century A.D. is the period of the expansion of the Daylamite tribes whose original home lay in the mountainous districts between Gilān, Qazvīn, and Zanjān. On the episodes of their extraordinary career see Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites* (No. 3 of *Publications de la Société des Études Iranienne*s), Paris, 1932, the object of which is to show that in a period when the Arab dominion had waned in Persia and the Turks were still lingering on the eastern frontier of the Sāmānid empire, the Daylamites took up the task of reviving the Persian national tradition in the western part of Persia and that the Daylamite "interlude" was of great importance as a connecting link in the history of Irān. The Daylamite successes are reflected in the terminology of the contemporary geographers who under "Daylam" enumerate all the lands round the Caspian Sea, including even the Khazar territory in the north, see Maq., 353-73. Our author does not go to such extremes but under "Daylamān" describes: Gurgān (1.-5.), Ṭabaristān (6.-15.; 21.-23.), Kūmish (16.-19.), Daylam "proper" (24.), and Gilān (25.).

1. Gurgān. The seat of the king of Ṭabaristān proper was Āmol, as rightly stated under 13. Gurgān was the seat of the more important Ziyārid dynasty (A.D. 928-1042). Maq., 357, also mentions both Shahrīstān and Bakrābād, but the name of the river Hīrand (on which cf. Barthold's Preface, p. 29) does not seem to occur anywhere else.

2. Dihistān is the district on the Atrak, see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 212, cf. Barthold, *Irrigation*, 31-7, and Minorsky, *Meshhad-i Mišriyān* in *EI*.

Dihistān undoubtedly echoes the name of the ancient nomad people *Δάαι Dahae* one of whose branches were the Aparnoi; from the latter arose the family of the future Parthian rulers, see Tomaschek, *Daai* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, viii, 1945-6. I.Kh., 118, seems to quote a different Dihistān in Ṭabaristān; another Dihistān is mentioned by Iṣṭ., 268, in Bādhghis (§ 23, 24.). On the peninsula called Dihistānān-sur (?) see § 4, 38.

3. Farāv, called *Farāva* in Iṣṭ., 273, I.R., 170, Maq., 320, corresponds to the present-day Qizil-Arvat on the Transcaspian railway, Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 40.

4. In the fifteenth century the dialect of Astarābād was used for religious propaganda by the Ḥurūfī sect, cf. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufis*, GMS, ix, 1909.

5. Abaskūn (or Ābaskūn, cf. Yāqūt, i, 55 and 91) must correspond to *Σωκανάα πόλις* which Ptolemy, vi, cap. 9, mentions in the south-eastern part of the Caspian. Abaskūn was an important port after which the whole Caspian Sea was sometimes called, cf. Juvaynī, GMS, ii, 115: *baḥr-i Ābaskūn*. It is usually located near the estuary of the Gurgān river (at Gümüşh-täpä), cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, pp. 67-8, 92, Barthold, *Irrigation*, 33; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 379. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 239, calls *Abaskūn* "an island" adding that in his time it was submerged by the sea of which the level had risen when the Oxus [temporarily] changed its course and flowed into the Caspian.

6. Cf. Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*. The situation of 7.-13. appears from the following route given in the opposite direction by Iṣṭ., 216: Āmol to Mila 2 farsakhs; thence to B.rjī (?) 3 ditto; thence to Sāriya 1 marḥala; thence to Mār.st [or Maq., 372: *Abār.st*] 1 ditto; thence to Abādān [or to *Limrāsk*] 1 ditto; thence to Ṭamīsha 1 ditto; thence to Astarābādh 1 ditto; thence to Ribāt Ḥafṣ 1 ditto; thence to Jurjān 1 ditto. A detailed analysis of this route is found in Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Eran*, ii, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 58-60. According to I.R., 149-50, the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān lay at رباط الآخر (**Ribāt al-ājurr* "the burnt brick ribāt") which probably is connected with the brick wall (*hā'it . . . min ājurr*) which stretched between the mountain and the sea and was attributed to Anūshirvān, cf. also I. Faqīh, 303. In later times Shāh 'Abbās built (or rebuilt?) the wall on the river Kirrind (cf. Ptolemy, vi, cap. 9, *Χρίνδοι*) which was called *jar-i Kulbād*, cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, 103. Our author seems to have imagined that the wall surrounded Tamīsha. The latter is identified by Marquart, *o.c.*, 56, with Bandar-Gaz.

10. Māmṭīr = Bārfurūsh.

14. Iṣṭ., 217, 'Ayn al-Humm, but the name *Alhum* may be of local origin. This place situated at an easy marḥala from Āmol on the sea must be identical with Ahalom (*sic*) which the Russian 5 verst map shows in the delta of the Āmol river to the south-west of Maḥmūdābād, cf. Melgunov, 177: اهل رود.

15. Rūdhān "copper (‘nines?)", later *Pūyān* and **Rūyanj* (so instead of *Rūbanj* in Iṣṭ., 204) formed a separate kūra, I.R., 149, and was ruled by the dynasty of *Ustundārs*, see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 433, and Minorsky, *Rūyān* in *El*.

16. Kūmish (**Kōmish*) is the region lying outside Ṭabaristān proper along the southern foot of the mountains, cf. Ptolemy, vi, cap. 5: ἡ μὲν παρὰ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν Κομισσηνή. جامه کيس standing in the text must be an error for *جامه کومس for Ya'qūbī, 276, says explicitly under Qūmis that the inhabitants of its capital Dāmaghān, who are of Persian nationality ('*ajam*), are extremely skilful in production of woollen *qūmisī*-textiles (الکبة الصوف القرمية).

17. Dāmaghān (now *Dāmghān*) is probably Ἐκατόμυλος βασιλείου of Parthian times. In the list of its products I translate the word '*alam*' by "border" preferably to "banner", as it grammatically belongs to *dastār*. Curiously enough one of the imām-zādas of Dāmghān, built according to Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*, p. 74, in the fourth century A.H. is called *Pīr-i 'Alamdār* (here "beflagged" would be a more suitable interpretation).

20. On A. F. Stahl's map *Umgegend von Tehran*, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 1900, Shalamba is shown *circa* 6 Km. to the south of the town of Damāvand.

21.-23. The Qārin mountain lay to the south of Sārī. The castle of Pirrīm was probably situated on the western branch of the Tijīn river. Sāmār corresponds to Iṣṭ., 205: *Sahmār* which stood at 1 day's distance from Sārī and was the only city (*madīna*) of the Qārin-kūh. The last prince of the original Qārinid dynasty (which claimed descent from the legendary Kāva) was Māzyār, executed in 224/839, cf. Minorsky, *Māzyār* in *El*. Then the rival and more important Bāvand dynasty (supposed to descend from Kayūs, brother of the Sāsānian king Kavādh) must have seized Pirrīm. Several princes of this dynasty bore the name of Shahriyār, after which the mountains were called Shahriyār-kūh. The story of the miraculous spring in the Qārin mountains is not identical with what is found in Ibn al-Faqīh, 310 (on the spring at al-Ṭāq), Zakariyā Qazwīnī, ii, 239, 270, and Ḥamdullāh, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 277 (on the spring Bādkhāna near Dāmghān), cf. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns*, pp. 101-2. However, all these reports point to a former adoration of springs which is clearly confirmed by the *H.*-*'Ā.* and consequently must be added to the list of wonderful customs existing in the Caspian provinces, see Maq., 268-71, analysed by Inostrantsev in his *Études sāsānides* (in Russian), SPb., 1909, pp. 110-35.

24. Of the districts of Daylam proper (cf. Iṣṭ., 204, *al-Daylam al-mahḍ*) Latrā and Varfū [for the ending cf. *Laspū* south of Somām] are mentioned in Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 162, and Langā, home of the 'Alid Abul Ḥusain (d. 421/1030), *ibid.*, 54, all three in connexion with Rūyān; consequently they must be located on the eastern side of Daylam. A Langā on *RM*, Map, is shown in the eastern part of Tunikābun, south of 'Abbāsābād and Aspichīn, cf. Melgunov, *o.c.*, 182. M.r.d is unknown. Chālkarūd river is some 65 Km. west of Chālūs, *RM*, 131. *K.rkrūd* must correspond to Karkarūsar lying immediately east of the Chālūs, Melgunov, *o.c.*, 180, *RM*, 151,

and *Dīnār-rūdh* to *Dīnā-rūd*, a narrow strip of coast mentioned in the *Tārikh-i Khānī*, ed. Dorn, SPb., 1857, p. 212, between Sakhtasar (eastern frontier of Gīlān) and Khushkarūd (in Rānikūh). Jūdāhanjān and رودبار have not been found.¹ Hausam, according to *RG*, pp. 336–7, is identical with Rūdisar, which lies 13 Km. east of Langarūd. With regard to Hausam we have Ṣahīr al-dīn's indication (ed. Dorn, 1850, p. 19) that the western frontier of Ṭabaristān is Malāṭ "which village of the town of Hausam is now known as the port of Rūdisar". It must be admitted, however, that such a position for Hausam does not tally with its place in our author's enumeration. As to the mountainous districts, Pazhm must be Bashm lying west of Somām (not Bashm west of the Chālūs), cf. *RG*, pp. 306, 351, and *RFG*. Shīr is the mountain south of Ashkavar. Vastān, considering the order of enumeration, must be sought east of Somām on the southern frontier of Gīlān. All these names in the tenth century referred to districts rather than to the single inhabited points. Our author distinctly says that the towns of Daylam were Kalār and Chālūs, but as Iṣṭ., 206, reckons them to Ṭabaristān, our author evidently means only that Kalār and Chālūs were the market-places which the Daylamites visited. The town of Kalār must have lain near the col of Bashm (west of Chālūs). In the plain of Kalārdasht (on the right affluent of the Sardābrūd) Miss F. Stark found a mound probably of the frontier fortress of Kalār. See F. Stark, *The Site of the City of Kalar*, in *GJ*, March 1934, pp. 211–17 (with a map).

25. Gīlān. The contents of this passage have been treated by Barthold in *Izvestiya Kavkaz. Istor.-Archeol. Instituta*, 1927, vi, pp. 63–6, though without any explanation of the geographical terms. In the tenth century the Gīl (Jīl), inhabitants of Gīlān, were a tribe usually distinguished from the Daylamites, see Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, p. 23, note 28,² and the Gīl often quarrelled with the Daylamites, as our author seems to confirm. The frontier between the two tribes passed roughly speaking between Langarūd (Gīlān) and Rūdisar (Daylam).

The Safīd-rūd divides Gīlān into two parts, viz., "this side" and "that side", in local dialect respectively called Biya-pīsh and Biya-pas (*biya* "water" is cognate with Avestan *vaday* "watercourse"), and each of them had a different dynastic history, cf. Ṣahīr al-dīn, *Tārikh-i Gīlān wa Daylamistān*, ed. Rabino, Rasht, 1330 A.H., and the epitome of it in H. L. Rabino, *Rulers of Gīlān*, in *JRAS*, July, 1920, 277–96.

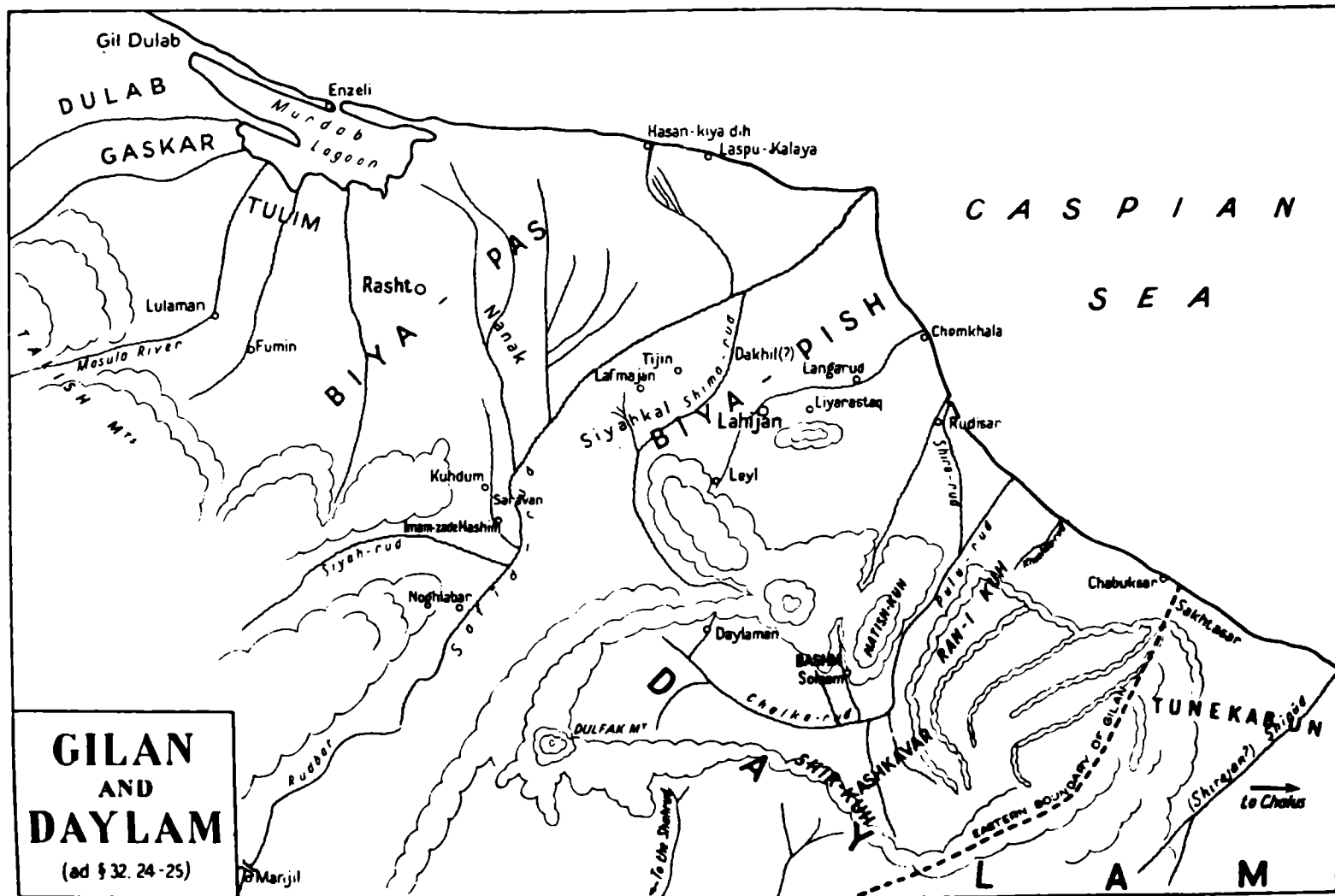
On "this side" of the river the districts (not yet towns! as pointed out by Barthold) were Lāfjān = Lāhījān [for *f* > *h* cf. *Niφavávda* > *Nihāvand*]. Miyālāfjān seems to be identical with Mālfejān, on the road from Lāhījān to Siyāhkal (Barfjān), *RG*, 329.³ Kushkajān lies on the eastern bank of the

¹ If the second name is **Nylān-rūdbār* it may be compared with the source of the Langarūd river rising near the village now called *Leyl* (< **Neyl* or *Nēl*?). Cf. p. 410, l. 16.

² A curious description of the Dayla-

mites is found in Gurgānī's *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*, ed. M. Minovi, 1935, pp. 494–5.

³ Another restoration of this indistinctly written name may be *Niyālf.jān* (?), cf. notes to § 36, 36.–41.



Safīd-rūd, *ibid.*, 327. Barfjān is the centre of the district Siyāhkal, south-east of Lāhijān, *ibid.* 278, 284. Dākhil, in Rāh-shāhī-pāyīn, north of Lāhijān, *ibid.* 322. Tijin, on the road going west from Lāhijān to Kīsūm, *ibid.*, 328. Ch.ma (reading uncertain) may be connected with Chomkhala, port of Langarūd, north-east of Lāhijān.

On "that side" of the river, Khāngajāl (reading uncertain: *Jānkajāl*, &c.) could not be identified. The district of Nanak lies south-east of Rasht, *RG*, p. 228, 242. Kūtum (*Kōtum), even if we judge only by its place in the enumeration, corresponds to the present-day Kuhdum (pronounced: *Kodom*) lying some 5 Km. north of the Imām-zāda Hāshim. This latter stands at the point where the highroad from Qazvin to Rasht following the left bank of the Safīd-rūd emerges from the Elburz mountains into the Gīlān plain. 'Abdullāh Qāshānī in his *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, f. 39v, says: "On the western side of the Safīd-rūd the first province (*wilāyat*) is Kūtum, lying on the bank of the Sabīd-rū (*sic*); *i.e.*, south of it are the mountains, and east of it the Safīd-rūd; the province stretches (?) east to west. Kūtum is the name of the district, whereas the chief place of Kūtum is called Bāzār-i Shahrīstān. . . . The province of Kūchaspān [now: *Kūchāsfān*] is situated north of Kūtum on the sea-coast. . . . Rasht is situated to the north-west of Kūtum."¹ In later sources there is some confusion as to the location of Kūtum. Ḥamdullāh in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, pp. 163, 217-18, places it on the shore of the Caspian near the estuary of the Safīd-rūd and calls it a port (*bandar-gāh-i kashtī*). Abul-Fidā, p. 429, locates it at 1 day's distance from the sea. This latter indication can only have in view the former centre of the Kūtum district, *i.e.* Bāzār-i Shahrīstān or Gūrāb-i Kuhdum, cf. *RG*, 215, which must have lain considerably to the north of the present-day Kuhdum village (even as the crow flies, the latter is situated at 47 Km. from the nearest western estuary of the Safīd-rūd). It must be remembered that the Safīd-rūd has several estuaries and it is possible that Ḥamdullāh had in view the port of Ḥasan-kiyā-dih as giving access to the Kūtum district. By Sarāvān our source evidently means the upper (southern) part of the former principality of Kūtum (on its extent see *RG*, 215). In Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh's grant of 1280/1863, quoted in *RG*, 83, the Sarāvān borough is considered as a part of the Kuhdum borough, cf. *ibid.*, 218, 237, and *RFG*. Most probably Sarāvān ("head of the waters") is precisely the locality now called Kuhdum "tail, or foot of the mountain", whereas the ancient centre of Kuhdum lay lower down on the left bank of the Safīd-rūd. The name of the district of Paylamān-shahr (to which belonged the borough of the same name mentioned separately) has now completely vanished; judging by its place in the enumeration it may have lain between Sarāvān and Rasht. Our record of Rasht (not yet a town!) is the earliest in existence. In the *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭū*, f. 40r., Rasht is described as a seat of a governor and as a place where the tomb of a venerated saint (Ustād Ja'far) and a mosque were found. Cf. also a desultory note

¹ The text of this important source is corrupt, and on f. 41a Kūtum is wrongly placed to the *east* of the Safīd-rūd.

in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 163. The further rise of Rasht is connected with the dynasty of the amīrs Tījasplī in the fifteenth century A.D., cf. *RG*, 69, 416.

The last part of the paragraph enumerates the places on the road going northwards to Transcaucasia and is far from being so complete. The Tūlīm (now Tūlim) district lies north-west of Rasht and adjoins the Murdāb lagoon, *RG*, 190. The Dūlāb district adjoins the north-west corner of the Murdāb; its mountainous part is called Tālīsh-Dūlāb and that lying near the coast Gīl-Dūlāb, *ibid.*, 107-14. Kuhan-rūdh seems to refer to Kergāna-rūd, the central part of Persian Tālīsh, *ibid.*, 89-100. Astarāb most probably is Astārā, cf. *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā*, p. 742, *Astārā*. Khān-Balī (?) must be sought in the region of Mūghān, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. This part of enumeration has a pretty close parallel in Maq.'s route (pp. 372-3): Sālūs (*Chālūs) to Isbīdrūdh 1 marḥala; thence to Qaryat al-Raṣad 1 ditto; thence to Kh.shm 1 ditto; thence to Baylamān 4 ditto; thence to al-Dūlāb 4 ditto (?); thence to Kuhan-rūdh 3 ditto; thence to Mūghakān 2 ditto; thence to al-Kurr (Kur river) 2 ditto; thence to Hashādhar 2 ditto; thence to al-Shamākhiya 2 ditto. These distances are not exempt from suspicion and it is right that after Kuhan-rūdh the *H.*-*Ā.* should insert Astarāb. As our Khān-B.lī corresponds to Mūghakān, it is very likely identical with Bīlasuvār, an important centre of Mūghān. [The name, probably **Pīla-suvār* "great cavalier" is a familiar Daylamite name.]

The "boroughs" of Gīlān (Gīlābādh, Shāl, Dūlāb, and Paylamān-shahr) cannot yet be located. Maq., 355, mentions the towns in Daylam: B.rvān, V.lāmr, Sh.kīr.z, Tāram (Tārom on the middle course of the Safīd-rūdh), Khasm; and in Gīlān: Dūlāb, Baylamān-shahr, and Kuhan-rūdh, *ibid.*, 360.

Neither under Daylam (§ 32), nor Ādharbāyjān (§ 35) does our author mention by name the Tālīsh region extending along the coast between Gīlān and Muqān. In the earlier Arab writers two names occur frequently together البير والطليان, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 280 (with numerous quotations). As regards *Taylasān* it is clear that it is an Arabic popular etymology for Persian *Tālīsh-ān* (whatever the real origin of the interesting Tālīsh people be). In Arabic *taylasān* means not only a sort of headkerchief worn by the learned people, but in a technical geographical sense "a half-moon shaped gulf" which is exactly the case of the south-western corner of the Caspian where Tālīsh is situated.¹ The only place remaining available for البير is the mountainous tract lying west of Tālīsh between Ardabīl and Zanjān, called Tārom (in Arabic الطرم) and Khalkhāl, see Minorsky, *Tārom* in *EI*. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* quotes البر between al-Ṭarm and Zanjān. I feel sure that both البير and البر must be read **al-Hīr* (*Hēr*) and refer to Khalkhāl of which the chief place is still called Herow < *Her* (**Hēr*)-āb, see Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *Jour. As.*, July, 1930, p. 72.

¹ See Khuwārizmī, pp. 80-1 (Caspian Sea) and the annexed map illustrating different forms of sea-coasts. Cf. Renaud, *Abul-Fidā*, i, 19. Nallino, *Rifaci-*

mento, p. 16, explains Khuwārizmī's *taylasān* as "una insenatura lunga e regolare, ma non molto profonda".

§ 33. 'Irāq

I.Kh., 5-16; Iṣṭ., 78-88; I.H., 157-70; Maq., 136-51. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden, 1901; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 1-85; H. H. Schaeder, *Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Zur Topographie und Geschichte des 'Irāq*, in *Der Islam*, xiv, pp. 4-42. On the rivers cf. § 6, 46-49.

Starting with the capital 1. Baghdād, the description follows the course of the Tigris down to 6. Wāsiṭ; 7.-13. lie in the region of Baṣra; 14.-19. on the left bank of the Tigris and up the road to Persia; 20.-25. on the canals joining the Tigris and Euphrates; 26.-28. on the right bank of the Euphrates; 29.-32. above Baghdād on the Tigris. Most of the places are shown on the sketch-map in Le Strange, *o.c.*

By "the great kings" living in 'Irāq the Būyids are evidently meant.

2. Neither Iṣṭ., 87, nor I.H., 168, nor Maq., 122, mention Kurds in Jabbul.

7. 'Abdasī. So spelt in Iṣṭ., whereas I.H. spells 'Abdāsī. Nīm-rūdhī not otherwise known.

8. Maftaḥ mentioned by Iṣṭ., 81, and its position is indicated by the canal Ma'qil (§ 6, 46.).

10. Baṣra. Iṣṭ., 80 (= I.H., 159) mentions the same graves and states that Baṣra pays the 'ushr instead of taxes based on the cadastre (*mash*), cf. I.Kh., 14₁₃. To a different source belongs the item on the "veiled" (*burqa'ī*) 'Alid, *i.e.* the leader of the rising of the black slaves in 255/868. On his supposed genealogy see Ṭabarī, iii, 1742, 1857; cf. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1892: "Sklavenkrieg im Orient".

11. Bayān according to Iṣṭ., 95, was the last place belonging to Khūzistān. This is a new example of our author's method of enumeration, *v.s.*, § 29.

12. Salmānān (?) not found. Salmān-i Pāk lying in the neighbourhood of Baghdād would be out of place here. Perhaps the *sāmānī*-mats mentioned under 13. are connected with Salmānān (?). 'Abbadān may belong to the same locality. 'Abbadān with its humble industries had to wait another thousand years before becoming the present-day bulwark of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

14. Mādharāyā (above Wāsiṭ) is to be distinguished from Madhār (§ 6, 46.) which would come naturally at this place.

20. Kūthay-Rabbā, as in Iṣṭ., 86.

21. Bābil as in Iṣṭ., 86, where *Kan'āniyūn* stands evidently for *Kal-dāniyūn* ("Chaldaeans").

26. The formula of blessing *karrama 'llāhu wajhahu*, as applied to the caliph 'Ali, is sunnite. Very astonishing is the omission of Karbalā (Iṣṭ., 85) which would have been unthinkable for a *shī'ī*, but see p. 177.

§ 34. Jazīra

I.Kh., 73-4, 93-9; Iṣṭ., 71-8; I.H., 137-57; Maq., 136-51 (*iqḷīm aqūr*). Le Strange, *The Lands*, 86-114 (most of the places will be found on Map

III). Honigmann's map in his review of Marquart's *Südarmenien* in *Byz.-Zeitschr.*, xxxi (1931), pp. 392-400, and his *Ostgrenze*, passim. A detailed description of al-Jazīra in the thirteenth century (after 'Izz al-dīn b. Shaddād) has been published by Claude Cahen in *Rev. des Études Islamiques*, 1934, i, 109-28.

The definition of Jazīra as an "island" is not exact as a large portion of it lies on the left (eastern) bank of the Tigris. On the rivers cf. § 6, 46. and 49.

The description goes as follows: 1.-8. in a straight line from Mauṣil westwards; 9.-15. on the Euphrates downstream from its bend; 16. on the right bank of the Euphrates bend; 17.-19. near the Balikh river; 20.-22. down the left bank of the Tigris. Āmid and Sinjār are omitted in the enumeration though Āmid is mentioned under § 6, 46.

4. The details on Niṣībīn all in Iṣṭ., 73. *Sang-i ābgīna* stands for *jawāhir al-zajāj* (I.H., 143: *jauhar lil-zajāj*), by which "silica, silicious earth" is evidently meant.

7. Abridged from Iṣṭ., 74.

8. Diyār-Rabī'a is precisely the province comprising 1.-7.

9.-15. The province of Diyār-Muḍar, cf. Iṣṭ., 77.

16.-22. Cf. Iṣṭ., 75-7.

14. 'Abdullāh b. al-Mubārak al-Marwazī, an ascetic and traditionalist, lived 118-81/736-97, see *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, x, 152-62.

16. See Herzfeld, *Bālis*, in *El*. Jisr Manbij is a different place from Manbij reckoned to Syria (§ 38, 1.). The spelling Shumaishāt, instead of Sumaisāt, is very common, and already Yāqūt, ii, 276, 417, warned against it. *Sumaisāt* (ancient Samosata) lies on the right bank of the Euphrates west of Āmid; *Shimshāt* (ancient Arsamosata) lay north of Āmid on the left bank of the Eastern Euphrates upstream from Kharpūt, cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 108, 116, and Markwart [Marquart], *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Wien, 1930, pp. 242-4. Moreover, Marquart postulates the existence of two different Shimshāt of which the less known lay south-west of Āmid on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. This may give a clue to the spelling of Shumaishāt under § 36, 16., and Sumaisāt under § 38, 3.

19. On the church of Ruhā (Edessa) Iṣṭ., 79; already I.Kh., 161, says: "The Romans pretend that there is no stone monument surpassing in beauty the church of Ruhā."

§§ 35-6. Ādharbādhagān [Armīniya and Arrān]

Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, xvi (1904), pp. 197-479. Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām-i Irān*, fasc. I-III, Tehrān, 1307-8/1928-30 (very valuable essays on the dynasties of Ādharbayjān in the tenth century). A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaycanın tarihî coğrafyası* in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, Istanbul, 1932, January (No. 1), pp. 35-48, February (No. 2), pp. 1-15, March (No. 3), pp. 123-32, April (No. 4), pp. 145-56; *idem*, *Azerbaycan etnografisine dair*, *ibid.*, 1933, February (No. 14), pp. 49-56 (the author uses the Arabic original of

Münejjim-bashi's work and several rare Ottoman-Turkish sources); Schwarz, *Iran*, viii/1-8, ix/1 (new series in progress since 1932).

In the author's table of contents (*v.s.*, pp. 47-8) the description of Armenia and Arrān forms a special chapter. However, in spite of the concluding words after 7., several places, such as 9., 10.-12. (Khoy), 16.-18., and perhaps 19. usually reckoned to Ādharbayjān (cf. *Iṣṭ.*, 181-2), are described under Armenia. Both this arrangement and some other items in the beginning of our chapter (17. 19.) unexpectedly recall *Maq.*, 374, but our author adds several new and interesting details. The part concerning Arrān has certain points in common with *Iṣṭ.* and the paragraph on Shirvān is undoubtedly based on the same source as Mas'ūdī's passage in the *Murūj*, but here, too, the *H.*-*'A.* contains a good deal of original information.

I. Ādharbayjān.

Under Ādharbayjān first comes the capital Ardavīl, and then the enumeration, without much order, proceeds from the south-easternmost corner (2. Asna) to the north-easternmost point on the Araxes (7.). In Armenia first comes the capital (8.) followed by the points lying round the Urmiya lake 9.-12. (Khoy), then north of the Van lake and in Armenia proper (the rest of 12.-15.), then in northern Ādharbayjān south of the Araxes (16.-18. and perhaps 19.). In Arrān: 20. evidently continues the series 16.-19.; then comes the capital (21.), then the places between the Araxes and the Kurr and along the latter river (22.-28.); finally (west to east) are enumerated the places lying immediately south of the Caucasian mountain down to the Caspian Sea and Daghestan (29.-41.). The enumeration is roughly clear but it has all the habitual defects of the author's method (*v.s.*, notes to § 29).

1. The kings of Ādharbayjān for the greater part of the tenth century were the Daylamites of the Musāfirid family. See Kasravī, *o.c.*, Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, Paris, 1932, and *Musāfirī* in *EI*. However, the province had a number of local rulers as appears from I.H.'s enumeration of the Musāfirī feudatories, *BGA.*, ii, 254.

2. See Minorsky, *Ushnū* in *EI*. Sarāv, now Sarāb (I.Kh., 120: سراب). Jābrūqān corresponds to I.Kh.'s 119, 121, Jābrvān, which, together with Nirīz, belonged to 'Alī b. Murr. Nirīz lay 14 farsakhs south-east of Urmiya, and Jābrvān 4 farsakhs farther south-east. The two places must be located south of the lake of Urmiya, probably in Sulduz, see Minorsky, *Nirīz* and *Sulduz*, in *EI*.

3. See Minorsky, *Tabrīz*, in *EI*. In the tenth century Tabrīz was an insignificant borough. 'Alā b. Aḥmad al-Azdī towards 251/865 was the financial agent for Armenia (and Ādharbayjān) and in 260 rebelled against the new wālī of that province 'Omar b. 'Alī b. Murr, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1584, 1668.

4. See Minorsky, *Marāgha* in *EI*. The son of Bū Sāj is Yūsuf b. Abul-Sāj Dīvdād. On the destruction of the walls [after 296/908] see *Iṣṭ.*, 181.

5. Barzand, 6. Mūqān, and 7. Vartān lie north of Ardabīl, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. Vartān (called by the Arabs *Warthān*) lay on the bank of the Araxes, now ruins of Altan.

II. Armenia.

8. Dvin, cf. Streck in *EI* and Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *Jour. As.*, July 1930, pp. 41-56.

9. I.Kh., 120: Dākharrāqān, actually Dihkharghān (local Turks call it: *Tukharghan*). Yāqūt, ii, 636, derives the name from that of Kisrā's treasurer Nakhīrjān (?). It is curious that both Maq. and our author should have reckoned this town to Armenia though it lies between Tabrīz and Marāgha both belonging to Ādharbayjān. This arrangement most probably reflects some complications of feudal dependency: single boroughs could still resist the prevailing Daylamites. An apparently ancient Armenian colony exists in Dihkharghān. In 1905 I saw there a number of old tumular inscriptions in Armenian.

10. and 11. see Minorsky, *Urmiya* and *Salmās* in *EI*.

12. The form Arjij (perhaps influenced by the popular etymology *arčič* > *arzīz*) is unusual instead of *Arjish*, in Armenian *Archēsh* (on the north-eastern bank of the Van lake).

13.-16. Malāzgird, Qālīqala (usually *Qālīqalā*, cf. Balādhurī, 193, < Armenian *Karin-K'alak'*), and Mayyāfāriqīn formed the line of Muslim strongholds in Armenia directed against the Byzantines. On the famous battle of Malāzgird of A.D. 1071, see the sources in Baron V. Rosen, *Zap.*, i, 1886, pp. 19-22, 189-202, and 223-32, and lately C. Cahen, *La Campagne de Mantzikert*, in *Byzantion*, ix/2, Brussels, 1934, pp. 613-42. Mayyāfāriqīn in the tenth century belonged successively to the Ḥamdānids, Būyids, and Kurdish Marvānids, see Minorsky, *s.v.*, in *EI*.

16. See Minorsky, *s.v.*, in *EI*.

17. Here begins the more original part of the chapter. Mīmadh (**Mēmadh*)¹ is found in Balādhurī, 207, and Maq., 51, but only the mention of 18. Ahar as its centre enables us to locate the district in southern Qaraja-dagh (this latter name must be a Turkish popular etymology for some Iranian name like **Karaj*, see Minorsky, *Urm* in *EI*).

Ibn Rawwād was certainly a member of the Rawwādid dynasty which ruled intermittently in Tabrīz and its neighbourhood from the beginning of the third century A.H. till the Seljuk times, see Balādhurī, 331, I.Kh., 119, cf. Minorsky *Tabrīz*, *Marand*, *Marāgha* in *EI*. More particularly our Ibn Rawwād must be identical with Abul-Hayjā b. Rawwād of whom I.H., 254, in his famous passage on the local rulers of Ādharbayjān and Armenia, says

¹ There are several names known resembling our *میمند*. I.Kh., 23, mentions a *میمند* in Kūmis and, 43, a *میمند* in Fārs (Išt., 104: Mā'in, town of the *Mymand* nāhiya); a *میمند*, Išt., 161, lay between

Sirjān (Kirmān) and Fārs and, according to Yāqūt, i, 799, was also called *میمند*. It is possible that some of them are connected etymologically.

that from his possessions at Ahar and Varzuqān (this latter situated south-west of Ahar, and upstream from it on the same river) he paid in 344/955 50,000 dinars to the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad, cf. Kasravi, *o.c.*, ii, 37. The earlier Rawwādids, mentioned with the *nisba* "*al-Azdī*", evidently belonged to the Arab tribe which first occupied these parts of Ādharbayjān; the later Rawwādids have the *nisba* "*al-Kurđī*", but there is no need to imagine that the later Rawwādids were of a distinct origin from their earlier namesakes; more probably the new *nisba* only refers to the gradual iranization of the family as a result of marriage ties with local elements. Quite particularly such must have been the case regarding the branch established in the wild region of Ahar and depending on the Musāfirids, I.H., 254.

A most unexpected statement is that the said Ibn Rawwād belonged to the family of *Julindī bul* (more probably **ibn?*) *K.rk.r* (vocalization indistinct). Barthold, *Preface*, p. 39, has rightly noticed the incongruity of this passage in which a quotation from Iṣṭ., 140, referring to a pirate chief in the Persian Gulf (§ 29, 3.),¹ is applied to a ruler in Northern Ādharbayjān. Iṣṭ. describes جلندی as an Azdite of Yemen and the first idea that occurs is that our author wanted to hint at the Azdite origins of the Rawwādids. However, such an admission would be of no help for the explanation of the patronymic بل کرکر accompanying جلندی in our text. It is much more likely, therefore, that instead of the learned Arab genealogy we have to admit here a mere misreading of some little-known complex found in our author's source. The clue to بل کرکر is given by the appellation چراغ کرکران which the poet Qaṭrān uses with regard to the grandson of Abul-Hayjā mentioned above.

The question is only how to read کرکران.² Our author obviously uses کرکر as a man's name and considering the local possibilities I venture to read the whole complex جلندی بل کرکر as *جلندی بن کرکر *Javānshīr ibn Grigor*. In Persian cursive such a confusion has nothing extraordinary about it. If we start from what looks the least mutilated part of our name کرکر we must admit its likeness to the Armenian name of *Grigor* which was particularly frequent among the princes of Arrān (Caucasian *Albania*, in Armenian

¹ He belonged to a branch of the Khārijite Julandids of 'Omān among whom the name Julandā seems to have been hereditary. 'Abd and Jayfar, sons of a Julandā, are said to have been converted to Islam as early as 8/629, Balādhuri, 76; Ṭabarī, ii, 1949 (under 129 A.H.) mentions a Julandā b. Mas'ūd b. Jayfar b. Julandā al-Azdī, see *ibid.*, iii, 77-9. Cf. G. P. Badger, *History of the Imāms of 'Omān*, 1871, pp. xi, 7-8; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, 1927, p. 125. In Persian the pronunciation seems to be Julindī, cf. O. Mann, *Die*

Mundart d. Mukrī-Kurden, Berlin, 1909, ii, 361 (the name surviving in Kurdish folk-lore may be a reminiscence of the Azdite tradition in Ādharbayjān).

² Kasravi, *o.c.*, ii, 57, spells *chirāgh-i gargariyān* "lamp of the sovereigns" (?), from *gargar* "throne". The former explanation by Riḍā-qulī khān was "lamp of the Gargarians" from the little borough of Gargar on the Araxes near Julfā, though there are several other Gargars, cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, pp. 273-4.

Alvank'). The real founder of the Mihrān dynasty (which claimed Sāsānian origins) was Varāz-Grigor ("Wild-Boar" Gregory). His son Javānshīr, who lived in the second half of the seventh century and was witness of the Sāsānian fall, and Arab invasion, is the best-known prince of Arrān. In the *History of the Alvans* written (towards 980-1000) by Moses Kalānkatvats'i the records of his exploits, real and legendary, occupy numerous chapters of Book II (Russian translation by Patkanian, SPb., 1861, pp. 137-84). Javānshīr ibn Grigor was certainly a local celebrity¹ and the descent from him was a title of nobility. The last representative of the Mihrān line mentioned in Moses K'alānkatvats'i is Senek'erim (second half of the tenth century), cf. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 19, and it would be quite comprehensible if the tottering dynasty, pressed by the Kurdish Shaddādids, tried to improve the situation by matrimonial ties with the other families of their neighbourhood. Nothing would have prevented "Ibn Rawwād" from boasting of his Christian ancestors on the maternal side for in a similar way Qaṭrān, see Kasravī, *o.c.*, iii, 54, calls the Shaddādīd Faḍlūn *sham'-i āl-i Bagratūn* "lamp of the Bagratuni family" because his mother was from that house. On the Transcaucasian border the marriages between Muslim and Christian noble families were particularly numerous. Cf. the extraordinary story related in I. Athīr, xii, 270, of an Erzerum prince who became a Christian in order to marry the Georgian queen Rusudan. Consequently the strange genealogical detail which in our text accompanies Ibn Rawwād's name, most likely reflects the ties by which the rulers of Ahar were trying to "redorer leur blason".

19. S.ngān, mentioned in our text between Ahar and Kapan, must be looked for in the immediate neighbourhood of the Araxes. A parallel name is found in Maq., 374: *Sinjān* (?). The only place I can think of is the present-day *Süngün* which lies in Qaraja-dagh, some 20 Km. north of Varzughān on the upper course of the Irgānā-chay joining the Araxes from the south. Süngün is the well-known centre of ancient copper mines.² The term "Kingdom of Sunbāt" may refer to the Bagratunid Smbat I (A.D. 890-914). In 344/955 I.H. speaks of the tribute which some "Banū Sunbāt" paid to the Musāfirid Marzubān, and it is clear that our author, too, mentions Sunbāt as the best-known person in the dynasty and not as a contemporary ruler. It is noteworthy that even at present there are Armenian villages in the northern part of the Qaraja-dagh.

¹ According to Vardan, tr. by Du-laurier, *Jour. As.*, 1860, vol. xvi, p. 294, the Mongols on taking Mayyāfāriqin captured "a fine young man Sevata of Khachēn [south of Barda'a], son of the Grand Prince Gregory", which indicates the persistence of the local hereditary names. The district of Partav (Arabic Bardha'a) situated on the Terter east of Ganja (Elisabethpol) even under Rus-

sian administration bore the name of Javānshīr. [Russian trans. of Vardan by N. Emin, Moscow, 1861, p. 186.]

² The syllable *-ān* in common Persian pronunciation sounds *-ūn*. Moreover, a short *i* before *u* (*ū*) may be assimilated to the latter, *bi-kun* > *bukun*. Therefore one can imagine a development *Singān* > *Singūn* > *Sungūn*, and finally, in Turkish pronunciation, *Süngün*.

III. *Arrān*.

20. Qabān is the Armenian Kapan ("defile"), a locality lying north of the Araxes (north of Ordūbād), cf. Nasawī, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 164: *Qabān*; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 348; Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, ii, 223-55: Davit'-beg on the wars (circa A.D. 1721) of the Armenians with the Ottomans in the region of K'ap'an (Kapan?).

21. Cf. Barthold, *Bardha'a* in *EI*. The term *tūdh-i sabīl* must be understood in the sense of "mulberries offered for God's sake" (*fī sabīl allāh*), cf. Juvaynī, *Jahān-gushā*, ii, 96, note 5, and Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, 1915, p. 370: "Tut-Rabat (west of Dersim) takes its name from five large mulberry trees the fruit of which is a charitable gift for travellers, being a religious bequest of some long-dead Agha." Iṣṭ., 183, speaks of the silk-worms bred in Bardha'a on the توت مباح لا مالک له.

22. The ruins of Baylaqān called Mīl-i Baylaqān (*Millār*) are situated south-east of Shūsha, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*.

23. Bāzhgāh "tollhouse" is probably Javād, below the confluence of the Kur and Araxes [cf. Maq., 373: the station of al-Kurr], where the travellers used to cross the river, cf. Olearius, Book IV, chapter xxi; J. J. Lerch, *Reise nach Persien*, in Büsching's *Magazin*, x, 1776, p. 421, says that near the bridge of Javād 50 Persians were posted in an entrenchment in order to levy the bridge-toll (*Brückenzoll*) from the travellers and to watch over the bridge. Cf. under *Mukān* in *EI*.

25. Khunān is the district lying 22 farsakhs east of Tiflis, Iṣṭ., 193, between the Kur and its right tributary Ktsia, Vakhusht, *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, ed. Brosset, p. 169. Marquart, *Skizzen zur hist. Topographie vom Kaukasus*, Wien, 1928, p. 26, identifies Khunān with Armenian *Hunarakart*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 355, 445.

20. Vardūqiya must be a popular name for **Bardūj*, the frontier district of Georgia lying south-east of Tiflis on the river Berduj (now Borchala).

27. Qal'a (as in Maq.) is *Qal'a ibn K.nd.mān* which Iṣṭ., 193, locates at 12 farsakhs to the east of Tiflis. Marquart, *o.c.*, 29, suggests the reading *کردمان which would suit the Georgian district *Gardaban*, Vakhusht, *o.c.*, p. 179 [to be distinguished from another *Gardman*, Balādhurī, 202, گردمان which lay farther east on a tributary of the Shamkhor river, cf. Hübschmann, *o.c.*, 352]. *V.i.*, note to 33.

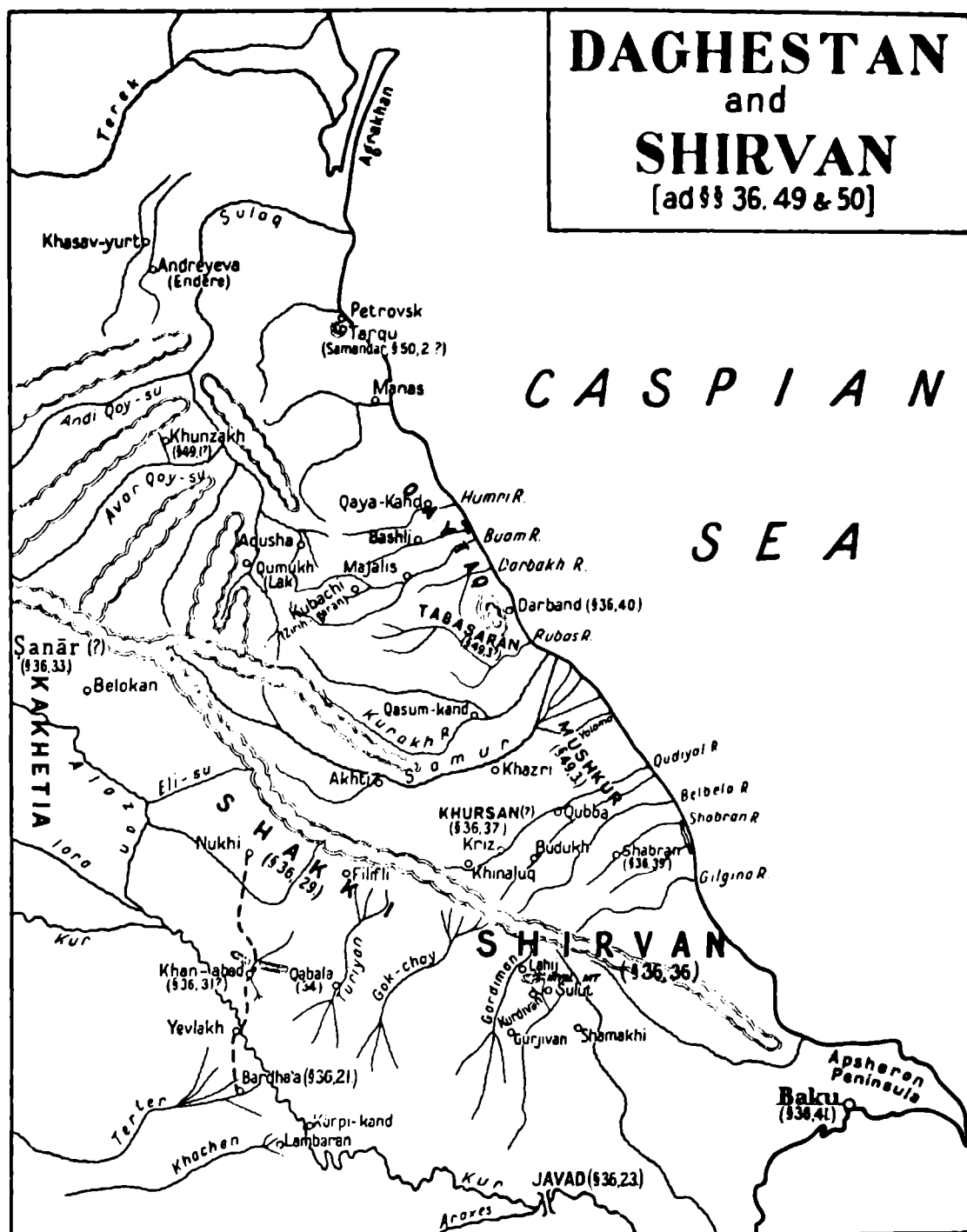
28. Closely following Iṣṭ., 185-7. See Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *EI* and *Transcaucasica*, 1930, pp. 53-62.

29. Shakkī (in Armenian Shak'ē) is the province lying to the west of Shīrvān immediately south of the range dividing it from Daghestan. The extent of Shakkī is considerably exaggerated. Cf. Minorsky, *Shekkī* in *EI*.

30. On the expedition of the Rūs see Ibn Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse*, ii, 62-78, cf. Barthold, *Preface*, p. 29. Moses Kalankavats'i who wrote about our author's time also recorded this invasion of the Rūzik, Book III,

DAGHESTAN and SHIRVAN

[ad §§ 36.49 & 50]



cf. 31. Mubārakī is unknown.¹ If we accept our author's indication that it formed the beginning of the Shakkī frontier, it must be looked for in the north of Bardha'a, perhaps near Yevlakh, for Shakkī never extended to the southern bank of the Kur. Such a position of Mubārakī would be in keeping with the two names following it which we are trying to locate between Bardha'a and Shakkī. A camp in that region would have been intended to intercept the communications between the northern and southern bank of the Kur. However, a much safer position for the camp would have been lower down on the Kur in the region of Lambarān, which indeed is mentioned in connexion with another expedition of the Rūs in A.D. 1173. Lambarān lies on the lower course of the Khachēn river, flowing south of the Bardha'a river (*Tertēr*, Arabic *Tharthūr*),² in the direction of the Kur which it does not reach. Lambarān is almost certainly identical with الاندراب "Mesopotamia", which according to Iṣṭ., 182, lay at a distance less than a farsakh from Bardha'a and its gardens and, for a day's distance in every direction, stretched between Karna (or *Kurra*), Laṣūb (**Lachūb*?), and Yaqtān (or *Baqtān*) none of which are now known.

31., 32. As the enumeration obviously proceeds in a northerly direction the Sūq al-Jabal can be tentatively sought near the present-day Aresh, and Sunbāṭmān near the Kakhétian (33.) frontier in the neighbourhood of Nukhi. At present a direct post road runs northwards as follows: Barda-Yevlakh (near the bridge on the Kur)-Khānābād (= Aresh qal'asī)-Nukhi. Aresh (circa 40 Km. north of Bardha'a) occupies an important position near a passage through the belt of hills (Na'lband-daghi) screening Shekkī from the Kur valley. The name *Sunbāt-mān* may have the meaning of "the house of Sunbāt", but this gives us no clue, for Shakkī lay too far from the Bagratunid dominions, and according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 68, the king of Shakkī towards 332 A.H. was an Adarnarsa. I.Kh., 122 (= Qudāma, 227), counts 8 stages (*sikak*) from Varthān to Bardha'a and thence 4 stages to منصوره ارمينية. All three places seem to lie in one direct line. Therefore "the Armenian Manṣūra" is to be located to the north of Bardha'a, but nothing can be said yet on its identity with our 31. or 32.

33. *Ṣanār* are the Σαυαπαῖοι, Ptolemy, viii, ch. 8, § 13, in Armenian *Tsanar-k'*, a spirited Christian people who lived north of the Alazan to the north-west of Shakkī and were probably related to the peoples of northern Daghestan. Iṣṭ., 193 a (MS. C.), between Shakkī and السارية, (read: *Sanāriya*) mentions العربية which may correspond to the valley called in Georgian *Eliseni* and in Turkish *Eli-su*, cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, p. 102. The name might then be restored as العيبة, v.i. 34.

[The identity of the Tsanar (in Georgian *Ts'anar* with ejaculative *ts'*) does not clearly appear from the sources of which the principal are enu-

¹ Unless مبارکی is a mis-reading of سوق الكرکی "Sunday market" (*kurakī* > Armenian *kiurakē* > κυριακή) which lay in Bardha'a near the "Kurdish Gate"

(*bāb al-akrād*) see Iṣṭ., 183.

² As shown by Marquart, *Wehrot*, 6, the river is mentioned in the *Bundahishn*, § 24, under the name **Tort-rōt*.

merated in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 424. According to the *Armenian Geography*, ed. A. Soukry, pp. 26-7 (I am using Patkanov's translation in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Pros.*, ccxxvi, April 1883, p. 30):¹ "in the same mountain [*i.e.* the Caucasus] after the Ardozians [an Alan tribe] live the Dajan, then the Dual, then the Tsakhoy, then the P'urk'a, then the Tsanark'a, in whose land the Alan Gate is situated as well as the other gate called K'tsek'en after this (?) people. After them live the Duts, the Khuž, the anthropophagous *Kist, the Dzlavat, the *Gudamakar, the Durtsk, the Dido, the Lek, the Tapotaran, the Alutakan, the Khenav, the Shilp, the Chilb, the P'wi. Then the Caucasus splits into two branches of which the one goes straight on and includes Shrvan and Khsvan [§ 36, 37. ?] down to Khorsvem (?). The other branch having let out the river Arm² which flows northwards into the At'l [Atil], runs in a north-easterly direction. In it live the T'avaspar, the Hechmatak, the Ižmakh, the P'askh, the P'uskh, the P'wk'anak (?), and the Bagan, from where starts the long wall of Abzut-Kavat down to the Allminon marsh and to the sea. North of this [chain or sea ?] lives the people Mask'ut'an in the Vardanian [?] plain near the Caspian sea. Here the chain approached the sea where the Derbend wall is found, *i.e.* the town of the Chor pass, the great rampart built in the sea. North³ of it, near the sea, is the kingdom of the Huns (*Honats'*); to the west, near the Caucasus lies the town of the Huns called Varajan, as well as (the towns) of Ch'ungars and Msəndr [*Semendr]; to the east live the Savir down to the Atil which separates Asiatic Sarmatia from Scythia. These are the Northern Lands (*Apakhtar*) *i.e.* T'urk'astan. Their king is Khak'an and Khatun their queen, the Khak'an's wife.'

It results from this important passage that the famous Alan Gate (Darial pass) in the Central Caucasus lay in the territory of the Tsanar (and their neighbours?).⁴ In 239/853 Bughā sent by the caliph Muta-wakkil executed the amir of Tiflis and marched against his allies the Šanār but was defeated by the latter, Ya'qūbī, ii, 588. In the parallel report of the *Georgian Chronicle*, Brosset's transl., p. 266-8 (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 412), Bughā was attacked in Ch'artalet' by the *Mt'iuli* ("mountaineers"), the latter name usually referring to the highlanders speaking dialects akin to Georgian (Pshav, Khevsur, T'ushi) and occupying both slopes of the Caucasian range, to the east of the Darial pass. In Ist.'s additional passage, *v.i.*, 34, the **Sanāriya* are mentioned roughly speaking between Tiflis and **Eliseni*, *i.e.* in Kakhetia (and perhaps more especially in its northern,

¹ Only the preceding part of the text is available in Marquart's translation, *Streifzüge*, 170. Marquart was not aware of the existence of Patkanov's article and the valuable suggestions contained therein.

² At another place called *Armna*. According to Marquart, the Terek. Cf. the name of a valley *Arm-khi* occupied by the Veppi clan of the Ingush. This

river (in Russian *Kistinka*) joins the Terek from the east near Jarakh (upstream from Vladikavkaz).

³ From here to the end Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 58 and 492.

⁴ According to the ancient history of *Christianization of Georgia*, the chief appointed by the Sāsānians in the defile was the head of the garrisons of the region.

trans-Alazan, part). It is also noteworthy that both the ruler of the Tsanar and the ruler of Kakhetia are given the same title of *k'orepiskopos/korikoz* (χωρεπίσκοπος), cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 409.

S. N. Kakabadze, who has lately re-examined the Tsanar question, points out that, according to Vardan the Great (thirteenth century), some princes of Gardaban (*i.e.* the region lying south of Tiflis, west of the Kur, and north of Shulaveri),¹ probably in the eighth century, moved north and became rulers of the Tsanar, of the neighbouring mountaineers, and finally of Kakhetia. In the ninth to tenth century A.D. the Tsanar are often identified with the Kakhs (inhabitants of Kakhetia). Finally the Georgian-speaking peoples entirely absorbed the Tsanar, see *Bull. Kavkaz. Istor.-Arkheol. Inst.*, Tiflis 1928, Nos. 1-3, pp. 5.6. This gradual evolution of the term Tsanar and the confusion of the original tribe with the territory annexed by its rulers may explain the contradictions in our texts.

As regards the nucleus of the Tsanar tribe, N. Y. Marr, *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1916, pp. 1397-8, hinted at its common origin with the present-day Chechen (a north-Caucasian people occupying the region between Daghestan and Vladikavkaz). Such is also the opinion of A. N. Genko, the undisputed authority on that part of the Caucasus, see *Zap. Koll. Vostok.*, v, 1930, p. 711, and a personal letter of 24.iv.1936.]

34. Qabala, Ptolemy, Χαβάλα, in Armenian K'avalak'. Its ruins are situated to the south-west of Shamākhī at the confluence of the two branches of the Tūriyān river. See now a special article on Qabala by my master A. E. Krimsky, *Iz istorii severn. Azerbeijana*, in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1934, pp. 289-305. Towards 332/943 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 68, mentions the King of Qabala عيسى الاور "the one-eyed Lion (*Leo?)" and Išt., 193a, seems to refer to the same king in a passage which is found only in the Constantinople codex:

وبين اللکز و شروان حدٌّ وبين شروان والليزان حدٌّ متاخم وبين الليزان والموقانية حدٌّ وكذلك بلاد العبية وهى كورة ليست بكثيرة القرى فيها قلعة حصينة ظهرها مما يلى بلاد اللکز الى جبالها وهم يحامون عليها لليل صاحب العبية اليهم وحسن جواره آياهم ثم بلاد شككى ثم العبرية ثم السارية ثم تفليس

"the Lakz have a common frontier with Shirvān, and so has Shirvān with *al-Lyzān, and so has al-Lyzān with al-Mūqāniya as well as with the land of al-'Absiya (*'Anbasa?); and this (al-Lyzān?) is a district with not very many villages and in it stands a strong castle backing, in the direction of the Lakz, on their mountains; and they (*i.e.* the people of Lyzān) guard these mountains on account of the good disposition to them of the master of al-'Absiya and his good neighbourly relations with them. Then comes Shakkī, then العبرية (*al-'Isiya < Eliseni), then the *Sanāriya, then Tiflis." It is true that العبية would be more easily restored as *Eliseni (*v.s.*), but the description shows that it lay to the east of Shekkī. Therefore بلاد العبية

¹ More exactly some Khaldian (*v.i.*, p. 420) emigrants backed by the Gardamians, see Vardan (transl. by Emin), p. 126.

(or perhaps ^{المسبة}*) much more likely corresponds to the (hereditary?) possessions of 'Anbasa's family.

35. In de Goeje's edition of Iṣṭ, 187, the names بردج and برزنج have been accepted as independent names though they are undoubtedly mixed in the MSS. According to I.R., 89₁₄, the Araxes flows past Warthān towards the town of *Barzanj and beyond it (*idhā jāwaza-hā*) joins the Kurr.¹ On the other hand, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 75, says that the Kurr flows at 3 miles' distance from Bardha'a, then past Bardāj [برداج with *imāla* must be identical with بردج **Bardēj*] which is "one of the districts of Bardha'a", and finally joins the Araxes near the village al-Ṣanāra² (? جواد). In the description of roads Iṣṭ., 192, gives the following distances: "from Bardha'a to برزنج (variant رديج) 18 farsakhs; thence to the ford on the Kurr³ and (?) to Shammākhiya 14 farsakhs, thence to Shīrvān 3 days, thence to al-Abkhāz (?) 2 days; thence to the Samūr bridge 12 farsakhs; thence to Bāb al-abwāb 20 farsakhs." As in the parallel passage Maq., 381, gives 1 marḥala from Bardha'a to Bardīj and thence 2 marḥalas to Shammākhiya, we are led to conclude that the name of the place where the Kurr was forded (cf. also I.H., 251) was Bardīj (**Bardēj*) and that it lay much nearer to Bardha'a than is indicated in Iṣṭ., 192 (I.H., 251). There are reasons for locating Bardīj on the right bank of the Kur, opposite the present-day Körpi-känd, "the bridge village". The place situated above the estuary of the southern branch of the Terter river is certainly suitable for crossing the Kur; its distance from Barda (Bardha'a) is *circa* 34 Km., and from Shamākhī *circa* 100 Km., which roughly corresponds to one light stage and two heavy ones. Our برزنج may be a mistake for بردج. In any case, Mas'ūdī's برداج is in favour of a form without *n*. Much less certain is the situation and even existence of برزنج for which we have to depend on I.R.'s vague indication (which may even refer to the well-known Barzand, *v.s.* 5., situated between Varthān and Ardabil?).

IIIa. Shīrvān.

36.-41. On Shīrvān see Dorn, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwan-schache*, in *Mém. Ac. des Sciences*, SPb, 1840, iv, pp. 523-602; Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku 1923; Barthold, *Derbend, Shīrvān*, and *Shīrvānshāh* in *EI*; A. Z. Validi, *o.c.* On the localities neighbouring on Shīrvān see under § 50. See Map xi.

The history and historical geography of the region still raise numerous

¹ I do not think A. Z. Validi is right in locating Barzanj near Javād. The road to Shamākhī had to cross the Kur much farther upstream from Javād. Iṣṭ.'s distances cannot be considered as decisive.

² [**Chināra* ?].

³ *Wa min Barzanj ilā ma'bar al-Kurr*

ilā al-Shammākhiya 14 farsakhan. Very probably instead of *ilā ma'bar al-Kurr* we must read **alā ma'bar al-Kurr* and place Barzanj "at the ford". The MS. C has the variant *wa min-hā yu'bar al-Kurr* (confirmed in Yāqūt, iii, 317₁₀) indicating that the river was crossed immediately beyond Barzanj.

questions and for the better understanding of our text we shall have to examine the following points:

The old centres of Shīrvān.

The dynasties of Shīrvān-shāhs.

The Mazyadid dynasty

*Lyzān, "al-Abkhāz", and Lāhīj.

Kh.rān-shāh.

THE OLD CENTRES. The earlier transmitted form of the name *Shīrvān* is *Sh.rvān* (شروان **Shīrvān*?). It does not seem to be connected with the name of its ancient capital 39. Shāvarān (Iṣṭ., 187: Shābarān) situated on the northern slope of the south-easternmost extension of the Caucasian range. It stood in the plain on the left bank of the river Shabran which flows to the Caspian to the south of Qubba (between the Belbele and Gilgine rivers).¹ The Arabic history of Darband, see A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, p. 41, says that the earlier (Mazyadid) rulers of Shīrvān were buried in Shābarān, and that Shābarān was fortified [only] in 373/983-4 (one year after the composition of the *H.-'Ā.*). To the south of the Caucasian range lay the centre of the *Layzān fief held by a collateral branch of the Mazyadids and probably corresponding to the present-day Lāhīj (*v. i.*). The second important place to the south of the range was Shammākhiya, so named in honour of Shammākh b. Shujā', ruler of Shīrvān towards A.D. 796-9, see Ṭabarī, iii, 645, Balādhurī, 210, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 455. This place rose to notoriety under the name of Yazīdiya² when the Shīrvān-shāh Yazīd II rebuilt it in 307/918-19, cf. A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 44 (where Yazīd's genealogy is wrong), but still later only the original name Shammākhiya (>Shamākhi) survived. Iṣṭ., 192, counts from Shammākhiya to Shīrvān (= Shābarān!) 3 days.

THE DYNASTIES. Four dynasties of Shīrvān-shāhs are known.³

I. The original Shīrvān-shāhs of Sāsānian times. In the enumeration of the Caucasian "gates" (*bāb*) I.Kh., 124, does not mention Shīrvān but among the kings appointed by the Sāsānian Ardashīr, *ibid.*, 17, he quotes (in Ādharbayjān) شیران شاه who may be identical with Shīrvān-shāh.

II. After the Arab conquest the descendants of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī became masters of Shīrvān (end of the eighth century to middle of the tenth, or even of the eleventh century).

III. The Kasrānid dynasty, very probably of Iranian origin, is numis-

¹ Its ruins are mentioned by the travellers on the road from Darband to Baku. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland*, SPb., 1774, iii, 36, speaks of 'die traurigen Überbleibsel des ehemaligen Schabrans, welche in Steinhauften, verheerten Festungen und einigen unbewohnten Häusern bestehen'. See also F. A. Marschall v. Bieberstein, *Beschreibung d. Länder zwischen den Flüssen Terek und Kur*, Frankfurt, 1800,

p. 25.

² Though Yāqūt, iv, 147, identifies Yazīdiya with Shamākhi it is possible that more exactly Yazīdiya corresponds to the **lashkar-gāh* where according to our text the king resided and which lay at 1 farsakh's distance from Shamākhi.

³ See Dorn, *o.c.*, Barthold's supplement to his translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadian dynasties*, pp. 294-6, Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 151-2.

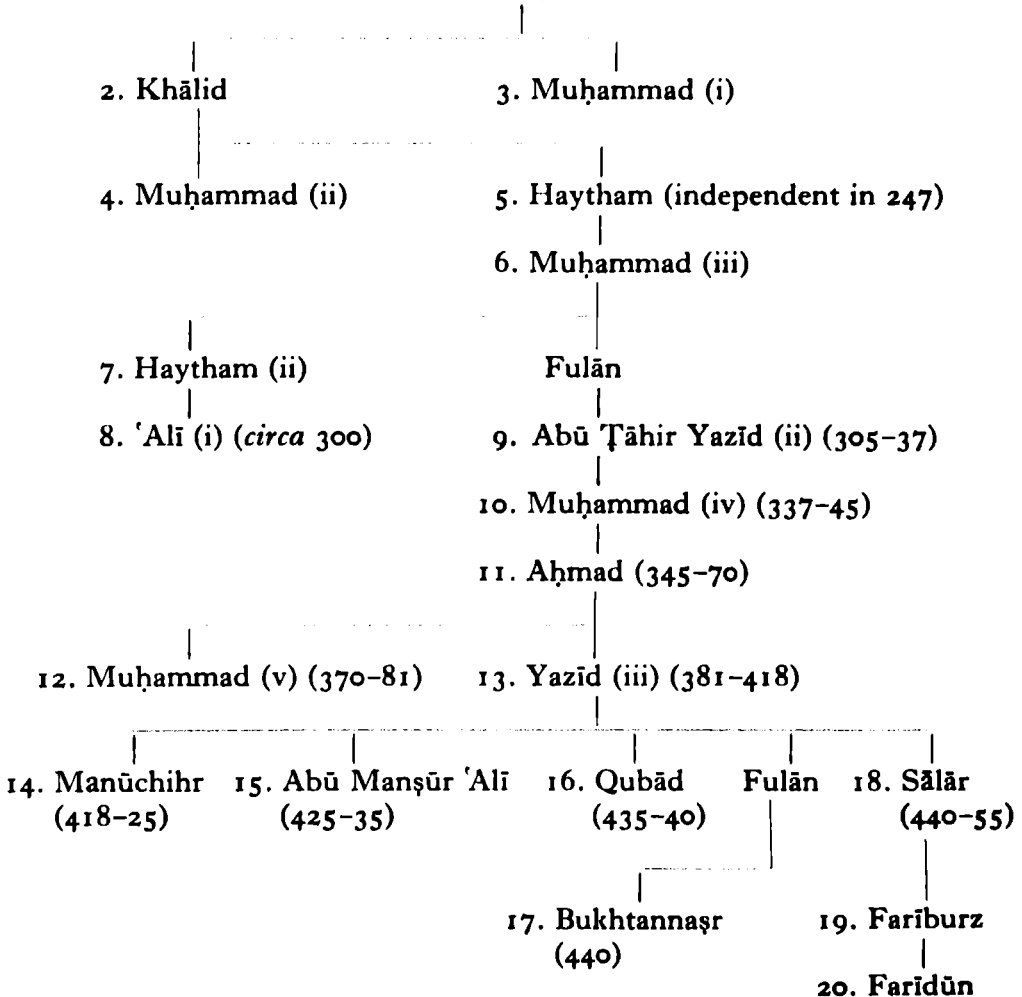
matically known since the second half of the eleventh century A.D., but its origins must be earlier for it seems to be connected with the great Daylamite movement of the tenth century, see E. A. Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs*, p. 28, and a personal letter dated Baku, 19.xii.1932.

IV. In 784/1382 Shaykh Ibrahīm Darbandī founded the last dynasty of Shīrvān-shāhs which lasted till the occupation of Shīrvān by Shāh Tahmāsp in 957/1550.

THE MAZYADIDS. Our knowledge of the chart of this dynasty is chiefly based on the work of Aḥmad b. Luṭfullāh Mūnejjim-bashi. This author (d. in 1113/1702) wrote his *Jāmi' al-duwal* in Arabic but it is accessible only in a Turkish abridged translation printed in Istanbul in 1285/1868 under the name of *Şahā'if al-akhbār*. Mūnejjim-bashi uses very good sources and among them an old Arabic *Ta'rikh Bāb al-Abwāb* (tenth or eleventh century?), as shown by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, who had the opportunity of consulting in Istanbul a MS. of the original *Jāmi' al-duwal*.

The following is the Mazyadids' chart based on the *Şahā'if al-akhbār*, iii, 172-5 (cf. Dorn, *o.c.*, pp. 341-50, Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muhamm. Dynastien*, Berlin, 1923, No. 18, and Zambaur, *Manuel*, 181-2).

1. Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida



The last three generations of the chart do not inspire much confidence and their Iranian names would suggest that some important changes were taking place in the rulers' house. It is even possible that these princes ought to be quoted under the Kasrānid dynasty (*v.s.*).

On the founder of the dynasty and his sons we possess a long paragraph in Ibn Khallikān (de Slane's translation, i, 68, and iv, 218-32), according to whom Yazīd died in 185/801 and Khālid in 230/844-5. [Ṭabarī, iii, 650, says that Yazīd died in Bardha'a in 175/791.]

Several important dates are found in Mas'ūdī and I.H. The former in his *Murūj*, ii, 21, says that at the time of the well-known Russian invasion (soon after 300/912-13) the king of Shirvān was 'Alī b. Haytham which fully agrees with Münejjim-bashi. Mas'ūdī adds, ii, 4 and 69, that 'Alī b. Haytham having perished [in a war with the Khazars, &c., as we learn from Münejjim-bashi, iii, 174], the power, about the time of the composition of the *Murūj*, was seized (*taghallub*) by Muḥammad b. Yazīd who (previously?) killed his uncles. As Mas'ūdī wrote in 332/943, the beginning of Muḥammad IV's rule must either be placed a few years earlier than in our chart, or Mas'ūdī must actually have in view Muḥammad's father Yazīd (the builder of Yazīdiya). According to Mas'ūdī Muḥammad and his father were originally masters of لایران to which now were annexed Shirvān, Mūqāniya, and even Darband (*v.i.* 40.). Muḥammad claimed to be a descendant of the Sāsānian king Bahrām Gūr but we need not interpret this ambitious assertion as a break in the Mazyadid line for Mas'ūdī's text suggests that his rivals were his uncles, and even the names of Muḥammad b. Yazīd and his descendants follow the onomastic traditions of the family. The claim of Sāsānian origin is most probably to be explained by Muḥammad's birth from a lady belonging to some noble local family, and we learn, for example, from the *Murūj*, ii, 4, that the masters of the neighbouring Sarīr were also "true" descendants of Bahrām Gūr.

Another interesting indication is found in the list of feudatories of the Musāfirid Marzubān emanating from the latter's minister Abul-Qāsim (344/955), and transmitted in a trustworthy text (I.H., 250, 254). In it is quoted the name of *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī* (sic) *ṣāhib Shirvānshāh* (sic). The contemporary of Abul-Qāsim could be only 10. Muḥammad b. Yazīd and if I.H. really refers to 12. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad the latter's name must have been subsequently introduced into the table to bring it up to date (I.H. completed his work *circa* 378 A.H.). The puzzling *al-Azdī* (instead of *al-Shaybānī*) may be an auditive slip for *al-Yazīdī* which latter would eventually indicate that the ruler was one of the *banū Yazīd b. Mazyad*.

RULERS OF *LYZĀN AND THEIR FIEF. One detail must particularly attract our attention. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 6, affirms that originally Muḥammad b. Yazīd and his father¹ were rulers of لایران (variants: لایران الابان, &c.).

¹ *Ibid.*, 69, more decidedly: *huwa wa man salafahu min ābā'ihi*, i.e., his ancestors, but perhaps on his mother's side!

This geographical name has been studied in detail by Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 119, who finally adopted the reading **Erān-shāh* and thought that the bearers of this title were the princes of the Arrān proper, *i.e.* the region between the Kur and Araxes. Marquart's principal argument seems to be that the passage of the *Murūj*, ii, 5, suggests for the land of "Lāyrān" a position between Shirvān and al-Mūqāniya. However, the *Murūj*, ii, 68-9, distinctly states that the Mūqāniya in question¹ lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Qabala and was different from the Mūqāniya situated on the shore of the Caspian, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. Of great importance for the location of Lāyrān is the passage of Iṣṭ., 193 *a* (*Lyrān*, *Lyzān*), translated above under 34. If our interpretation of it is right, "Lyrān" must have lain above Qabala on the southern slope of the Caucasus range, somewhere to the west of Shamākhī.² Such is also the impression given by Yāqūt's additional passage on Bāb al-abwāb, missing in Wüstenfeld's edition, i, 438₂₃, but quoted in the notes to *BGA*, i, 187 [we must assume that the description starts here from some point on the coast in a westerly (?) direction]: "and on the coast of the (Caspian) sea, this side (*dūna*) of M.sq.t (§ 50, 3.) lies the town of al-Shābarān, small, fortified, and possessing numerous rustāqs. Above it is the rustāq of جسدان and beyond it (*warā' dhālika*) the villages of الجبل (**Jabal*, *v.s.* 31. *Sūq al-Jabal*?) and Shirvān down to the frontier of Bākūh, D.rnyq (?), al-Lakz,³ and the confluence of the two rivers [Kur and Araxes?]. Then al-Lyrān lying behind these (*khalfa dhālika*) and in it stands a great and strong castle in which springs coming down in cascades (*kharrāra*) are said to exist, and it is a very inaccessible castle."

The source of the *H.-'Ā.* at this place is undoubtedly the same as the one underlying Mas'ūdī's passage and there is no doubt that our king with the threefold title is either Mas'ūdī's Muḥammad b. Yazīd, or one of his descendants. Our text completes Mas'ūdī very essentially. The name of Lyzān-shāh's celebrated stronghold, mis-spelt in the *Murūj*, ii, 69: ثيار, appears in our text in the perfectly correct form of نيار *Niyāl* which is the name of the mountain (6,566 feet high) which separates our 37. Kurdivān (in the south) from Lāhij (in the north). We may then assume with a great degree of probability that the second fortress mentioned in the same neighbourhood is no other than Sulūt (situated at 7-8 Km. to the east of Niyāl) of which an author writing about A.D. 1500 says: "on account of its loftiness the tent-cords of its inhabitants are tied to the pegs of the celestial vault" (*Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, Bib. Nat. Paris, fonds persan 101, fol. 134v, *in fine*). These two fortresses undoubtedly marked the original centre of the Lyzān-shāh's fief, and it is tempting to identify the *nāhiyat* of Lyzān with the present-day Lāhij valley which is situated at the sources of the Gardimān-chay flowing to the Kur east of the Gök-chay. Immediately

¹ Cf. Georgian *Movakan*, which perhaps comprised the lands between the northern bank of the Kur and Eliseni (to the west of Shakki).

² *i.e.* much farther to the north than the position indicated by Marquart.

³ The mention of the Lakz in this connexion is unexpected.

north of Lāhīj several passes lead into the territory which must be considered as the original Shirvān and into southern Daghestan (the presumable home of the "Lakz"). The ruins of Qabala lie at *circa* 80 Km. to the south-west of Lāhīj. The Niyāl mountain, our firm point, overhangs Lāhīj from the south.

*LYZĀN, "AL-ABKHĀZ", LĀHĪJ. Though the name لران has numerous variants (see their list in Marquart, *o.c.*, 119), the majority of MSS. indicate an initial *L*; the dot over ز is also sufficiently attested and generally speaking there are more cases of ز being mis-spelt as ر than vice versa. As regards our text, the neighbourhood of the perfectly transmitted name of Niyāl is a favourable indication for the authenticity of لران with ز. In view of the analogies explained below the reading **Layzān* is preferable to **Lizān* or *Lēzān*.

Not only geographically is **Layzān* to be placed near the present-day Lāhīj, but even etymologically the two names must be connected. Both seem to be composed with suffixes of origin. In several Iranian names of the Caucasian region appears the suffix -z, corresponding to -zi, -č, -či, -ji, &c. of the other dialects.¹ By the side of such names as *Gur-z* (§ 42, 15.) and *Lak-z* (§ 50, 3.) our name is likely to represent *Lay-z*. Lāhīj,² too, is apparently formed with a similar suffix, but before comparing the essential part of the two names separated by more than a millenary we have to consider another name of the same region slightly younger than *Layzān*. Išt., 187, enumerates the localities of Arrān in the following order: . . . "al-Shammākhiya, Shirvān,³ *al-Abkhāz*, al-Shābarān,³ Qabala, Shakkī, &c.", and further, 192 (= Maq., 381) in the description of the route from Bardha'a to Bāb al-abwāb (*v.s.* 35.), places *al-Abkhāz* between Shirvān (*i.e.* Shābarān?) and the bridge on the Samūr river, undoubtedly in the region of Qubba, see Minorsky, *Qubba* in *EI*, and A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 39. The form الابخان has been adopted by the editor of the *BGA*⁴ but Marquart who collected all the relevant quotations in his *Streifzüge*, 174-5, was the first to recognize that the MSS. are in favour of some form like اللایجان **Lāyijān*, *Lāyjan*. [In the additional note, *ibid.*, 508, he less happily connected the variant الابخان with Balādhuri's (p. 197) بخ *Bukh*.]

The inhabitants of the Lāhīj valley are at present called Tāt, this Turkish term (cf. Kāshgharī, i, 378, ii, 227) applying in general to sedentary, particularly Iranian, populations, see Minorsky, *Tāt* in *EI*. They are undoubtedly of Iranian origin and the dialect they speak (*Tāti*) is closely akin to the modern Iranian vernaculars of the Caspian region. The fact

¹ To Marquart, *ZDMG*, xlix, 1895, pp. 664-7, belongs the merit of having shown the toponymic importance of these suffixes of origin. B. V. Miller, *o.c.*, p. 35, confirms the existence of this suffix (-is, -iz, -iŝ) in the Tāti dialects.

² The name is known only in Russian transcription of which the original must

be لاهج, but the form لاهج is also possible.

³ Shirvān and Shābarān are strangely separated.

⁴ Here it has nothing to do with the well-known Abkhāz people of the Black Sea coast (cf. § 50, 4.)!

that the Lāhij sub-dialect slightly differs from the rest of the Tātī group¹ suggests that its speakers have been secluded in their valley for a considerable period, very probably since the times of the *Layzān-shāhs. The "small" area of *Layzān (v.s., Išt., 193 a) could hardly account for *Layzān-shāh's prodigious career had he not some supporters elsewhere. The fact is that the Qubba district is another considerable centre of the Iranian Tāts who still (in spite of the gradual turkicization of the region) occupy 108 villages and form 17 per cent. of the local population. All these Iranian elements of the ancient Arrān territory most probably date back to the Sāsānian epoch when the deliberate policy of the kings was to settle in the sub-Caucasian region a faithful population of frontier guards.² These ethnological and historical considerations make it probable that the master of *Layzān in his conquests found succour from the Iranian frontier populations, and on the other hand that these populations were as closely connected in the ninth and tenth centuries as they are nowadays. Therefore the supposition is admissible that their names, viz. لایجان and لایزان, are also related. The former is attested in the ninth-century authors (Balādhurī, 196, I.Kh., 124); the latter is found only in the tenth-century geographers (Išt., I.H., Maq.). The term Layzān in the tenth century (I. Faqīh [in Yāqūt], Mas'ūdī, Išt.) seems to survive only as a traditional title.³

The difference of the terms *Lay-z and Lāy-j (or Lāy-ij) is then reduced merely to that of the vocalic length (resp. *a*/*ā*) and even in this regard we possess an intermediate variant in Mas'ūdī's لایزان *Lāyizān or Lāyzān. We may also remember such parallel forms as Arabic آذربيجان and Persian آذربایجان now آذربایجان (the two latter with a long *ā* after *b*). The earlier Arab writers often used *l* with *imāla* to render Persian *ē* (v.s. 35. برداج for *Bardēj*) and to them their short *a* appeared probably more adequate for rendering the special timbre of the Persian *ā*. The existence in Arabic of

¹ B. V. Miller, *Tati i yikh rasseleniye*, Baku, 1929 (*Bull. de la Société scient. d'Azerbaïdjan*, No. VIII, fasc. vii), p. 11, an excellent survey of the Tāt settlements in the Bākū-Shamākhī-Qubba region.

² Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 2. Balādhurī, 194-5, 197, and I. Faqīh, 288, 291, call them الساجون, &c., cf. Marquart, *Ērān-shahr*, 120. In his *Ādīna in Festschrift Szinnyei, Ungar. Bibliothek*, xiii, 1927, p. 83, Marquart restores the name as الساجون *spāsīgān "Dienstleute". In his *Kulturanaekten in Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ix/1, 1929, pp. 71 and 78, he suggests that the "Tātī" speaking Jews of Daghestan are descendants of the former camp-followers of the spāsīgān. [In *BSOS*, viii/2, 1936, p. 616, J. H.

Kramers quotes some forms in the MSS. suggesting the reading *mišāstāg* "the settled ones, settlers".]

³ I.H., 250, after the Shīrvān-shāh mentions a king of الأبخاز "possessing a kingdom which adjoins some of the Qabq mountains, and his districts (*nawāhī*) are known under the name of *al-Abkhāzshāh* (*sic*)". However, in the enumeration of Marzubān's feudatories, *ibid.*, 254, this king does not appear, and I strongly suspect that this *malik al-Abkhāz* is no other than the لایزان who on p. 254 appears only in his new avatar of Shīrvān-shāh! If so, the very confusion of اللیزان and الأبخاز = اللایجان is a new indication in favour of the identity of the two names.

two transcriptions of the same name could be paralleled by the double appellation of the Georgians who in the older sources are called *Jurz* (with -z) and in the later authors (since the Seljuk times) گرج **Gurj* (with -j).

We can now return to the present-day Lāh-ij of which the likeness to **Lāyij* (Lāyiz) is very striking. The inhabitants of Lāhij explain this name by the tradition that their ancestors came from Lāhijān (in Gilān). This latter name appears in Ṣahīr al-dīn, p. 130, and other local historians as لاهيجان *Lāhijān* but the oldest attested form of it is لافجان **Lāfijān* (v.s., § 32, 25.) [cf. Ptolemy, vi, 2: *Nιφαναδα* > later *Nihāvand*]. We must then admit that the original place in Gilān retained the old form of the name longer whereas in the Caucasian colony the evolution *Lāfijān* > *Lāhijān* > *Lāyijān* (or ليران) proceeded more rapidly.¹ The evidence in favour of the Lāhij tradition would be considerably corroborated if it were possible to prove that the name of the Niyāl mountain is also to be found in the Lāhijān region. In Melgunov, o.c., 203-5, *Niyaku* (**Niyākūh*?) is a village belonging to Lāhijān; another village *Liyālassān* or *Liyārastān* is mentioned on the road Lāhijān-Langarūd (*Liyāl* < **Niyāl*?). The Caucasian Lāhij would not be the only colony of Lāhijān, for south-west of the Urmiya lake a whole district (now inhabited by the Mukrī Kurds) is called Lāhijān and several villages of the same name are known in Ādharbāyjan, Fārs, &c., see Minorsky, *Lāhīdjān* in *EI*. See Map x.

Incidentally it is interesting to confront the Lāhij tradition with the possible meaning of the name Shīrvān. In the latter -vān may be a suffix similar to that of the neighbouring Kurdivān (also v.s., p. 335).² The remaining element *Shīr/Shir* is reminiscent of the name of another Caspian locality *Shirriz* (< *Shirr-iz*) in Ṭabaristān, Ṭabarī, i, 2658, which in later times was called شیرجان (< **Shīr-ij-ān*), Ṣahīr al-dīn, p. 291, cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, xlix, pp. 650-4.³ Such an interpretation would suggest that the two groups of the Mazyadid subjects were originally transplanted from two neighbouring localities of the southern Caspian provinces! Cf. the names Damāvand and Balkan (Balkhān) of which the former travelled from

¹ It is curious that north of the Alazan and south of Zakatali there still exists an isolated village called *La'ij* which corresponds to the لاهيجان stage of the name. Russian maps spell it Лаидж, differently from Lāhij (Лажич; В. V. Miller: Лахидж). However, *La'ij* may be due to the Georgian pronunciation in which *h* is dropped. It is further possible to imagine that the local form of the name (**Lāyij*) has been at a later time influenced by the better-known literary form of Lāhijān.

² V.s., p. 404, the form *Shīriyān-shāh* = *Shīrvān-shāh*?

³ Cf. also *ibid.*, 660, the personal

name شیران شاه of one of the ancestors of the Daylamite Buyids. [*Shirjān* (*Shīrūd-hazār*) is definitely substituted by Ṣahīr al-dīn, 291, to Ṭabarī's, iii, 1884, *al-Shirriz*. Both Ṭabarī, iii, 1015, and Yāqūt, iii, 275, reckon Shirriz to Daylam. The river Shīrūd flows to the Caspian in Tunikābun, the district intermediary between Gilān and Māzandarān, see Stahl's map in *Petermann's Mitt.*, 1927, Heft 7, Tafel 13. On the other hand some *Shirriz* is often coupled with *Lāriz* which presumably lay much farther east, Marquart, *Ērān-shahr*, 127, 135, Vasmer, in *Islamica*, iii/1, 1927, 119-20.] See Map x.

the Caspian region to Kirmān [cf. p. 375, l. 25], and the latter from the east coast of the Caspian sea to the Balkans [cf. p. 205, l. 27].

KH.RSĀN-SHĀH. As regards the third title of our king, Barthold has already recognized its connexion with *حسانشاه* mentioned in Balādhurī, 196 *in fine*, as the title of the king of the Lakz. On the common frontier of the Lakz with Shirvān see Iṣṭ., 193 *a* (quoted above) and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 510. Our author under 37. explains that Kh.rsān (*Khursān*?)¹ lies between Darband and Shirvān near the mountain Qabq. If it is true that the people of *Layzān had to protect the lord of Qabala against the inroads of the Lakz, it is very probable that *Lakz* in this case refers to the southern Daghestanian tribes (Budukh, Khinalugh, Kriz, Haput, &c.) whose remnants occupy the northern slope of the mountains between Lāhīj and Qubba.² The Lakz are also named under § 50, 3.

40. The description of Darband is extremely brief and poor in comparison with Iṣṭ., 184. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 5, Muḥammad b. Yazīd of Shirvān seized Bāb al-abwāb after the death of his son-in-law (or father-in-law *ṣihr*) 'Abdullāh b. Hishām (*Hāshim?), descended from one of the prophet's *anṣār*. [The close relations of the Shirvān-shāhs with the Darband Hāshimids can be inferred also from the joint action of 'Alī b. Haytham and the ruler of Darband against the infidels of Sarīr, Shindān, and Khazar, see Münejjim-bashi, iii, 174.]

41. The spelling Bākū shows the antiquity of the present-day form. Iṣṭ., 190, writes *Bākūh*. The Persian form Bādkūba is a late popular etymology "wind-beaten". The Daylamites used naphtha for military purposes; cf. Ibn Miskawaihi, *The eclipse*, ii, 153; *mazāriq al-naft wal-nīrān*, a sort of tenth-century "Flammenwerfer".

§ 37. Arabia

I.Kh., 128-53; Hamdānī [d. 334/945-6], *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, 1884; Iṣṭ., 12-28; I.H., 17-35; Maq., 67-113. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, and *Postrouten*, pp. 108-59 (among other materials Sprenger utilizes the MS. *Ta'rīkh al-Mustanṣir* by Ibn al-Mujāwir who wrote towards 630 A.H.).

See also the seas § 3, 3 *b c*; the islands § 4, 17.; the mountains § 5, 17.; the rivers § 6, 57.; the deserts § 7, 10.-12.

The origin of the details under 4., 6., 9., 11., 12., 15., 19. could not be traced. Other details seem to be due to several different sources. Thus the description of Mekka evidently follows I.Kh. The item on Ṣan'ā' can be explained through Hamdānī whose work may have become known rapidly

¹ In Moses Kaṭankatvats'i, book ii, chapters 42-45, the envoys of the "Hun" king of Varač'an are called Zirdkin-Khursan and Chat-Khazr. The second elements of the names undoubtedly refer to the ambassadors' nationality,

i.e. respectively *Khursan* (*sic*) and *Khazar*. The name *Zirdkin* is of Iranian origin (*zird* "heart").

² Cf. Balādhurī, 207, quoted in the note to § 50, 3c.

through the pilgrims returning from Arabia. The mention of monkeys in Yemen coincides with Iṣṭ. The items on the coins and measures (cf. also the curious terms under § 10, 39.) are not identical with Maq., 97-9.

In the description of frontiers **Khaulān* must be read instead of *Jaulān* (the latter name, Maq., 154, belonging to one of the six districts of Damascus). The list of principal divisions is confused and incomplete (cf. Maq., 68, and Sprenger, *Postrouten*, p. 108). *نِزْوِين* is most probably *بحرين* as the latter (26.) is an important province and its place after Yamāma would be right. The name may have been confused with *Nazwa* (var. *Nazway*, Iṣṭ., 26g) situated at some 150 Km. to the south-west of Masqaṭ on the southern slope of the 'Omān range. Its only title to distinction is that it was an important Khārijite centre. Another *Nazwa* is shown on the eastern side of the Cape Qatar (but the dual of *Nazwa* would be *نِزْوَيْن*). Among the Arab tribes *جان* is a puzzle unless it stands for *غان*.

The enumeration, as usual mechanical and erratic, begins with the two sacred towns to which Ṭā'if is adjoined (1.-3.); 4.-13. lie in southern Yemen; 14.-15. in the south-western corner of Arabia; 16.-20. in a zone beginning in northern Yemen and ending in the Hījāz opposite Mekka; 21.-23. on a line between southern Yemen and the north-eastern corner of Arabia; 24.-26. on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf; 27.-32. across Arabia from the east to the north-west.

1. Mekka. For the measurements of the Mosque and the Ka'ba our author agrees with I.Kh., 132, and Maq., 72; cf. also Yāqūt, iv, 279. The circuit "round the stone" seems to be a wrong translation of *ḥijr* (an enclosure adjoining the Ka'ba), which the author must have misread into *ḥajar* ("stone"). I.Kh. precisely evaluates the circuit of the *ḥijr* (*daur al-ḥijr*) at 50 cubits, whereas Maq. assigns to it only 25 cubits. The meaning of the last of the measurements quoted becomes clear in the light of I.Kh. and Maq., who at this place give the length of the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (*dhar' al-ṭawāf*), viz. 107 cubits. The "150 cubits" standing in our text must be the scribe's error provoked by the "50 cubits" mentioned immediately before it. The corrected text ought to run thus: **va az gird-i *ḥijr 50 arash va *darāzā-yi ṭawāf *107 arash*.

6. Ṣa'da. Hamdānī, 67, only says that before Islām it was called Jumā' and in the days of old (*fī qadīm al-dahr*) possessed a castle with plastered walls (*qaṣr mashīd*). I.Kh., 136, speaks of the tanneries in Ṣa'da.

7. *صَدَان* evidently stands for the important district of *مَدَان* which Hamdānī, 109, also places "between Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'da". Cf. Schleifer, *Hamdān* in *EI*. On the other hand, in view of the mention of the **Banū Ḥimyar*, *صَدَان* may have been confused with *قَطَان*. Maq., 87, says "al-Ḥimyarī is the town (*balad*) of Qaṭṭān between Zabīd and Ṣan'ā' ". Iṣṭ., 26 (= I.H.) 33, mentions the Ḥimyar tribe only in Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt.

8. Ṣan'ā'. The detail on the crops stands practically as in I.R., 109, and more remotely reminds one of Hamdānī, 199. As regards the antiquity of the town Hamdānī, 55, says that it is the most ancient of the towns (*aqdam mudun al-ard*) having been built by Noah's son Shem.

9. Dhimār, cf. Schleifer, *Dhamār* in *EI*. 10. probably Shibām-Ḥarāz situated at 2 days' distance to the south-west of Ṣan'ā', see A. Grohmann, *Shibām* (1) in *EI*.

11. Zabīd, chief place in the coastal region of Yemen, I.Kh., 107, Maq. 84, cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 20-1, 40.

12. Mankath near Yarīm, Hamdānī, 101. 13. Ṣuhaib, I.Kh., 139, Hamdānī, 54.

Iṣṭ., 26₁₂, confirms that monkeys are very numerous in Yemen: they gather in masses and obey their chief as the bees obey their queen. Cf. W. Schmidt, *Das südwestliche Arabien*, 1913, p. 49, who says: "Gelegentlich trifft man . . . Paviane."

16. The mis-spelling: 'Alī for 'Akk is common, cf. Qudāma, 192 *aa*. On 'Akk see Hamdānī, 119, Maq., 88.

17. I.Kh., 148. The town of 'Aththar is Baysh, Hamdānī, 120, Maq., 70, 86.

18. Mahjara, I.Kh., 135, Hamdānī, 186, Maq., 111. According to Qudāma, 189, between Sharūm-Rāḥ and Mahjara stood a tree forming the frontier between Yemen and Ḥijāz.

19. Iṣṭ., 14, takes Sirrayn for the starting-point of the line dividing Yemen from Ḥijāz. Ibn Mujāwir, in Sprenger, *Postrouten*, p. 132, places it on the coast, 17 farsakhs south of Mekka.

21. On this famous centre of the Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites cf. Tkatsch in *EI*. 'Uqāb is mentioned on the road from Ṣan'ā' to Ḥaḍramūt, Sprenger, *Postrouten*, 139. [Sprenger quotes Bakrī as his authority, but Prof. Grohmann tells me that the route is most probably quoted after Ibn Mujāwir.] Wādī Mījān, *i.e.** Bayḥān, "a long valley with fields and palms", which Ibn Mujāwir, *ibid.*, 142, mentions on the road from 'Aden to Shibām at 7 farsakhs from Dathīna, I.Kh., 138. On *Bayḥān see Landberg, *Arabica*, Leiden, 1898, v, 4. مباح looks like مباح which I.Kh., 142 mentions under the *mikhhlāfs* of Ṣan'ā'.

22. Shiḥr, capital of Mahra, Iṣṭ., 25.

23. 'Omān spelt with the usual mistake 'Ommān.

24. Sharja is here evidently the place on the western side of the cape Musandam (*Sharja ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*) and not the dependency of Zabīd, Maq., 53 and 92.

25. Hajar is the ancient town in the 26. Baḥrayn region. Hajar lay inland and its port probably was al-'Uqayr. I.Kh., 60, 152, Qudāma, 193. Cf. Buhl, *Hadjar* in *EI*, and Tkatsch, *Gerrha* (Γέρρα πόλις) in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*.

27. Fayd, belonging to the Ṭayy territory, Iṣṭ., 20, lies half-way between Qādisiya and Mekka, Maq., 251, cf. § 5, 16.

28. Jabala, a castle in Wādī Sitara, north of Mekka, on the road to Medina (between Baṭn Marr and 'Uṣfān), I.Kh., 131, Iṣṭ., 20.

29. Fur', a district of Medina lying at 4 days' distance to the south of it, I.Kh., 129, Iṣṭ., 18.

30. All situated on the Tabūk road, Maq., 250: Tabūk-Taimā'-Wādī

al-Qurā. 31. Jār, the ancient port of Medina (our author's *bārkaḥ* corresponds to *furḥa* in Iṣṭ., 19). 32. Madyan, Iṣṭ., 20.

§ 38. Syria

Iṣṭ., 55-68, I.H., 108-28, Maq., 151-93. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890 (map), Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris, 1923; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzant. Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels, 1935 (published as vol. iii of Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*), and a series of very valuable articles in *EI*. Maps: *Syria and Palestine* 1: 1,000,000 (international series) and *États du Levant*, 1: 500,000, Beirut, 1931.

The elements of this chapter are mostly borrowed from Iṣṭ. but arranged differently. Our author's enumeration runs along the routes, in which he also differs from Maq., 154, who describes administrative divisions.

1.-5. and 16. lie west of the Euphrates loop and 1. (?), 16. (as well as 27.) have already been mentioned under Jazīra; 6.-11. are situated in the basin of the Jayḥān; 12.-14. in Cilicia; 15. on the Mediterranean coast; 17. on the eastern fringe of Syria; 18. in the extreme south in the 'Aqaba gulf; 19.-22. in the region of Aleppo; 23., 24. in the region of Ḥims; 26., 27. in the region of Damascus (27. already mentioned in § 34, 9.); 28., 29. in the Khārijite highlands; 30.-31. in the Jordan valley; 33.-39. in Palestine; 40.-42. in the basin of the Dead Sea.

1. Cf. note to Jazīra (§ 34, 16.).

2. The river of Sanja according to Le Strange, *The lands*, 124, is Bōlam-su, one of the sources of the Kakhtā river, which empties into the Euphrates south-east of Malaṭya. On the bridge see Iṣṭ., 62.

3. The bridge-head mentioned under Jazīra 16. lay east of Manbij.

4. The two places are united arbitrarily. Ḥiṣn-Manṣūr is now called *Adi-yaman*. Qūrus, Iṣṭ., 65 and 67, lay much more to the south at 2 marḥalas from Manbij and at 1 day's distance from Aleppo.

10. Cf. Iṣṭ., 63.

14. The detail about the Byzantine sanctuaries is not found either in Iṣṭ. or in I.H. Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine*, 404.

15. This enumeration of maritime towns seems to follow a map. صبح (?) which is not found in Iṣṭ. and I.H., seems to correspond to الويدية al-Suwaidiya mentioned in Maq., 54.

17. A similar arrangement of the localities on the eastern border of Syria. The details on the inhabitants are based on Iṣṭ., 61, 65.

18. Ayla corresponds to the *Ēlath* of the Jews and the *Aelana* of the Romans, now al-'Aqaba, see Nallino in *Battānī*, ii, 17. See now a very complete study by Ph. Schertl, *Ela-'Aqaba* in *Orientalia Christ. periodica*, ii/1, 1936, pp. 33-77.

20. Just south of Iskenderun. A slight development of what Iṣṭ., 65, says about the *dār al-ḍiyāfa*.

21. So in some MSS. of Iṣṭ., *BGA*, iv, 386, and I.H., 118 *m*, but in Maq. Ma'arra Qinnasrīn. This place is to be distinguished from Ma'arra Nu'mān lying some 50 Km. south of it, see Honigmann in *EL*.

23. A slight development of Iṣṭ., 61. I.H., 117, instead of the nice looks (*jamāl*) of the inhabitants speaks of their vices (*khabāl*). The details about the reptiles seems to be a lapsus, as Iṣṭ. (and still more vigorously I.H.) deny their existence in Hims.

24. Kafr-Ṭāb not in Iṣṭ. or I.H. but in Maq., 54.

26. Maq., 181, among the produce of Damascus mentions *ṣufriyāt*, which means "copper vases", *BGA*, iv, 281, but the variant gives *mṣfryāt* (?), of which *turanj* (?) - *i zard* may be a tentative rendering.

27. Raqqa, already mentioned under Jazīra 9.

28. Ruwāt, the town of the Syrian Jibāl, mentioned in Iṣṭ., 58, and I.H., 113, but absent in Maq. Ya'qūbī, 326, calls the capital of al-Jabal 'Arandal, cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 395.

29. Adruh, north of Mu'ān (Ma'ān), see Le Strange's map in *Palestine*, and Lammens, *Adroh* in *EL*.

40.-42. Iṣṭ., 56, distinguishes between Zughar, Diyār-qaum-Lūt, and *Jibāl al-shurāt* (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 28). Zughar, as shown by Le Strange, lay near the south-eastern bank of the Dead Sea. Iṣṭ., 58, 66, counts from Rihā (Jericho) to Zughar 2 days, and from Zughar to Jibāl al-shurāt 1 day. Maq., himself a native of Jerusalem, instead of *Zughar* writes *Ṣughar*, thereby following still closer the Hebrew name *Ṣo'ar* (*Tso'ar*) "smallness", Gen. 19, 22, *Zoar*. The Jibāl al-shurāt are evidently the highlands (Edom) east of the Diyār-qaum-Lūt. Balqā' is the locality around 'Ammān in Transjordan, Iṣṭ., 65, cf. F. Buhl, *Balkā'*, in *EL*.

§ 39. Egypt

Iṣṭ., 48-55; I.H., 87-108; Maq., 193-215. R. Guest's maps in his edition of al-Kindī's *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, GMS, 1912; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. français du Caire*, 1914; [Prince] Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, vol. iii: "Époque arabe", fasc. 1, 1930, p. 569: quotations relative to Jayhānī; fasc. 2, 1933, pp. 664-6: text and translation of the relevant passages from the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*; fasc. 3, 1933; fasc. 4, 1934, pp. 825-68: Idrīsī (a truly monumental collection of texts and beautifully reproduced maps).

The original traits of this chapter are the quotations from some unknown Book of Marvels, see 5., 6., 8., and perhaps 10. A hint at the political situation in Egypt (?) is found in § 10, 32. (since A.D. 969 the Fāṭimids were masters of Cairo). On the lakes see § 3, 19.; on the mountains § 5, 23.-24.; on the rivers § 6, 62.-64. In our enumeration 1.-6. and 8. represent lower Egypt, and 7., 9., 10. Upper Egypt (*al-Ṣa'id*).

1. Of the long description in Iṣṭ. only the detail about Shāfi'ī's tomb (Iṣṭ., 51) appears in our author.

2. These two names are interesting as not appearing in Iṣṭ., and consequently borrowed from some other source. In I.H., 102 and 103 *a*, the two localities are found together, and the variant of the second name ذبقوا accounts for our دنقرا. The correct form is دبق (vocalized: *Dabqu*) or *Dabqū*, see Maq., 54, 193, but the place is better known as Dabīq, from which the celebrated textiles came. See Becker, *Dabīk*, in *EI*.

3., 4. Cf. Iṣṭ., 52-3.

5. The lake of Alexandria is that of Maryūt and not of Tinnīs. The detail on the invisibility of the lighthouse does not seem to be found elsewhere (personal communication by G. Wiet).

6. I.Kh., 159, attributes the construction to “Baṭlimiyūs al-Qalūdhī al-malik” (*sic*) and quotes an inscription written in *musnad*, of which the text is: بَنِيْنَهَا فَمَنْ كَانَ يَدْعَى قُوَّةَ فِي مَلِكِهِ فَلْيَهْدِمَهَا فَإِنَّ الْهَدْمَ أَيْسَرُ مِنَ الْبِنَاءِ cf. also I. Faqīh, 68. Our Arabic quotation resembles it only in the meaning. The size and the item on medical and astronomical inscriptions coincide in both sources. Iṣṭ., 51, I.H., 100, and Maq., 210, say nothing of Hermes. Maq. transcribes I.Kh.’s text of the inscription.

8. Iṣṭ., 53, too, speaks of the *saḥara Fir’aun*; Iṣṭ., 154, and I.H., 106, quite briefly remark that off Būṣīr and Fustāṭ the crocodiles do no harm.

9. For Bulaynā Iṣṭ., 53 *i*, gives the variant *al-Bulaynā* (for *Isnā* given in the text).

10. The details on mines and wild asses not in Iṣṭ., I.H. or Maq. Cf. § 5, 23.

§ 40. Maghrib

Iṣṭ., 36-48; I.H., 41-73 (this remarkable chapter remained unknown to our author); Maq., 215-48. Al-Bakrī, *Description de l’Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by Mac Guckin de Slane, extract from *Jour. As.*, 1858.

This chapter chiefly follows Iṣṭ. with a sprinkling of details from some unknown source. The qualifications “prosperous”, “having great wealth”, &c., seem to be personal additions to the names by our author.

3., 1., 5. the present-day Italian possessions (in a systematic enumeration from east to west the localities ought to come as follows: 3., 1., 2., 4.); 2., 4., 6., 7.—Tunis; 8.-13.—Algiers; 14.-18.—Morocco.

There are two Zawilas, see Grohmann in *EI*. The one is the suburb of Mahdiya and the other (which is meant here) a town of Fazzān (SSE. of Tripoli), see al-Bakrī, *o.c.*, pp. 28-9, and E. Banse, *Fazzān*, in *EI*. Iṣṭ., 47, Maq., 246, without any detail evaluate the distance from Qayruwān to Zawila as one month, while I.H., 66, counts from Zawila to Ajdabiya 2 months, and from Ajdabiya to Fazzān 15 marḥalas. Cf. note to § 60, 1.

6. Iṣṭ., 38, *awwalu ‘adwat Andalus*.

7. Qalsāna is mentioned by I.Kh., 87, among the towns of Qayruwān; Maq., 247, places Qalshāna at one marḥala from Qayruwān.

9. On scorpions cf. Iṣṭ., 38; I.H., 60. But corals only in Iṣṭ.

11. is Algiers, see Yver, *Alger* in *EI*. The name of the Berber tribe is

usually mis-spelt: Iṣṭ., 38, *Maṣghannā*, and 37 *d*, *R.'by*. Maq., 217, 228, *Zaghannāya*, some MSS. *Ra'ndya*, &c.

12. "Like Tanas", probably in that it lies on the coast.

13., 14. Developed after Iṣṭ., 39. *Sijilmāsa*, the capital of the Tafilēt group of oases, which lay on the Wādī Zīz. Cf. G. S. Colin, *Sijilmāsa*, in *EI*.

15. Iṣṭ., 38, also says that Baṣra lies opposite (*bi-hidhā'*) Gibraltar and in a variant, 39 *a*, the form Buṣaira is also given. However, Baṣra was an island town, cf. Yver, *Baṣra* in *EI*, and I.H., 55, gives a correct description of it.

16. Iṣṭ., 39: *aqṣā al-ma'ābir ilā al-Andalus*.

17. Cf. Iṣṭ., 39, where Ṭanja is described as a great province (*kūra*) and Fās said to be still in the possession of the (Fāṭimid) Idrīsids, but in our author's times the Spanish Omayyads were masters at Fās (from A.D. 973).

18. The details about gold and panther-skins are not in Iṣṭ., I.H., or Maq., but Jāḥiẓ in his interesting treatise on the different classes of merchandise, *Tabaṣṣur bil-tijāra*, published by Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tunisi, Damascus, 1351/1932, p. 21, mentions among the produce of the Berber country and Maghrib: "panthers, *qaraṣ* ('leaves of the *salam mimosa*' used as a dyeing stuff), saddle-cloths (*lubūd*), and black falcons", and, p. 18, particularly praises the Barbarī panthers of which the skins are striped in sharp white and black, and which in spite of being of small size reach the price of 50 dīnārs.

§ 41. Spain

I.Kh., 89-90, Iṣṭ., 41-4 (under Maghrib), I.H., 73-82; Maq., 222, 233-6 (under Maghrib). Dozy et de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, 1866; Ed. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid, 1881.

This chapter is entirely based on Iṣṭ. and bears no trace of borrowings from I.H.'s additions. Additional details on Spain are found under § 5, 25.-26. and § 6., 67. On the northern neighbours of Spain see § 42, 19. and 21.

1.-2. the two greatest cities; 3., 4. Tudela, Lerida, Saragossa, Shantabriya in the north-eastern part of Spain; 4.-8. starting with Écija in the south the author, without much system, enumerates the inland towns, moving west, then north, and finally east. 9.-14. southern coast from east to west (all on one route in Iṣṭ., 41).

1. Three days' distance from Córdoba to the sea seems to fall short of the reality. I.H., 80, gives 7 days from Córdoba to Mariyya, port of Pechina (near Almeria).

3. On the abundance of *samūr* in Tudela, Iṣṭ., 44. Tudela not mentioned in I.H.

4. Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "Lārida on the Gh.lj.sk frontier (*thaghr*)."
Shantabriya (?), mentioned in the neighbourhood of the eastern watershed of Spain (§ 5, 25.), corresponds to *Shantabriya* where Iṣṭ., 42, places the sources of

the Tagus. The province of Shantabriya (Centobriga) comprised more or less the present provinces of Teruel and Cuenca; the capital lay probably at the junction of the Guadiela with the Tagus, see Saavedra, p. 42. Rayya (I.H., *Rayū*) is the present province of Málaga, cf. Seybold, *Archidona*, in *EI*. Saavedra, 23, interprets the name as "regia, or regium" and compares it with the Phoenician name of Málaga, *Malkhā*. Isinja, so too in Iṣṭ. Ghāfiq was the capital of the Faḥṣ-Ballūt province, Iṣṭ., 43, which was conterminous with Rayya. According to Saavedra, 50, Ghāfiq corresponds to Castillo del Almogávar, situated at 14 Km. from Los Pedroches in the north of the Córdoba province.

5., 6. Iṣṭ., 47, Bāja to Qūriya six days. Bāja lies west of Guadiana in southern Portugal; not in I.H.

7. Iṣṭ., 43, too, places Merida (and Toledo) "among the greatest cities of Spain".

8. The detail is not in Iṣṭ.

9. So, too, in Iṣṭ., 41. On Ghalijaskush and Ifranja see under Rūm (§ 42, 20.).

11. Iṣṭ., 42 (cf. also 45), among the produce of Málaga mentions السفن الذى تتخذ منه مقابض السيوف. According to Lane *safan* is "rough skin, thick or coarse, such as the skins of crocodiles, which is put upon the hilts of swords; rough piece of skin of the lizard called *dabb*".

13. Oconaba, or Osonaba, is the southernmost part of Portugal (Faró) in which Santa Maria de Algarve is situated. [Its ruins, as H. A. R. Gibb tells me, lie at 8 Km. north of Faró.]

14. Iṣṭ., 42, also says that Shantarīn is the only place in the Mediterranean and Atlantic where amber is found. The town Shantarīn (Santarem) lies a considerable distance up the river Tagus (§ 6, 67.). Consequently the expression *ākhirīn shahrī-st az huḥūd-i Andalus bar karān-i daryā* must refer to the province of Santarem. Iṣṭ., 47, reckons from Beja to Shantarīn 12 days "and to the extreme limit of the Shantarīn province (*aqṣā kūra Sh.*) 5 days (more)".

§ 42. Byzantine Empire

I.Kh., 100-13, Qudāma, 252-60, Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 323, and *Historiae*, ii, 171-8; I.R., 119-30; I. Faqīh, 136-56 (see also under Yāqūt); Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 176-89; Iṣṭ., 8, 45 (Kharshana), 68-71; I.H., 128-37 (an interesting and independent report based chiefly on Abul-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tadmūrī); Maq., 147-8, 150; Yāqūt, ii, 861-6, who quotes a long description of the provinces which he attributes to I. Faqīh, though it is not found in *BGA*, v; Idrīsī, ii, 209-304 sq. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, ed. Becker, Bonn, 1840 (cf. *idem*, *De administrando imperio*: additional remarks on Charsianon, *Λυκανδοῦ*, &c.)¹; W. R. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*; Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, in *Sitz. WAW*, 1891, cxxiv, pp. 1-106; Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. byzant. Themenvver-*

¹ I have also used the commented Russian translation by G. Laskin, Moscow 1899.

fassung in *Abh. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, 1899, xviii, No. 5, pp. 1-134 (a Map); Brooks, *Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes*, in *Jour. of Hellenic Studies*, xxi, 1901, pp. 67-77 (I.Kh., Qudāma, Mas'ūdī, and I. Faqīh as transmitted in Yāqūt); Le Strange, *The Lands*, 127-58; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, passim.

In addition to the present chapter some interesting details on the Byzantine Empire are found in § 3, 11. 12. (the lakes); § 5, 18., 20., 21., 25., 28. (the mountains); § 6, 58.-60., 66. (the rivers). On the northern and eastern frontiers of the Empire see under each of the countries mentioned.

As Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxiii, 28, 207, &c., has shown, the principal sources from which the earlier Muslim geographers derived their information on the Byzantine Empire were Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī and Hārūn b. Yaḥyā. On the former we possess a notice in Mas'ūdī's *Tanbih*, 190, according to which he lived on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier (*thughūr*) and wrote "on the history of the Byzantines and their kings and dignitaries, on their land and its roads and routes, the times (favourable) for the raids into their territory,¹ the campaigns therein, on the neighbouring kingdoms of the Burjān, Abar, Burghar, Ṣaqāliba, and Khazar". Mas'ūdī also gives the exact date (231/845-6) at which Muslim was redeemed from Byzantine captivity. I.Kh. *expressis verbis* quotes Muslim as his source.

Much less is known of Hārūn who also was a prisoner of war and taken from 'Asqalān (§ 38, 15.) to Constantinople whence at a later date he may have travelled to Rome. He wrote towards the very end of the ninth century (*v.i.* 17.) and his writings are known to us through the important excerpt in I.R., 119-32, and some items in Zakariyā Qazwīnī, ii, 406-7 and 397-9. I believe that some traces of his account can also be discovered in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī.²

On the whole our author follows I.Kh. (<Muslim). One point is particularly characteristic in this respect. In the introduction of the present chapter he says that the northern Byzantine frontier ran along "some parts of the Ṣaqlāb and *Burjān countries and some parts of the Khazar sea".

¹ This part of Muslim's writings has survived in Qudāma, 259.

² See now an English translation of Hārūn's report by A. A. Vasiliev, with extremely apposite additions by G. Ostrogorsky, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague 1932, v, 149-64 and 251-7; critical review by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, Brussels 1932, pp. 666-73. The upshot of the conclusions of these Byzantine scholars is that Hārūn, captured probably towards the end of Leo's reign describes Constantinople under the brief reign of the Emperor Alexander (11 May 912-6 June 913). [The most striking of Ostrogorsky's arguments is Hārūn's silence about the presence at

the ceremony either of the Empress or of the Emperor's co-regent, which only suits Alexander's reign. However, it appears from p. 252 that, between the years 893 and 894, 896 and 899, and finally 900 and 906, his predecessor Leo VI lived as a widower. This leaves a gap for my tentative dating of Hārūn b. Yaḥyā's report *circa* 900. The absence of a co-regent may be due to some temporary circumstances, or to Hārūn's oversight. The date 912, even admitting that it is not too late for I.R., may be too late for Jayhānī, if the latter, as is quite probable, was I.R.'s direct source on this point.]

These indications are directly borrowed from I.Kh., 105, who uses the same very uncommon term بحر الخزر for the Black Sea. Through his blind imitation our author falls here into contradiction with his own terminology, cf. § 3, 5. and 6. and § 22, 14. The influence of Hārūn's data is apparent in our 15. and 17., to say nothing of the general conception of §§ 22, 46, and 53.

I.Kh.'s (<Muslim's) description of Byzantine provinces is very much to the credit of the Arab intelligence service. Gelzer calls I.Kh. "eine höchst zuverlässige zeitgenössische Quelle ersten Ranges". The data refer to the times of the Amorian dynasty (820-67)¹ for which no similar systematic descriptions in Greek are available.

I.Kh., 105, quotes 3 themes in Europe and 11 in Asia (τὰ περατικά θέματα) and the same number is preserved in Qudāma and our author, though the order of enumeration is different in each of the sources as appears from the following table [in each column the numbers refer to the place of the theme within the respective list].

H.-'Ā.	I.Kh.	Qudāma
1. Ṭāblān	1	1
2. Thrace	2	2
3. Macedonia	3	3
4. Thracesion	7	7
5. Opsikion	6	6
6. Optimaton	5	5
7. Seleucia	13	9
8. Anatolicon	8	8
9. Buccelaron	10	12
10. Paphlagonia	4	4
11. Cappadocia	14	10
12. Charsianon	9	11
13. Armeniacon	11	13
14. Chaldia	12	14

Qudāma's order of enumeration² is perhaps geographically the best (see Gelzer's map) but our author's system is very curious as indicating that he had a map before him, for starting three times in the south (4., 7., 11.) he each time moves straight towards the north!

The spelling on the whole is nearer to Qudāma than to I.Kh.

H.-'Ā	Qudāma	I.Kh.
Ṭāblān	Ṭaylā	Ṭāflā
Tarqasīs	Ṭarqasīs	Tarqasīs
Uḡṭimāt	Uḡṭimāt	Uḡṭi-māṭi
Nāṭliq	Nāṭliq	Nāṭulūs
Aflakhūniya	Aflaghūniya	Aflajūniya
Kharshana	Kharshana	Kharsiyūn
Khāldiya	Khāldiya	Khaldiya

¹ See now the French edition of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, t. 1, *La dynastie d'Amorium*, Brussels, 1935.

² With which that of I. Faḡīh (in Yāqūt) totally agrees.

The name 1. Ṭāblān (numerous variants in different sources: طابلا طابلا طابلا) has been explained by de Goeje (I.Kh., 105, note 1) as Τάφραι (Τάφρος). Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. 1853, p. 1053: τάφρος· τὸ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄρυγμα· καὶ τάφρη... παρ' Ἡροδότῳ. Consequently the popular name would refer to the Great Wall (τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος, I. Faqīh in Yāqūt, ii, 863, مفرن بخر) or rather to the moat (ὄρυγμα) round it. Gelzer, *o.c.*, 86, accepts the interpretation "Θέμα τῆς τάφρου, οἱ τοῦ τείχους" and compares it with the terms ἡ Ἀστική and *provincia suburbicaria*. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 1912, p. 224, thinks that "the solution (of I.Kh.'s term) has not been discovered". He starts, however, from the form *Ṭalāyā, whereas the better attested forms are *Ṭāflā, Ṭāblān.

Our author takes no notice of the changes which had taken place between Muslim's times and his own. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing half a century before him (A.D. 932), enumerates 12 themes in Europe and 18 in Asia; of the latter, 4 are islands and the rest is as follows: a. Ἀνατολικόν; b. Ἀρμενιακόν; c. τῶν Θρακησίων; d. Ὀψίκιον; e. Ὀπτίματον; f. Βουκελλαρίων; g. Παφλαγόνων; h. Χαλδία; i. Μεσοποταμία; k. Κολωνείας; l. Σεβαστείας; m. Λυκανδοῦ; n. Σελευκείας; o. Κιβυρραιωτῶν.

H.-'Ā.	Const. P.	H.-'Ā.	Const. P.
4	c	10	g
5	d	11	..
6	e	12	..
7	n	13	b
8	a	14	h
9	f		

Constantine Porphyrogenitus does not separately mention our 11. and 12. He speaks of Cappadocia under Armeniacon and adds that Χαρσιανόν is the middle part of Cappadocia, *De them.*, pp. 18–20. Cf. now E. Honigmann, *Charsianon kastron* in *Byzantion*, x, 1935, pp. 129–60. On the other hand Constantine mentions i, k, l, m, o, unknown to our three authors. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, going his own way, mentions 5 provinces in Europe (inclusive of Salonika and Peloponnesus) but only 9 in Asia, viz. our 8., 5., 4., 11., 9., 6., 13., 10. plus Decapolis (mentioned between 4. and 11.).

As regards the number of troops in the provinces our text is certainly out of order. According to Qudāma, 258 (<Muslim) the number varied from 15,000 (in Nāṭliq) to 4,000 (Kharshana, Cappadocia, Khaldia).

15. The paragraph on the Gurz ("Georgians") is one of the most confused in the book. Gurz is a parallel Iranian form of Gurj, modern Persian (and Turkish) Gurjī, Russian Gruz-in. The element -z (-j) is a suffix of origin, see Marquart, *ZDMG*, 49, p. 664; cf. also § 36, 36.: Layzān and § 50, 3.: *Lakz. The older form of Gur-z is attested in Armenian Vir-k', pointing to Middle Persian *Vr-kān. The earlier Arabic transcription is جرجان (i.e. *Gurz-ān), Balādhurī, 202, but already Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 519, gives جرجان *Gurj-ān and the later authors write كرج *Gurj, see Ibn al-Athīr, *passim*, Yāqūt, ii, 219. See now Markwart (Marquart), *Iberer und*

Hyrcanier, in *Caucasica*, viii, 1931, p. 78. The variation of the forms *Gurz*/*Gurj* must be due to some dialect distinctions, cf. -*nz*/*-nj* in the name of Ganja: earlier Arabic جزيرة, I.Kh., 119, and later Arabic كنجة, cf. Minorsky, *Jour. As.*, July 1930, p. 72.

Some of the information contained in this paragraph undoubtedly refers to Western Georgia drained by the rivers flowing to the Black Sea. With the exception of the early Balādhurī, p. 202 (conquest of "Armenia"), the Arab authors know nothing of Western Georgia, whereas they usually include Eastern Georgia (watered by the Kur) in Armenia, as also does our author, cf. § 36, 28. (Tiflis). The inclusion of (Western) Georgia in the Byzantine Empire, which may be explained by the fact that the Georgians belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, is responsible for the statement (§ 49) on the Byzantine Empire being conterminous with the Sarīr. Under § 5, 21. our author speaks of a *Kūh-i Gurz*, perhaps identical with § 5, 17 B. These details refer to the real Georgia.

On the other hand, the designation of the Black Sea as *daryā-yi Gurziyān* is entirely without a parallel, and it is astonishing to see the Pontos baptized after a people never known as navigators. Still more amazing is the representation of the Gurz as living "on small islands", whereas there are no islands in the eastern part of the Black Sea.¹

As already stated in the note to § 3, 6., this part of the information may be due to a confusion of ورنك **Warang* and كرز **Gurz*, not impossible in Arabic script. *Warang*, very rarely met in Muslim sources, is another appellation of the Norman *Rūs* (§ 44) who according to some earlier source lived on an island. A series of errors with regard to the whereabouts of the real Maeotis (§ 3, 8.) may have caused our author to dissociate the rare *Warang* from *Rūs* and finally to misread it into another rare name *Gurz*. Bīrūnī is the earliest known author mentioning بحر ورنك but he must have found it in some literary source.²

The other source of confusion may have been I.Kh., 105 (< Muslim al-Jarmī), according to whom the themes of Ṭāflā (Constantinople) and Trāqiya (Thrace) bordered in the north on بحر الخزر. This unusual appellation of the Black Sea crept into the introductory paragraph of our § 42, though under § 42, 3. Thrace is said to lie by the *Daryā-yi Gurz*. In our author's terminology the *Khazarian* Sea is the Caspian. With regard to the general frontiers of the Byzantine Empire (extended up to the Sarīr!) I.Kh.'s strange term may have passed unobserved, but in the particular case of Thrace our author could not help noticing that this province does not lie by *his* Khazarian Sea (i.e. Caspian). Therefore he may have

¹ By some mistake Idrīsī, ii, 396, mentions an island ارك on the way between Taman (on the Azov Sea) and Trebizond. [Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, ch. 42, mentions an island near Tamatarkha (evidently a part of the Taman peninsula) and several islands

off the coast of Ζιχία (Circassia), near the estuary of the Kuban, but none of them has any relation to the Georgians.]

² On some curious points of contact between our author and Bīrūnī cf. § 10, 55., § 11, 9., § 26, 13., &c.

supposed that I.Kh.'s خزر referred not to the *Khazar* but to the جرز *Jurz* (a classical confusion in Arabic script). It only remained, then, for our author, who shows a notable predilection for Iranian terminology, to substitute Persian *Gurz* for Arabic *Jurz*. Cf. *supra*, p. 182.

16. and 18. These peoples are no more distinct than the Spartans and Lacedaemonians. Both names refer to the Danubian Bulgars who, moreover, seem to be described as "Inner Bulgars" (§ 45) and "V.n.nd.r" (§ 53). I.Kh., 92, 105, 109, and Qudāma, 257, systematically following Muslim al-Jarmī, call the Danubian Bulgars *Burjān*.¹ On the other hand, Hārūn (I.R., 130) applies this term to the Burgundians whereas he calls the Danubian Bulgars *Bulghar*.² Hārūn, too, is most probably responsible for the term *V.n.nd.r* (= Onoghundur-Bulgars). As it was impossible to unravel such complications in a compilation, our author's source (Jayhānī?) must have solved the difficulty by incorporating all these names as if they referred to separate entities. Consequently the *Burjān* and *Bulgharī* were differentiated artificially: the former being imagined to be more submissive plain-dwellers, and the latter highlanders³ "perpetually at war with the Rūmīs" (as in I.R., 126₂₂). The *Bulgharī* are called *Rūmī* because they were christianized from Byzantium in A.D. 864. The qualification *kāfir* is rather strange. One may remember that Bakrī, 45₂₀, calls the *Burjān* "Magians" (*majūsiya*) and this term is constantly applied to the Normans as well, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Madjūs* in *EI* and Idrīsī-Tallgren, pp. 80 and 140.

17. This short paragraph is of great importance as indicating our author's sources. I.Kh., 105, quoting by name Muslim al-Jarmī, thus describes the boundaries of Macedonia: in the east the walls (*v.s.* 1.) stretching between the Black Sea (*Baḥr al-Khazar*) and the Syrian Sea (*Baḥr al-Sha'm*, here evidently "Marmora Sea"); in the south, the Mediterranean; in the west, the lands of the *Ṣaqāliba*; in the north, the *Burjān*. This quotation leaves no doubt that by the "*Ṣaqāliba* lands" the Serbian territory is meant. However, much more decisive is I.R., 127, who quotes Hārūn b. Yahyā's description of a road from Constantinople, over *Salūqiya* (read: *Salonica*)⁴ and Venice (*B.nd.qīs*) to Rome. The text is out of order, but Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 237-59, has suggested a series of very ingenious corrections of it. At 3 days' distance to the west of **Salonica* lies *Mutr.n* (Marquart: **Qutron* < *Kίτρος*); "beyond it you travel through wooded lowlands (*ghiyād min al-shajar*) among the *Ṣaqāliba* who live in wooden

¹ It is true that Muslim, *v.s.*, is also said to have written of the *Burghar* but this term could possibly refer to the Volga, or Azov Sea, Bulgars.

² The name (I.R., 126₁₈) stands first erroneously for *Belgrad* (*v.s.*, § 6, 66.) but after this passage on the water conduct comes (I.R., 126₂₈) the remark on the perpetual war going on between the *real* Bulgars and Byzantines. This last

item looks like an interpolation but it is found both in I.R. and our source (18.). Therefore, if it is an interpolation, it must belong to the two authors' common source (Jayhānī?).

³ Cf. § 5, 28. on their mountain and § 6, 66. on their river.

⁴ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 318, also has *Salūqiya* for *Salonica*.

houses. They are Christians; they were (gradually) converted (*kānū yatanāṣṣirūna*) in the time of the king بوس (**Basil*) and to-day they hold the Christian faith. Among them you travel for a month across their woods until you reach the town of B.lātis (**Spalato*, Const. Porph. 'Ασπάλαθος)." In our text *al-Ṣaqālība al-mutanāṣṣira*, standing in the Arabic garb, without any doubt reflects Hārūn's account (through Jayhānī's medium?). According to Marquart, *ibid.*, 207, Hārūn must have drawn up his report between A.D. 880 and 890, but the text seems to indicate that the Emperor Basil I's time (A.D. 866-86) was regarded as past; therefore we may bring Hārūn's date down to the years 890-900. The exact date of the conversion of the Serbs cannot be established. In the years 867 and 870 Basil I subjugated the Serbs (Narentani, Croati) on the Dalmatian coast, and in 879 for the first time the bishop of Moravia (*i.e.* probably of the Serbian region lying along the southern affluent of the Danube, *Morava*) is mentioned, cf. F. Dvorník, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*, Paris, 1926, p. 239 (where it is assumed that Basil I converted the Slavs between A.D. 879 and 882). To sum up: the mention of "the Christianized Slavs" is a clear indication that besides al-Jarmī our author knew also Hārūn's report. If so, we may assume, contrary to Marquart, *o.c.*, 28, that in other chapters too, particularly those on the Magyars, V.n.nd.r, and Mirvāt, our author's source was Hārūn, who was recording the situation towards the very end of the ninth century, and not al-Jarmī, who belonged to the earlier part of that century. [This admission has a considerable importance for the history of Magyar migrations, *v.s.*, § 22.]

19.-23. are a drastic epitome not devoid of misunderstandings. Rūm (Byzantine Empire) is supposed here to comprise all the countries lying by the Rūm Sea (Mediterranean). The original authority seems to be Iṣṭ., 43 (and also, 68-71), who says: "and among the different classes of infidels who adjoin Andalus the most numerous are the Ifranja whose king is called Qārula (**Carolus*), but the Ifranja conterminous with the Muslims are less numerous than the other classes of infidels on account of the fact that the Ifranja protrude into the sea (*dukhūluhum fil-baḥr*) and on account of the buffer (*hājiz*) which other countries of polytheism constitute between the Muslims and the Ifranja. Next in numbers (after the Ifranja) are the Jalāliqa, and less numerous still the Baskunas (though they) are more warlike (*ashaddu shaukatan*). The places on the Andalus border neighbouring the Baskunas are Saraquṣṭa, Tuṭayla (Tudela), and Lerida. Then follows a Christian people called Ghalijaskas who are less harmful than the Baskunas (*aqalluhum ghā'ilatan*); they constitute a buffer between them (the Baskunas) and the Ifranja." I.H., 43, says that the frontier line following the eastern coast of Andalus joins on the sea the Ifranja country, and on the west that of the Ghalijaskas "who are a tribe of *al-Ankubarda* (Lombards?)" , then the Baskunas country, then that of the Jalāliqa, then the sea.

Our author entirely omits the important Jalāliqa (Galicians). The Baskunas are Vascones (Basques). The Ghalijaskas are the inhabitants of the

Jacá region, south of the important pass in the Pyrenees (at present Jacá is connected by a railway tunnel with Oloron on the French side). The Jacá people were already known to the classical authors under the names of *Jaccetani*, *Ἰακκητανοί* (Ptolemy, ii, ch. 5), *Lacetani* (Livy, xxi, 60-1). Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 355, says that north of Saragossa lies the town of Tudela, situated towards the land of the unbelievers called *Baskunas*, and that to the north of Tudela lies Huesca (*Washqa*) situated towards a tribe of the Ifranj called الحاسس (the latter name has a variant الحاسم corrected in a different hand into الحاية, read: الحاية *al-ḥāqiya*; cf. also Ibn al-'Adhārī, ii, 302: الناكه). Ya'qūbī's passage leaves no doubt on the identity of the people. On the different forms of the name Codera says: "la confusión pudo quizá originarse por la semejanza de nombres entre Jacetanos y Lacetanos de los autores antiguos", but more probably it is attributable to the usual vagaries of Arabic script. I. Faqīh, 87, is wrong in placing علكشكش (variant اسكيز) "near the sea". Cf. de Goeje, *Specimen exhibens descriptionem al-Magribi sumtam e Libro Regionum al-Ḥaqubii*, Leiden, 1860, pp. 112-13, and F. Codera, *Límites probables de la conquista árabe en la cordillera pirenaica*, in *Estudios críticos de Historia Árabe española*, vii-ix, Madrid, 1917, pp. 235-76. I owe the indication of the last work to the kindness of Prof. A. Gonzalez Palencia. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, places Lerida over against the *Gh.l.j.sk*, see § 41, 4.

About 19. Rūmiya (Rome) I.Kh., 10, says that it was [in turn] the seat of 29 Roman kings (emperors). 21. Britannia is not in I.Kh., Iṣṭ., or I.H., but I.R., 130 (after Hārūn b. Yaḥyā) mentions Barṭīniya (note the spelling of our source, too!) as a large town on the coast of the Western Sea. On the confusion about Yūnān and Athīnās see the original text of Iṣṭ., 70: "Athīnās is the seat of learning of the Ionians (*Yūnāniyūn*) and there their sciences and learning are preserved", cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 21 and 41.

§§ 43-53. Eastern Europe.

The following list of the principal sources, as well as of the works utilizing Muslim sources on Eastern Europe, may be not unwelcome. For details see notes to single chapters.

I.Kh., passim, see Index; I. Faqīh, 270 (= I.Kh., 124, but the merchants are called *tujjār al-Ṣaqālība*); even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faqīh does not seem to contain any new details on the Rūs, Ṣaqlāb, &c., to judge by A. Z. Validi, in *Izv. Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1924, pp. 237-48; I. Rusta, 138-48 (Khazar, Burdās, Bulkār, al-Majghariya, al-Ṣaqlabiya, al-Rūsiya); I. Faḍlān, *Risāla* (quoted and utilized by Yāqūt under *Itīl*, *Bāshghurd*, *Bulghar*, *Khazar*, *Khwārizm*, *Rūs*, and *Wisū*); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 1-77 (Rūs, Burghar, W.l.nd.riya, Caucasian peoples); the passage on the Slavs edited in Marquart's *Streifzüge*, 97-101; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* (Burṭās p. 62; W.l.nd.riya pp. 180-3; Burghar, Ṣaqlāliba, Rūs, Sarīr, *passim*); Iṣṭ., 220-7 (Khazar, al-Sarīr, Burṭās, Bulghār, Rūs, &c.); I.H., 278-87

(Khazar, Burṭās, Basjirt, Bulghār); [Ibrāhīm b. Wasīf-shāh], *L'abrégé des merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 1898 (Slavs, pp. 45-6; Burjān, pp. 123-4); Maq., 360 (Itil, Rūs, Bulghār, Suwār, Khazar—very brief); Gardīzī, 78-126 (Bachanāk, Khazar, Burdās, Bulkār, Majghar, Saqlāb [sic], Rūs, Sarīr, Alān); al-Bakrī, ed. Rosen, SPb., 1878 (Ṣaqlāb, Bajanākiya, Khazar, Furdās, Bulkār, Majghariya, Sarīr, Burjān); 'Aufī, *Ḥawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, part iv, ch. 16, in Barthold, *A new Muslim report on the Russians* (in Russian), Zap., ix, 1895, 262-7; [the rest of 'Aufī's data on the Khazar, Burdās, Majghariya, Ṣaqlābiyān are an abridgement of I. Rusta; the data on Gurj, Uslān (*al-Lān?), Sarīr, and Darband are very brief, see Br. Mus., Or. 2676, ff. 67-9]; Yāqūt, *Itil*, i, 112-13, *Burṭās*, i, 567 [this paragraph refers chiefly not to the Burṭās but to the Bulghārs], *Burghar*, i, 568 (after Mas'ūdī), *Bulghar*, i, 722-7, *Bāshghurt*, i, 468-70, *Khazar*, ii, 436-40, *Khawārizm*, ii, 484-5, *Rūs*, ii, 834-40, *Ṣaqlab*, iii, 405; *Wisū*, i, 34 and iv, 944; Ibn Iyās, in F. Arnold, *Chrestomatia Arabica*, i, 73-6: Rūs, Bulghār.

Frähn, *Veteres memoriae Chasarorum ex Ibn Fozzlano, Ibn Haukale et Schems-ed-dino Damasceno and De Baschkiris quae memoriae prodita sunt*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, t. viii, 1822, pp. 577-620 [separately printed under the title Frähn, *De Chasaris excerpta ex scriptoribus arabicis*, pars i, 1822, 44 pp., *ibid.*, *De Baschkiris*]; Frähn, *Ibn Fozzlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, SPb., 1823; Hammer, *Sur les origines russes*, SPb., 1827; A. C. Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase et des pays au nord de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Caspienne dans le 10^e siècle*, Paris 1828; Frähn, *Drei Münzen der Wolga-Bulgharen aus d. X. Jahrhundert*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. i, 1832, pp. 171-204; Frähn, *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen aus Ibn Fozzlans Reiseberichten*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. i, 1832, pp. 527-77; Charmoy, *Relations de Mas'oudī et d'autres auteurs musulmans sur les anciens Slaves*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. ii, livraisons 3 et 4, 1834, pp. 297-408; Frähn, *Ibn-Abi-Ḥakub el-Nadīm's Nachricht von der Schrift der Russen im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. iii, 1836, pp. 507-30; P. S. Savelyev, *Muhammadian Numismatics as related to Russian History* (in Russian), SPb., 1846; Defrémery, *Fragments de géographes et historiens arabes et persans relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale*, in *Jour. As.*, 1849, t. 13, pp. 460-77 (al-Bakrī); Chwolson, *Izvestiya o Khazarakh* &c. *Ibn Dasta* [read: *Ibn Rusta*], SPb., 1869; A. Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musulmanskikh pisateley o Slav'anakh i Russkikh*, SPb., 1870 (Supplement 1871); A. Kunik and Baron V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slav'anakh*, SPb., i, 1878, ii, 1903; Dorn, *Caspia, Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Ṭabaristān*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vii, t. xxiii, no. 1, 1875 (Russian edition of the same work, *ibid.*, t. xxvi, annex i, 1875); G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?* 2nd ed., Berlin 1891; F. Westberg, *Ibrāhīm's-ibn-Ḥakub's Reisebericht über die Slawenländer aus dem Jahre 965*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série viii, t. iii, no. 4, 1898 (a revised edition in Russian: *Kommentariy na zapisku Ibrahim ibn*

Yakuba, SPb., 1903, with a very complete list of literature on Ibrāhīm); Westberg, *Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa (Erste Hälfte des Mittelalters)*, in *Bull. Acad. SPb.*, 1899, t. xi, No. 4, November 1899, pp. 211-45, No. 5, December 1899, pp. 279-314; Barthold, *Geografiya Ibn Sa'ida*, 1898; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 1903, passim; A. A. Spitsin, *On the Degree of Trustworthiness of I. Fadlān's Risāla* (in Russian), in *Zap. Imp. Russ. Arch. Obsh.*, new series xi, 161-6; Baron V. G. Tiesenhausen, *In Defense of I. Fadlān* (in Russian), *Zap.*, xiii, pp. 024-032; Baron Rosen, *Prolegomena k novomu izdaniyu Ibn-Fadlāna*, in *Zap.*, xv/2, 1904, pp. 39-73; Westberg, *K analizu vostochnikkh istochnikov o vostochnoy Evrope*, in *Zhurnal Min. Narodn. Prosv.*, new series, 1909, xiii, February, pp. 364-412, xiv, March, pp. 1-52; S. M. Seredonin, *Istoricheskaya geografiya*, posthumous edition, SPb., 1916 (Bulgars, pp. 89-96; Khazars, pp. 97-106; Eastern Slavs, pp. 106-52; Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsi, pp. 153-96; Finnish peoples, pp. 197-220; Variags, pp. 221-40); P. Smirnov, *The Volga route and the ancient Rus'* (in Ukrainian), ed. by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1928, 228 pp. (a very interesting work in which the passages from Muslim geographers including the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* have been utilized in translation); A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo, i, 1896 (excerpts from 50 Arabic authors; texts), ii, 1928 (variants); P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreisko-khazar-skaya perepiska v X veke*, ed. Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1932 (a critical re-edition of the Hebrew documents on the Khazars). Krachkovsky, *On the Preparation of a Corpus of Arabic Sources regarding the History of Central Asia* (in Russian), in *Zap. Institut. Vostokov. Akademii Nauk USSR.*, Leningrad, 1932, i, pp. 55-62.

§ 43. The Slavs.

See especially Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta [*Rusta]*, pp. 123-45; Baron Rosen and Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī* (Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, circa A.D. 965); Westberg, *Ibrāhīm's-ibn-Ḥa'kūb's Reisebericht*, 1898, and *Kommentariy*, 1903; also passim in *Beiträge*, 1899, and *K analizu*, 1908; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160 (Mas'ūdī on the Slavs), 188-206, 466-73 ("Jayhānī" on the Slavs) and passim; Lévi-Provençal, *Ṣaḥāliba* in *EI* (the Slavs in Spain), Barthold, *Slav* in *EI*. Our §§ 43 and 44 have been edited and translated by Toumansky in *Zap.*, X, 1896, pp. 121-37 (where the names quoted are illustrated by parallel readings in the other authors).

Of the sources which were undoubtedly utilized by our author, I. Kh. must be responsible for the item on the Slavs living on the upper course of "the Rūs river"; Iṣṭ. (<Balkhī), pp. 4, 7, 10, besides being too vague, has very little to say on the Slavs whom he probably mixes up with the Rūs; the third and most complete source, which was also utilized by I.R., Gardizī, and 'Aufī' has principally influenced our text, as will be seen from

¹ Bakrī used it, too, but with regard to the Slavs he chiefly quotes the indepen-

dent and excellent source—the record of the Jewish traveller Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb

the following comparison [D.—ditto; N.—absent; A.—approximate likeness].

I.R.	Gardizi	H-'A.
10 days' distance from the Bajanāk	D. and 10 days from the Majgharī	different
town of واب near the frontier	D. Vāntit	D. Vābnit
wooded plains; no vines or fields	D.	A. vast wooded plains
bee-hives, 10 <i>ibriqs</i> honey from each	D. each hive 50-100 <i>mann</i> honey; some people possess 100 <i>khum</i> of honey	A. much honey; honey-wine; wooden casks; some people prepare 100 casks of wine
herds of swine	D.	D.
the dead burnt; women scratch their faces; commemorative feasts on the tumulus	D.	A. the dead burnt
favourite wife hangs herself	N.	A. commits suicide
fire-worshippers	cow-worshippers	D. as in I.R.
sow millet; thanksgiving for harvest	D.	A. sow millet
string instruments and flutes	D.	A. various string instruments
honey-wine and music at funeral feasts	A.	N.
horses scarce	D.	N.
N.	shirts and <i>ṭabarī</i> shoes	shirts and shoes
javelins and spears	D.	D. and shields
chief called سوج	D. سوج	N.
principal chief Swyyt-mlk lives in Jrwāb	D. Swyt-mlk, Jrāwt	D. Smūt-swyt, Khurdāb
and drinks mare's milk	N.	A. drinks milk
N.	build fortresses against the Majgharī	N.
cold climate; people live in underground huts; heat them with vapours	in winter in fortresses, in summer in woods	underground dwellings in winter
the king receives a garment from each member of a household	N.	A. the Slavs serve the king
thieves punished	D.	N.
N.	adultery punished	N.
N.	marriage customs: dowry	N.

The geographical data on the Slavs scattered in our source seem to refer to two different groups of this people. On the one hand in § 3, 6., the (A.D. 965), adding to it some details from Mas'ūdī. Of this account, as well as of Mas'ūdī's detailed chapter on the Slavs (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160), there is no trace in our author. [Some expres-

sions in Ibrāhīm (e.g. on the women scratching their faces with knives after a death) point to the use of the literary source utilized by I. Rusta.]

Ṣaqlāb are placed to the north of the Black Sea, between the *Inner Bulghār*s and the *Burjān*. The identity of these Slavs is disclosed by the comparison with § 42, 16.-18. where the "Christianized Slavs" come in the enumeration between the *Burjān* and the *Bulghārī*.¹ With this agrees the beginning of § 43 which places the Inner Bulghār to the east of the Slavs. As explained in the note to § 42, 17. the "Christianized Slavs" correspond to the Macedonian Slavs, and only through a misunderstanding they have been transferred to the shores of the Black Sea.

The essential characteristic of the other group is that it lives in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rūs [the latter not being mentioned among the nations living on the Black Sea coast]. In § 6, 44. the Rūs river flowing eastwards is said to rise on the Slav territory, then skirt the Rūs towns, and finally fall into the Ātil. In § 44² the Rūs are positively the eastern neighbours of the Slavs, but in § 43, by some sort of compromise, our author wants the Slavs to border in the east both on the Inner Bulghār "and some (!) of the Rūs". In § 3, 8. the Maeotis (*i.e.* the northern Russian lakes or the Baltic, *v.s.*, p. 181) is placed north of the Ṣaqlābs.

For our author all the Slav lands look apparently as one stretch of territory and in this respect he may have been influenced by I.Kh. who, p. 105, mentions the Ṣaqlāliba as the western neighbours of Macedonia (cf. our § 42, 17.), couples them, pp. 92 and 119, with the Avars (*al-Abar*), and places them "north of Spain". On the other hand, p. 124, he says that the Khazar town Khamlij (§ 50, 3 *b.*) "lies on the river (Volga) which comes from the land of the Ṣaqlāliba" and further, p. 154, adds that the Rūs merchants "who are a kind of Ṣaqlāliba" travel from the farthestmost region of *Ṣaqlaba* to the Rūm sea (Black Sea?); if eventually they "travel by the Tanīs [**Tanais* = Don], river of the Ṣaqlāliba, they pass to Khamlij"³ وان ساروا في تنيس نهر الصقالبة مروا بخمليج they either visit Africa or "follow the road behind Rome in the Slav lands and then to Khamlij" (خلف رومية في بلاد الصقالبة ثم الى خمليج). I. Kh., 17, gives the king of the Slavs the title قنّاز *qinnāz*, *i.e.*, князь *knež'* (from Germanic **kuning*), common among Slav nations.

The source utilized by I. Rusta and Gardizī seems to have in view a more definite territory. The items regarding the habits and customs of the Slavs are somewhat ambiguous, but the names of the rulers and towns may serve as clues. According to Ibn Rusta, 144, the supreme chief of the Slavs bore the name of *Swyyt-mlk* (رئيس الرؤساء سميّونه سويت ملك); the vice-regent (*khali-fatu-hu*) (living in the centre of the Ṣaqlāb country?)⁴ was called سونج or سوبج. [Similar forms are found in Gardizī whereas in the *H.-'Ā.* only the king is

¹ *Burjān* = *Inner Bulghār* = *Bulghārī*.

² *Ibid.* the Slavs among the Rūs.

³ Though the Don and Volga are often connected in Muslim geographers, here the verb *marrū* may indicate that the merchant had to cross over from the

Don to the Volga. The two rivers off Tsaritsin flow very near to each other. The sources of the left affluent of the Don Ilov'ā almost reach the Volga near Kamishin. See Map xii.

⁴ The text is suspect here, Marquart, *o.c.*, 470.

mentioned whom the people call *S.mūt-swyt*, بسموت سوت خوانند. Westberg, *o.c.* (1918), p. 12, very ingeniously supposed that the first part of the name is only a disfigured يسمونه ("they call him") standing in the Arabic text.¹ Chwolson restored سوت ملك as سوت ملك *Suwīt-bulk* < *Svetopluk* (< *Svętoplūkū*), and *سرنج as *šupanets* (?) and thought that the first referred to the well-known king of Moravia proper, Svetopluk I (870–94) whom Const. Porph., *De admin. imp.*, cap. 40, &c., calls Σφενδοπλόκος. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 470, admits that this identification dawns naturally on the reader. However, thinking, *ibid.*, 200, 203, that I. Rusta's report is based on Muslim al-Jarmī and refers to an earlier epoch, namely to the time before the advent of the Norman dynasty in Kiev (and even before the subjugation of the Pol'an'e by the Khazars) Marquart himself suggests, *ibid.*, 471, the identification of the Slav king with the king of the White Croats Βελοχρωβάτοι whose capital must have been Cracow-on-the-Vistula.² The king's capital جرواب (Gardizi, خرداب, H.-'Ā. 'Aufī خزان) is then restored as خروات *Khorvāt*³ and taken as a confirmation of the above theory. Apart from the still doubtful attribution of I. Rusta's report to [or rather exclusively to] Muslim al-Jarmī, the weak point of Marquart's theory is that no *Svetopluk* has yet been discovered in Cracow. A fact which remained unknown to Marquart is that according to the H.-'Ā., § 6, 45., the capital of Khurdāb was situated on the Rūtā river. It is difficult to say whether this detail belongs to the original source, or is merely our author's guess. The description of the Rūtā flowing from the Rūs to the Šaqlābs, *i.e.*, westwards (?) is very embroiled (*v.s.*, § 6, 45. and cf. § 45) and the river could perhaps with some imagination be taken for the Vistula on the upper course of which Cracow stands. However, this interpretation of a doubtful passage would not be supported by any other contemporary evidence and the comparison of our text with Gardizī, who apparently is more faithful to the source responsible for the details on the Magyars, V.n.nd.r, and Mirvāt (§§ 22, 46, 53), suggests that the prototype of our *Rūtā* is **Dūnā* (Danube). In this case the town of **Khorvāt* standing on the **Dūnā* might refer to the capital of the southern Danubian Croatia. As regards the king's name, it seems safer to revert to Chwolson's hypothesis. The Moravian king Svetopluk was certainly a close neighbour, if not the suzerain of the southern Croats. Const. Porph., cap. 13, says that *south* of the Magyars

¹ 'Aufī, Or. 2676, fol. 67b says: *va iṣhān-rā ra'isī-st ki ū-rā Swyt khwānand.*

² There is not much certainty about this kingdom "dessen Existenz auf Grund der späteren polnischen und tschechischen Sagen notwendig vorausgesetzt werden musste, für welche aber bisher nur äusserst dürftige und unbestimmte Zeugnisse aus älterer Zeit beigebracht werden konnten", *ibid.*, 471. Very characteristic, too, is Marquart's admission, *ibid.*, 139: "wenn wir nun

auch Chorwätin unzweifelhaft [*sic.* V. M.] mit den Bělochorwaten an der Weichsel gleichzusetzen haben, so scheint es doch, dass er selbst [*i.e.* Constantine] sie mit den illyrischen Chorwaten zusammengeworfen hat" [*sic.* V. M.].

³ Chwolson, *o.c.*, p. 142, took جرادت for *Grādist* < *Hradištye*, the residence of Svetopluk, cf. Šafarík, *Slavische Alterthümer*, ii, 501. [Very doubtful.]

(*Τοῦρκοι*) lay "Great Moravia, that is the land of Sfindoplokos, which was totally ruined by these Magyars and occupied by them", whereas the Croats¹ lived "next to the Magyars on the mountain side". In cap. 40 Constantine positively says that the Croats are the *southern* neighbours of the Magyars. From the comparison of these two passages it appears that at least some Croats lived immediately south of Great Moravia which had belonged to Svetopluk. [P. 67, l. 24 on Khurdāb is fantastic.]

Although the recent authority, F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933, p. 240, admits that Svetopluk's conquests in Pannonia (*i.e.*, the region between the Danube and Sava) had an ephemeral character, they may have been sufficient to create the impression that he was the supreme lord (*'ra'is al-ru'asā*) of the Khorvāt. Already Marquart, *o.c.*, 470, pointed out that I.R.'s text on the relations between *Swyyt-mlk* and the *sūbanj* is out of order. The real ruler of the southern Croats was perhaps the *sūbanj* (**shūbāng*?) and Chwolson's restoration of it as **županets* (**župan*?), if right, would tally with Const. Porph., according to whom, cap. 30, Croatian lands were divided into *ζοναρία*.²

Very uncertain is the reading of the other Slav town. I. Rusta says that the journey from the Pechenegs to the Slavs lasted 10 days and thereupon adds that at the beginning of the Slav land (*fī awā'il haddihā*) stands the town راب. In Gardīzī, رانیت, follows the mention of the road from the Majgharī to the Slavs (10 days' journey). In our text رانیت is the first town on the east of the Slavs and a resemblance of its inhabitants to the Rūs suggests that it lay on the Rūs frontier. Already Harkavy thought to connect this town with Kiev, the capital of the Slav *Pol'an'e*. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 189, first restored the name as دانست *Dānast* but finally, *ibid.*, 509, read it زانیت *Zānbat*, which he compared with Σαμβαράς which in Const. Porph., cap. 9, is a surname of Kiev (τὸ κάστρον Κιοάβα τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαμβαράς).³ Marquart's theory is hardly contradicted by the fact that in the chapter on the Rūs (§ 45) Kiev seems to come up again under a name belonging to a different tradition (Iṣṭ. < Balkhī), but in principle it is strange that in Arabic script *z* should correspond to Greek *s*.⁴

In any case the two towns of the Slavs very probably were situated at the

¹ It is not clear whether northern (White) Croats, or southern (Danubian) Croats are meant here.

² Niederle, *Manuel*, i, 141, note 1: "les comitats (*župa*) ne sont attestés que chez les Slaves du Sud et les sources ne nous autorisent pas à les transporter dans le Nord." In the north "les termes *župan* et *župa* (préfet, comitat) ne sont attestés que plus tard et dans un autre sens, celui de 'fonctionnaire' et de 'service de ce fonctionnaire'".

³ The origin of the name is still a moot question. A. I. L'ashchenko, *Kiev i Σαμβαράς*, in *Dokladi Akad. SSSR*, 1930,

No. 4, pp. 66-72, mentions 22 different explanations of *Samvatas* (Slavonic, Scandinavian, Hungarian, Armenian, Lithuanian, &c.) and inclines towards the Khazar origin of the name as suggested by Y. Brutzkus.

⁴ If the previous restoration of the name by Marquart as *Dānast* be adopted, the eastern Slav town might be sought on the Dniester, cf. Idrīsī, p. 395, دنیت. Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908 (March), p. 22, connected **Vāntit* with the Vēntiči (Вятчи), the Slav tribe on the Oka, which is very doubtful.

opposite ends of the Slav territory. Nor is it necessary to think that such details as the heathen customs of the Slavs,¹ or the cold climate of their country belonged to the lands under Svetopluk's control. In a text referring to a vast territory they may have in view the eastern Slavs, living under the Rūs, p. 159, the Bulghārs, and the Khazars, cf. Barthold in *EI*.²

§ 44. The Rūs.

See bibliographic note before § 43. The translation and analysis of the principal Muslim sources will be found in the works of Frähn, Chwolson, Garkavi [commented translations from 26 Muslim authors on the Slavs and Rūs; the text used mostly in older, now superseded editions]; Barthold, *Zap.*, 1895 (Muḥammad 'Aufi); Toumansky, *Zap.*, 1896 (the text and translation of the present chapter); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 200-4, 330-53 (Mas'ūdī). The literature in which Muslim data on the Rūs' have been utilized is enormous, see V. A. Moshin, *Var'ago-russkiy vopros* in *Slavia*, Prague, 1931, x/1-3, pp. 109-36, 343-79, 501-37 (a digest of the more important works on the subject), and his *The origins of Rus'. The Normans in Eastern Europe* (in Russian), in *Byzantinoslavica*, Prague, 1931, iii/1, pp. 33-58, iii/2, pp. 285-307. See also Prof. P. Smirnov, *The Volga route* (in Ukrainian), Kiev, 1926, which particularly deals with the earlier Muslim sources. [Seippel, *v.s.*, p. 427, and Minorsky, *Rūs* in *EI*.]

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the origin of the name of Russia (Русь, Россія) has been the subject of hot discussion in Russian and western European literatures. Though the geographical names containing the element *Rus-* or *Ros-* may have more than one source, it is certain that the name *Rus'* as referring to the founders of the Russian state is of Scandinavian origin. The authentic Scandinavian form is doubtful (cf. the name of the coast *Roslagen*) but even now the Finns call the Swedes *Ruotsi* and this Finnish form may have given origin to the Slavonic *Rus'*, as the name of Finland itself *Suomi* has become *Sum'* in Russian. The name *Rus'* practically had the same meaning as the somewhat later *Variag* (Варягъ, *i.e.*, *Varegǫ*, *Bárayyos*, *Waring*³ referring to the parties of Norman adven-

¹ Const. Porph., cap. 31, calls the Βελοχρωβάτοι (White Croats to whom perhaps the name of the Carpathians *Karpat* is due) ἀβάπιστοι.

² Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, p. 143, pointed out that in *Swyyt-mlk* the first element as restored **Svet-* suggests an eastern Slav transmission instead of which one would expect in the West a nasalized form *Svet* < *Svent*, cf. Σφενδοπλόκος. The exact time at which nasal sounds disappeared in Slavonic languages is of course difficult to define. According to Shakhmatov in the ninth century no more nasal sounds were in existence in

Russian. As regards the Czech the ninth-century form of the name in question was probably *Sventoplk* > now *Svatopluk* (my friend Dr. B. Unbegaun's letter, Paris, 23.ii.1936).

³ In Arabic رنك is first attested in *Birūnī*, but cf. § 24, 15. [The late Prof. A. A. Shakhmatov, *Introduction to the history of the Russian language* (in Russian), Petrograd 1916, p. 62, thought that the name *Variag* "reflected that of the *Franks* or *Frangs*, as all the western Europeans in general were called in the Balkans and the Levant, though the ways of the transformation *Frang* >

turers bound by an agreement or vow (*vár*). Since the beginning of the ninth century the fluvial system of the present-day Russia and Poland was constantly used by the Normans for their trade and war expeditions, as it appears from the abundant historical, archaeological, and toponymic evidence, cf. lately M. Vasmer, *Wikingerspuren in Russland*, in *Sitz. Preuss. Ak.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1931, pp. 649-74.

The traditional version of the Russian chronicles is that the Variags coming from beyond the sea used to levy tribute on the Čud', Sloveni, Mer'a, and all¹ the Kriviči [of whom the first and third are undoubtedly Finnish tribes and the second and fourth Slavs]. In A.D. 862 the Variags were expelled beyond the sea, but in their absence internal wars broke out. Therefore the above-mentioned peoples invited the Variags called *Rus'* and so the viking *R'urik* (**Hrærekr*) built the town of Ladoga on the Volkhov river and his two brothers occupied the neighbouring country. In 882 R'urik's successor Oleg (**Helgi*) occupied the capital of the Dnieper Pol'an'e and this was the beginning of the Russian Kiev state. The Scandinavian element of the new body politic was scarce (court, warriors, and perhaps merchants) and in a century's time the mass of Slav population succeeded in assimilating the strangers, see Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, Paris, 1923, i, 209. Even Russian chronicles clearly give us to understand that the *Rus'* were not the first Scandinavian vikings in Eastern Europe. The Byzantine sources know them at least from the earlier part of the ninth century. The most remarkable fact for our purpose is that the Byzantine embassy which in May 839 visited the Emperor Louis the Pious in Ingelheim was accompanied by some men of the people *Rhos* who were the envoys sent to Constantinople by their king *Chacanus* and who now wanted to return home; on this occasion it was discovered that the people *Rhos* was of Swedish origin (*gentis esse Sueonum*), see V. Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, Oxford, 1877, p. 39, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 202.

The principal Muslim sources refer to the momentous period of the establishment of the Northmen among the Slavs and it is essential to disentangle the data referring to its successive stages. Our oldest source I.Kh., as already mentioned p. 429, l. 25, mixes up the Rūs with the Slavs and traces their commercial activities between Spain and China. There is no trace in I.Kh. of a Rūs state. He calls the Don (?) "river of the Slavs".

The common source of I. Rusta, *H.-'Ā.*, Gardīzī, 'Aufī, &c., most formally distinguishes the Rūs from the Slavs. The latter, primarily the

Varang are still obscure." *Ibid.*, 68, he says that the *Rus* were known long before the so-called "invitation of the Variags". He further gives expression to the view that the *Rus* were the earlier Scandinavians established among the Slavonic and Finnish tribes, whereas

the Variags represented a new wave of Scandinavian movement.]

¹ The Russian word corresponding to "all" is here an evident mistake for the homonymous **Весь*, the name of another Finnish tribe.

Western Slavs, are represented as living under their own princes (cf. § 43), whereas the Rūs are described as occupying a damp island which has an area of 3 days by 3 days and lies amid a lake. These data point to the northern lands and seem to refer to the times before the foundation of the Kiev state,¹ but it is characteristic that in spite of the modest size of the territory the king of the Rūs is given the pompous title of *Khāqān Rūs* and that according to Gardizī the island contained a population of 100,000 men (*mardum*). [Cf. also Yāqūt, ii, 834, where a similar statement is ascribed to Maq., though it is not found in *BGA*, iii.]

The Balkhī tradition (Iṣṭ., I.H.) knows very little about the [Western] Slavs (*Ṣaqālība*) between whom and the [Volga] Bulghār it places the Rūs. Here we have evidently to do with the Kiev period of Russian history. Iṣṭ., 225–6, distinguishes three “kinds” (*ṣinf*) of Rūs. The prince of those who live nearest to the Bulghār resides in the town of *Kūyāba, *i.e.* probably Kiev (Const. Porph., cap. 8, *Κιοάβα* or *Κιόβα*). The farthest distant Rūs are called *صلاوية* *Ṣ.lāwiya*,² which looks very much like a parallel form of *Ṣaqālība*, perhaps referring specially to the *Sloveni*³ of Novgorod among whom the Normans first settled. The third group are the *ارتانية* (many variants) whose king lives in *ارتا* (many variants). They are the wildest and kill the strangers who would penetrate into their country from which they themselves export black martens and *raṣāṣ* (tin or lead?) by a waterway. Since Frähn’s *Ibn Fosẓlan*, Annex I, p. 162, the name *Arthā* (*Arθā*) has been interpreted as *Erz’a*, which is the name of one of the two great divisions of the Mordva (§ 52).⁴ The Constantinople MS., Iṣṭ., 226 n, very definitely says that the *ارتا* (*Arbā*, **Arthā*) “are [or perhaps: trade?] between the Khazar and the Great (*a’ẓam*) Bulghār”, which eventually suits⁵ the *Erz’a*.⁶ If the interpretation is right it indicates that there existed some Rūs centre in the Oka region.⁷ Frähn pointed out that at Oleg’s times a lieutenant of his lived in the town of Rostov on the territory of the Finnish Mer’a, and it is possible to imagine a similar situation obtaining in the region of the Mordva who, according to Nestor’s “Initial” Chronicle,

¹ The “island” most probably refers to Novgorod (in Norse *Hólmgarðr*, *i.e.* “the island town”), cf. Thomsen, *o.c.*, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. xxxiv, 201, Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908, iii, 25.

² I.H., 285, adds: “and their king is in *Ṣ.lā*, a town of theirs.” The variant *جلاوية* might indicate the reading of *صلاوية* as **Ā.lāv-* (?), which, however, would be inexplicable.

³ According to the Hypatios chronicle the original settlers in Novgorod were Sloveni (Словени).

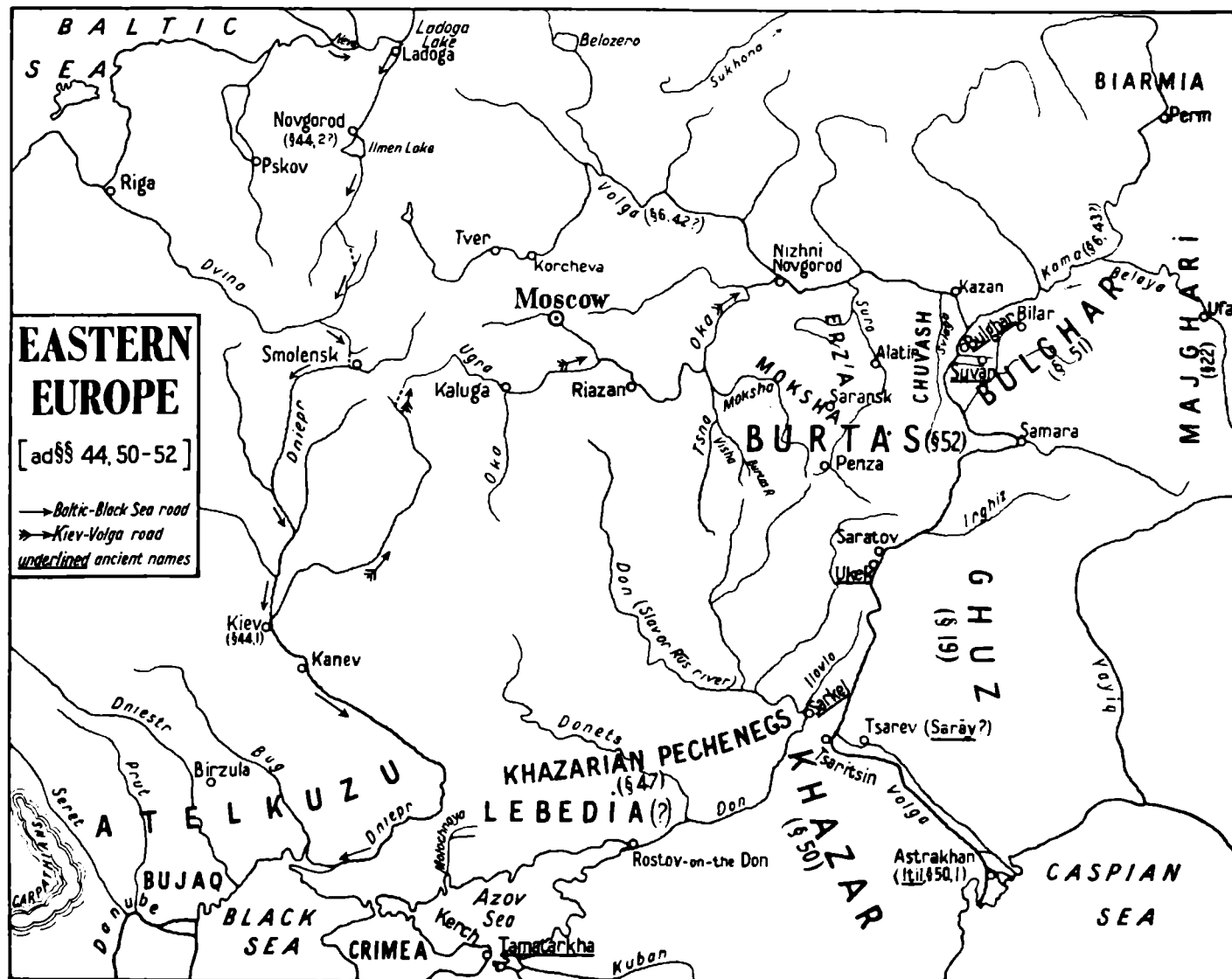
⁴ The story of the *Arthā* killing the strangers might favour the theory that the tribe belonged to the Mordva whose name is supposed to be an Iranian

equivalent of the Herodotian *ἀνδροπάγοι*, *v.i.*, § 52.

⁵ If the latter is the Bulghār town on the Volga, but the meaning of the term is not clear, *v.i.*, p. 439, n. 2.

⁶ Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908, p. 398, attaching too much importance to the export of *raṣāṣ*, interpreted as “tin”, thought that *Arthā* was Scandinavia! In the Persian translation of Iṣṭ., 226 k, *ارزیز* *arziẓ* renders *رصاص*. Our §§ 4, 9, and 25, 13, show that *arziẓ* means both “tin” and “lead”; *qal’i* which only means “tin” may be an arbitrary addition by the translator who hesitated between the two meanings of *arziẓ*.

⁷ *V.s.*, p. 217.



equally paid tribute to the Rūs.¹ The identification *Arthā* = *Erz'a* conflicts with Iṣṭ.'s indication concerning Kūyāba being the nearest to Bulghār, but on the other hand *Arthā* must have lain to the east of Ṣlāwiya which was the farthest territory of the Rūs (with regard to Bulghār from which the description apparently starts).² [*Kūyāba* may be the "territory of K.".]

Our text is essentially a rearrangement of the above-mentioned sources. The dependence on the common source used by I. R. and Gardizī appears from the following synoptic table. ['Aufī in the first part of his report closely follows the same tradition.]

I.R.	Gardizī	H.-'A.
the Rūs live on a wooded, damp island	D. 100,000 inhabitants (!)	entirely different (after Iṣṭ.)
Khāqān Rūs	D.	D.
raid Slavs by sea, sell them to the Khazar and Bulkār	D.	A. victorious over the neighbours
no agriculture: import food from the Slav land	D.	country rich in necessities; Slavs among the Rūs
newly born presented with swords	D.	N.
no villages*	N.	N.
traders in furs	D.	furs
neatly dressed; gold bracelets	D. linen clothes	woollen bonnets [linen mentioned under § 43]
kind to slaves and guests	D.	some of the R. practise chivalry
numerous towns*	D.	vast country
sulaymānian swords	D.	A. valuable swords
united against enemies	D.	N.
trial by kings; duels	D.	N. tithe to the government
physicians powerful	N.	A. physicians respected
courageous, enterprising; sailors, not horsemen	N.	A. warlike
trousers of 100 cubits	N.	D. as in I.R.
treacherous	N.	N. quarrelsome
nobles buried with all belongings and wives	N.	A. as in I.R.

* Trace of contradictory sources.

¹ The name of the important town of R'azan' may be also connected with Erz'a. The town (first mentioned under A.D. 1095) was founded in the region where the Slav V'atichi (< Vēntiči) lived, but originally (from the 7th to the 9th century) the lands along the Oka probably belonged to the Mordva territory. Cf. V. A. Gorodtsov, *The ancient population of the R'azan' province*, in *Izv. otdel. russ. yazika*, 1908, t. 13, pp. 147-9. [However, the Erz'a, at least now, live to the east of the Moksha, *v.i.*, § 52.]

² *Arthā* has a variant *آرتا* which suggested to Chwolson the identification of **Abārma* with Biarmia (Perm) of the Scandinavian sagas (Anglo-Saxon *Beormas*, Old Norse *Bjarmar*, cf. Thomsen, *o.c.*, 31). Eventually this identification would have the advantage of explaining our passage on the Pecheneg mountains (Ural?) which formed the eastern boundary of the Rūs and of better suiting the list of produce of the territory. Some indirect evidence in favour of Biarmia might be gathered from the fact that Iṣṭ. does not mention the two northernmost

The third source (Balkhī > Iṣṭ.) having supplied our author with the names of the three Rūs territories [*shahr*, "town or land"] the item on the damp "island" (I.R., Gardīzī, 'Aufī) had to be thrown overboard. The country was then described as "vast" [cf. I.R.'s inconsequent mention of "many towns"] and couched into the habitual frame of boundaries. In the description of the "towns" the details on blades and swords are very probably a simple development of I.R.'s and Gardīzī's item on the *sulaymānī* swords which the Rūs possess (*lahum al-suyūf al-sulaymāniya = va andar miyān shamshīr-i sulaymānī farāvān bāshad*). On "Solomonian swords" see the *Qor'ān*, xxxiv, 10-12, cf. Chwolson, *o.c.*, 195. The detail on Ṣ.lāba is a development of Iṣṭ.'s indication as to its remoteness.

The only original statements which we can squeeze out of our text are those regarding the frontiers of the Rūs and the course of the Rūs river (§ 6, 44.).

The situation of the Rūs country, as understood by our author, appears from the following table:

Northern Lands		
Ṣaqlāb	RŪS	Pecheneg Mts.
Rūtā river		

which must be supplemented by the indications that the Majgharī (§ 23) had the Rūs to their north and west [= NW. ?], and that the Turkish Pechenegs (§ 20) lived to the south of the river Rūthā (*sic*) and had the Majgharī and the Rūs to their west [*resp.* to the west and north-west ?]. As the Pechenegs are placed north both of the *Bulghārs (§ 51) and *Burṭās (§ 52), which peoples were separated by the Volga, it is necessary to admit that the Pechenegs (see note to § 20) lived on both banks of this river. If so, it is difficult to find any other correspondence than the Oka for the river separating the Turkish Pechenegs from the Rūs (*v.s.*, p. 217). The Pecheneg mountains (Ural?) would then form the Rūs boundary somewhere in the region to the north-east of the Volga.¹ The latter river itself, at least down to its junction

peoples Isū (*Ves'*) and Yura (*Yugra*) of which the first, according to R. Hennig, must be sought near Cherdin (Чердынъ) on the Kama, see *Der mittelalterl. arab. Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa*, in *Der Islam*, xxii/3, 1935, pp. 239-65. [But cf. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 304, who still follows Frähn's theory according to which the Isū must be placed near Belozero.] In any case the reading *Arthā* is better attested. Quite lately V. Moshin took *Arthā* for the 'Tmutarakan'

colony of the Rūs (on the Taman' peninsula, east of the entrance channel of the Azov sea) but this hypothesis goes counter to Iṣṭ.'s indication as to the inaccessibility of the Arthā land, and its exports.

¹ See § 5, 19. where a mountain (Urals) is described as stretching between the end of the Rūs and the beginning of the Kimāk. Cf. also the eventual restoration of ابارق/اربا as **Abārma* < *Biarmia*?

with the Oka, was evidently thought to flow in Rūs territory (§ 6, 44.) but the description of the "Rūs river" (upper Volga)¹ does not imply that *Urtāb*, *Ṣ.lāba*, and *Kūyāfa* stood on its banks. The text only indicates that the river watered their "confines". Their enumeration logically goes in the inverse order to Iṣṭ. who certainly wrote as if he were looking from Bulghār westward. [*Urtāb* ارتاب corresponds to *ارتابه < ارتان, v.s., p. 434.]

In his very interesting work on the "Volga route" Prof. P. Smirnov has lately advanced the thesis (see his conclusions, *o.c.*, 223-9) that before the foundation of the Kiev state there existed on the middle Volga a Norman state under a *qaghan*. To support this theory he very ingeniously utilized such data as the report on the embassy from the *Chacanus* of the *Rhos* in A.D. 839, the mention of the *Khāqān Rūs* in the common source of I.R., *H.-'Ā.*, and Gardizī, and the item of our source on the Rūs river. Along the latter he disposed the three towns so that *Kūyāfa* (?) comes to occupy the place of the future Nizhni-Novgorod at the junction of the Oka with the Volga; *Ṣ.lāba*, that of the later Yaroslavl, and *Arthā* (?) is tentatively sought between the two, perhaps in the Oka basin. This hypothesis revolutionizes the accepted views on the origins of the Great-Russian nation. Here is not the place to enter upon its consideration as a new theory, but as regards the arguments derived from our source (which the author knew through Toumansky's excerpts) it is to be feared that no particular and decisive weight can be attributed to a text which is mainly a compilation and a re-arrangement of written sources with a dangerous tendency towards artificial systematization.²

§ 45. The Inner Bulghār.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503-6, 517-19; Westberg, *K analizu vostoč. istoč.*, in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, February 1908, pp. 387-9.

The term undoubtedly belongs to Balkhī for only the two geographers who remodelled his work mention the *Bulghār al-dākhil*. Iṣṭ., 226, writes: "the Rūs trade with the Khazars, Rūm, and Great Bulghār (*Bulghār al-a'ṣam*). They border from the north on the Rūm; their numbers are great and their might is reported to be such that they have imposed the

¹ I.Kh., 124, is evidently responsible for the indication that it flows from the Slav territory (see note to § 44).

² Among other sources Smirnov, *o.c.*, 202-7, utilizes Idrīsī, ii, 401, who adds to Iṣṭ.'s data some characteristics of the three towns (*Ṣ.lāwa* "sur le sommet d'une montagne"; *Arthān* "jolie ville sur une montagne escarpée", at 4 days' distance from the two other towns, &c.). No trust, however, can be put in these details, for which there is no authority in the earlier sources. These additions

left alone, the three names of Russian towns were undoubtedly found by Idrīsī in the traditional sources and must be clearly distinguished from Idrīsī's original data on his contemporary *Rūsiya* and *Qumāniya*, ii, 397-400. Therefore Idrīsī's *کار* *Kiev* may easily be another avatar of the older *کوباه*. Idrīsī combines various sources of different epochs and Marquart has shown how inaccurate ("Schwindelwerk") he is in eastern regions, cf. *Ērānshahr*, 261-2 (India), *Komanen*, 102-4 (Central Asia).

kharāj on those of the Rūm and Inner Bulghār who live near to their country. The Inner Bulghār are Christians." I.H., 286, gives a considerably different version: "the Great Bulghār border on the Rūm from the north; their numbers are great and their might is reported to be such that in the old days (*qadīman*) they imposed the *kharāj* on those of the Rūm who lived near them. As regards the Inner Bulghār there are among them Christians and Muslims." To this I.H. adds that in his time (*fī waqtinā hādhā*) no trace (*baqiya*) was left of the Bulghār, Burṭās, and Khazar for the Rūs having attacked them appropriated their lands. Those who escaped from the Rūs lived scattered in the neighbouring places "in view of their attachment to their lands and in the hope that they would be able to enter a pact with the Rūs and place themselves again under the latter's authority".¹

These parallel passages reflect some vagueness and confusion in the original source. The term "Inner Bulghār" is evidently opposed to "Outer Bulghār" (*Bulghār al-khārija*) which name is given by Iṣṭ., 10, to "a small *madīna* (town, or country) having few dependencies and known only as the trading centre of those [northern] countries"; cf. a more complete description of the Volga Bulghār in Iṣṭ., 225.² The Inner Bulghārs were identified by Westberg, *l.c.*, with the Black Bulgars mentioned both in Const. Porph., *De admin. imp.*, ch. 12 and 42, and in Russian chronicles (as raiders of the Crimean Chersonese).³ However, in the introductory part of his work, Iṣṭ., 7, describing the breadth of the earth and starting from the Ocean and Gog and Magog goes on as follows: "then [the line] skirts the farther side (*ṣahr*) of the Ṣaqālība, crosses the land of the Inner Bulghār and Ṣaqālība and goes along the Rūm country and Syria." Marquart, *o.c.*, 517, interprets this passage in the sense that Inner Bulghār and Ṣaqālība both, as a sort of *hendiadyoin*, refer to the Danubian Bulgars ("so weist das darauf hin, dass beide Namen bereits Wechselbegriffe geworden waren"). This interpretation⁴ is hardly correct and the impression of the

¹ I.H., 281, places the devastation of Bulghār by the Rūs in 358/968-9 referring undoubtedly to Sviatoslav's eastern raids. As Barthold has suggested in his *Mesto prikaspiyskikh oblastey v istorii musul. mira*, Baku 1925, p. 43, the date properly refers to I.H.'s sojourn in Ṭabaristān where he collected the information on Sviatoslav's raid of 965.

² The difference between the *Inner* and *Great* Bulghar is not clear. The latter name according to I.H.'s improved text refers to the Danube Bulghār. In older Greek sources the "*Old*, or *Great* Bulghar" refers to the seats of the Uturghur, to the east of the Maeotis, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503. In the explanation of *Bulghār al-a'ṣam* Marquart, *ibid.*, 518, hesitates between the Volga

and Danube. In Russian chronicles (1236) the "Great town of Bolgar" (великий городъ Болгарьскый) is the town on the Volga. Similarly the Hungarian Dominican monk Julian who, in search of the Hungarian kinsmen, travelled in A.D. 1234-6 beyond the Volga calls the country of the Volga Bulgars *Magna Bulgaria*, see G. Fejér, *Cod. diplom. Hungariae*, Budapest 1829, iv/1, p. 54.

³ Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503, places the Black Bulgars between the Dniepr and the Khazar lands, and further identifies them with the Kuturgur mentioned in Syriac and Byzantine sources.

⁴ Marquart refers to the *Tanbīh*, 141, where the Burghar are defined as a sort of Slavs. [Cf. p. 429, l. 25.]

text is that the Inner Bulghārs lived north of the [Western] Ṣaqāliba, or in close contact with them, cf. the indications of the present paragraph.

Our author tries to weld together the data found in Iṣṭ. and in his other source but the result of this operation cannot be trusted. The details on the Ṣaqāliba as the western neighbours of the Inner Bulghārs and on the Russo-Bulghār wars hail evidently from Iṣṭ., 7 and 226. The Mirvāt living to the east of our Bulghār along the Black Sea (cf. §§ 3, 6. and 46) reflect a wrong interpretation of the source which is better preserved in Gardīzī (*v.s.*, § 22 on the basic error with regard to the Majgharī territory).

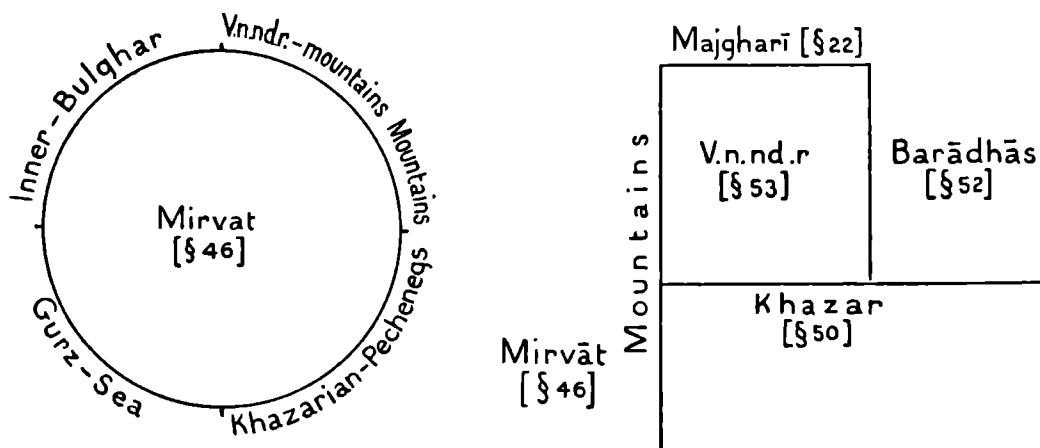
To sum up: our chapter is worth only as much as is due to Iṣṭ. who himself knows very little about Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Westberg's theory is too specious and Marquart seems to be right in identifying the *Inner Bulghār* with the Danubian Bulgars. Our author must have taken the different names found in his sources for four distinct peoples:

I.Kh.	Burjān (§ 42, 16.)
I. Rusta	Bulgharī (§ 42, 18.)
Iṣṭ.	Inner Bulghār (§ 45)
source common with Gardīzī	V.n.nd.r (§ 53) (?)

§ 46. The Mirvāt.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 118-20 and 539; Bury, *The Treatise "De admin. imperio"* in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xv, 1906, pp. 511-77 (especially pp. 561-8); Géza Fehér, *Ungarns Gebietsgrenzen in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ii/1, 1922, pp. 37-69; Macartney, *The Magyars*, pp. 147-51; F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode*, Prague, 1933, pp. 212-47, 276.

This chapter ought to come logically after § 53. Our author's geographical indications can be resumed in the following schemes:



but all the tentatives to disclose the identity of the Mirvāt from this internal evidence have lamentably failed.¹ The solution came from another side.

¹ I have been trying successively to identify the Mirvāt with the Magyars expelled by the Pechenegs from their

Azov seats (cf. § 47), with the Crimean Goths, and with *Μορδία* mentioned by Const. Porph., *v.s.*, notes to § 20.

The only sure parallel of our *Mirvāt* (so vocalized) is Gardīzī's *M.rdāt*. The discovery of our author's basic mistake with regard to the Majgharī territory (see notes to § 22) has shown the futility of the attempts of reconciling the views resulting from this erroneous conception with Gardīzī's passage which follows the tenor of the original report without trying to fit it into an imaginary scheme of "frontiers" (*hudūd*). Assuming that Gardīzī describes the Atelkuzu stage of Magyar migrations we have further identified the *N.nd.r/V.n.nd.r* with the Onoghundur-Bulghars living beyond the *Dūbā/Rūtā*, i.e. Danube, or perhaps Sereth (§ 53), and we shall now proceed one stage farther along the same road suggesting that the *M.rdāt/Mirvāt* must be the "Moravians". Const. Porph., *De admin. imper.*, ch. 38, p. 170, says that after several years spent in Atelkuzu the Magyars were attacked by the Pechenegs and had to look for a new habitat; so they drove out the inhabitants of Great Moravia (ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία) and settled in the land "in which they are still living". In ch. 40, p. 173, the mention of Σέρμιον (situated at 2 days' distance from Belgrade at the estuary of a river),¹ is accompanied by the note that beyond it (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε) lies "the Great Unbaptized Moravia which the Magyars (Τοῦρκοι) destroyed and over which previously ruled Sventopluk (Σφενδοπλόκος)". Finally, ch. 42, p. 177: "The Magyars live beyond the Danube in the Moravian land (εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν) and also on this [i.e. southern] side of it between the Danube and Sava."

Gardīzī's source undoubtedly refers to the Magyars before their occupation of their present country ("Landnahme"). If so, this country lying to the north-west of the Carpathians was still in Sventopluk's possession and following Const. Porph.'s use could be called *Moravia* *مراوة, to which مروات strikingly resembles.² The distance of 10 days which according to Gardīzī separated the *N.nd.r* from the *M.rdāt* is also acceptable³ if we consider the difficulty of communication across the Carpathians.

The name مراوة (var. مراوه مراره) is indeed found in Mas'ūdī's report on the Slavs, *Murūj*, iii, 61-5,⁴ where it is associated with **Khurvāt-in* (Northern Croats? v.s., § 42) and **Šākh-in* (Czechs?). As Mas'ūdī wrote in A.D. 943-4, i.e. after the "Landnahme", it is natural that he restricts the use of the term to Moravia proper and that he mentions the kingdom of the Turk (Τοῦρκοι = Magyars) in the neighbourhood of the kingdom of **al-Firagh* (Prague).⁵

¹ Sirmia (Sryem) lies north of the Sava and upstream from Belgrade.

² A transposition of ʾ and ʾ in Arabic script is extremely frequent, and for the substitution in Persian of a ت for the final ۀ, we have an example in خلت for *جله in § 22, v.s., p. 323.

³ If the *N.nd.r* = Danube Bulgarians, we have to reckon these 10 days from the old Bulgarian capital Prěslav (at 4 hours' distance to the west of Shumen).

⁴ The text was first edited and explained by Charmoy, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, ii, 1834, pp. 297-408, and in the last place by Marquart, *Streiszüge*, pp. 95-160.

⁵ In Mas'ūdī's *Tanbih*, 67, the "Slavonic Nām-j-in and Murāwa" are mentioned on the river called **Dunaba-wa-M.lāwa*. Mas'ūdī adds that many Burghar settled in this locality after their conversion to Christianity. Marquart, *o.c.*, 116, thought that this

We can now return to our author who has complicated the situation by arraying the triad of nations: Majghari-V.n.nd.r-Mirvāt from north to south, so that the Mirvāt, instead of being found "behind the [Carpathian] mountains", came to live on the northern coast of the Black sea, to the west and north of the Khazarian Pechenegs (§ 47); from the latter they were screened by a phantom mountain which (*v.s.*, the sketch) was apparently imagined as a southern continuation of the "V.n.nd.r mountains" forming the frontier in the north. This mountain is a reminiscence of Gardīzī's mountain standing on the bank of the river "above" the N.nd.r,¹ *i.e.* north of them. In the west and north the Mirvāt are made to border on the "Inner Bulghārs", whose name belongs to a different source (§ 45). All this is possible only in total oblivion of the Magyar seats on the Black sea coast!

As regards the general characteristics of the people in question Gardīzī says that the Christian M.rdāt dress like the Arabs and trade chiefly with them. The vestimentary detail has nothing strange in itself but the second item is more puzzling, unless we admit that Arab merchants could penetrate into Moravia from the Adriatic coast, or through Macedonia. Both Mas'ūdī's report and that of Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, though of a later date, render possible the supposition that some relations existed between the Arabs and Sventopluk's dominions. Entirely fantastic are our author's assertions that the Mirvāt knew Arabic and were tent-dwellers. These may be merely personal deductions from the fact that the Mirvāt dressed like "Arabs".²

The confusion in our source is blatant and we are obliged to go in the first place by Gardīzī's less sophisticated parallel text. It could be objected that the identification of Mirvāt with Moravia conflicts with the description of the Ṣaqāliba (§ 43), subjects of the same Sventopluk. We must, however, admit that the source on the *Ṣaqāliba* has been utilized by I. Rusta, the *H.-'Ā.*, and Gardīzī, whereas the combination of *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* is known only to the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī who in this case must have used some special source [or additional passage!] to which we have to assign a date of circa A.D. 900. Therefore the mention of Moravia (= ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία) could easily be disconnected from its famous ruler, associated in the other source with the Ṣaqāliba.

passage referred to the Serbian Morava, *i.e.* to the southern affluent of the Danube, downstream from Belgrade. This Morava lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Bulgaria and from king Krum's times (d. A.D. 844) was under Bulgarian sway.

¹ Looking from Constantinople as the point of observation.

² All these details made me at first suspect the author of some knowledge of the Crimean peoples, of whom the Goths were Christians, recognized the

supremacy of Byzantium, entertained good relations with their Turkish neighbours of the steppe, and probably carried on maritime trade. See Westberg, *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Gothicus* [circa A.D. 963], in *Zap. Akad. SPb.*, 1901, series VII, tome v, No. 2, and lately A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (in Russian), *Izv. Gosud. Akad. Istorii Materialnoy Kulturi*, i, 1-80, ii, 179-282 (especially 239-49). Cf. also note to § 50, 4.

§ 47. The Khazarian Pechenegs.

In § 20 the older territory of the Pechenegs is described, up in the north, *grosso modo* between the Urals and the Volga. Our § 47 refers to the new seats of the Pechenegs when, following the events of A.D. 889–93, they came to occupy the Magyars' lands near the Azov sea. This chapter belongs to the Balkhī > Išt. tradition (cf. notes to § 20 where Išt., 10, is quoted) and corresponds to the historical facts. On the contrary, geographically we are in the region where our author artificially strings together information derived from different sources.

Išt. says only that the Pechenegs settled between the Khazar and Rūm.¹ Our author places some "Khazar mountains" east of the Khazarian Pechenegs.² The latter are imaginary unless they refer to the watershed between the Volga and the Don, but at all events we are given to understand (cf. § 50) that in the east they separated the Khazarian Pechenegs from the Khazars. In the south the Khazarian Pechenegs bordered on the Alān (cf. § 48) and in Mas'ūdī's account of the *W.l.nd.rī* federation (which comprised the Pechenegs) it is said that these Turkish tribes lived on peaceful terms with the Khazar king and the Master of the Alān (*ṣāhib al-Lān*), *v.i.*, notes to § 53. The detail on the Gurz sea lying to the west of the Khazarian Pechenegs is due to some wrong idea about the configuration of the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea. To the north (and partly to the west, cf. p. 440) the Mirvāt are named as the neighbours of the Khazarian Pechenegs, but here we are certainly on a purely imaginary ground for between the Azov sea and the Danube our author tries to drive in, as a wedge, the Mirvāt whose name he found in his special source [or passage] unknown to I.Kh., I. Rusta, or Išt. The latter author, *v.s.* p. 314, l. 1, is right when he suggests that the Pechenegs extended westwards down to the Rūm, *i.e.*, practically speaking, to the Danubian region, for such was the case in the beginning of the tenth century when the Magyars had already left Atelkuzu behind. With this agrees Mas'ūdī's embroiled account of the *W.l.nd.rī* hordes operating against the Byzantine empire. But the above-mentioned particular source, common to the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī, refers to the situation circa A.D. 900 (cf. § 42, 18.) when for a short period the Magyars screened the Pechenegs from Bulgaria (associated with the "Rūm" in point of religion). The situation in the steppes in this period is extremely dark and, following Mas'ūdī's account, we may imagine that some "swarming" of the tribes was taking place. In any case the victorious Pechenegs, after the Magyars had surrendered to them their Lebedia home, most probably remained in touch with the Magyars, for after a short while they again attacked them and drove them out of their new habitat stretching between the Dniepr and the Sereth. Consequently, at the

¹ Cf. also Const. Porphyr. quoted in the notes to § 20.

² Cf. § 5, 18. where *miyān-i nāhiyat-i*

Bachanāk-i Khazarī biburradh, to suit § 47, ought to read: *miyān-i Bachanāk-i Khazarī [va Khazar] bigudharadh(?)*.

Atelkuzu period of Magyar migrations, which the special source [circa A.D. 900] had in view, our author ought to have mentioned the Magyars as the western neighbours of the Khazarian Pechenegs. He, however, not knowing what to do with the names *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvât* arranged the bearers of them from north to south, so that the *Mirvât* came to occupy the region somewhere about the Crimea (instead of Transylvania!). So, briefly speaking, the items on the north-western frontier of the Khazarian Pechenegs must be due exclusively to our author's speculations.

For the further destinies of the Pechenegs 'Aufi's text published by Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 99, and Marquart, *Komanen*, 40, is of great interest. 'Aufi (thirteenth century) writes that the arrival of the *Q.ri* (*Qün?* v.s., notes to §§ 14, 1. and 21) in the Sārī land made the inhabitants of the latter move into the land of the *Türkmäns* [= Ghuz] with the result that the Ghuz [= *Türkmän*] went to the land of the Pechenegs near the coast of the Armenian (= Caspian?) sea.¹ Marquart, *Komanen*, 54, places these events in the beginning of the eleventh century but finally, p. 202, leaves the whole question in suspense. Barthold (in his review of Marquart's book) admits that 'Aufi has in view the migration of the tribes in the eleventh century when the Qipchaq (see notes to § 21) drove the Ghūz out of their steppes. For a short time the supremacy in the southern Russian steppes passed to the Ghūz. Russian chronicles under A.D. 968 register the first incursion of the Pechenegs into Russian lands. In their turn the Pechenegs must have been considerably weakened by A.D. 1036 when Yaroslav of Kiev defeated them.

§ 48. The Alān.

Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskiye et'udi*, iii, Moscow, 1887, pp. 1-116; J. Kulakovsky, *Christianity of the Alans* (in Russian), in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, v, 1898, pp. 1-18 [according to the author the Alans were converted *en masse* only in the beginning of the tenth century, while Nicholas the Mystic was patriarch in Constantinople in 901-7 and 912-25]; J. Kulakovsky, *The Alans according to Classical and Byzantine Authors* (in Russian), Kiev 1899 [a very thorough study]; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 165-71; Täubler, *Zur Geschichte der Alanen*, in *Klio*, ix, 1909, pp. 14-28 (notes on ancient history); Barthold, *Allān* in *EI*; Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 107-9 (the Alāns to the east of the Caspian Sea); Bleichsteiner, *Das Volk d. Alanen*, in *Berichte d. Forschungs-Institutes f. Osten und Orient*, Wien, ii, 1918, pp. 4-16; Marquart, *Iberer und Hyrcanier*, in *Caucasica*, fasc. 8, 1931, pp. 79-88 (critical remarks on Täubler). [J. Charpentier, *Die ethnographische Stellung d. Tocharer*, in *ZDMG*, 71, 1917, pp. 347-88, contains (pp. 357-66) a detailed study of the Osset connexions; the author makes a point of showing the identity of the *Wu-sun* (Chinese name of a people in the neighbourhood of the Issikul), Ἀσίοι, *Asiani* (who towards

¹ The term دریای ارمنیه (*sic*) is very strange and suits the Caspian better than the Black sea which we would expect at this place!

A.D. 200 became the lords of the Tocharians, as results from Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius) and *Alani* [?]. As regards the Caucasus Charpentier, p. 363, considers the Ossets as an independent branch of the great Alān people.]¹

§§ 48 and 49 ought to come logically after § 36 (Shirvān).

The Iranian Alāns, later called Ās (cf. § 50, 4. *Ṭūlās*) were the ancestors of the present-day Ossets (from Georgian *Ovs-et'i* < *As*). All the bearings of the frontiers in this paragraph must be rectified by 90° (e.g., instead of *east* read: *north*; instead of *west* read: *south*). The item on the Alāns bordering in the west (**south*) on the Rūm is explained by the fact that the Georgians (Gurz) are described under the Byzantine Empire (§ 42, 15.).

[*Additional note.* In the *Armenian Geography* composed towards the eighth century (?) the westernmost Alans are called *Ashtigor*. The name, most probably, is an Armenian rendering of **As-Digor*. *Digor* (further appearing in the same *Geography* as *Dik'or*) is the name of the present-day western Ossets, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 170. *Ash* as an original form is hardly possible there being no *š* in Osset (at least in the present-day dialects) and the appearance of this foreign sound must account for the surd *t* of *Tigor* (instead of **Digor*).² The restoration **As* can be supported by the fact that nowadays the Ossets call their western neighbours the Balqar Turks *Asiag* and their territory *Asi*³ having evidently transferred to them the name of their own tribe which formerly occupied the region near the Elburz.⁴ Some temporary elevation of this particular branch may account for the generalization in Muslim literature of the Mongol epoch (thirteenth century) of the term *Ās*, instead of the older *Alān*. However, the Mongol dominion, under which many *Ās* were carried away as far as China must have dealt a fatal blow to the western Ossets. Probably at that time (?) the region near the Elbrus (i.e. the valleys along the westernmost sources of the Terek and the easternmost sources of the Kuban), was occupied by the Turks now respectively called *Balqar* and *Qara-chay*.

According to I.R., 148, the noblest (*ashraf*) of the four Alān tribes, the one to which the king belonged, was called دحساس **D.khs-Ās*.⁵ The **Tuwal-Ās* mentioned in our § 50, 4. may be another ramification of the *Ās*. As the *Tuwal-Ās* are coupled together with the Abkhaz their notoriety may be due to their holding some important pass (e.g. the Klukhor connecting the Qara-chay territory with Abkhazia). At present *Twal-tā* is the name of the Ossets living on the southern slope of the Caucasian range but they may have been pushed south-eastwards by some wave of Turkish invasion.]

¹ All this is rather obscure.

² That the Osset *s* sounded to a foreign ear like *š* is shown by such names on the Turkish (former Osset) territory as *Ashtotur* < Oss. *Was-Totur* "Saint Theodore", Miller, *Oset. Et'udi*, iii, 8.

³ Miller, *o.c.*, iii, 6-7.

⁴ Const. Porph., *De cerimoniis*, ii, 48, speaks separately of the ἐξουσιοκράτωρ Ἀλανίας and the ἄρχοντες Ἀζίας (in whose land the Κασπεῖαι πύλαι = Darial are situated). This Ἀζία may possibly refer to the *Ās*?

⁵ Perhaps *رخساس *Rukhs-Ās*, cf. *Rox-alani*?

1. Kāsak (as in Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 184: الكاسكة) but *Murūj*, ii, 45: كمنك,¹ corresponds to Byzantine *Κασαχία*, old Russian Касоги,² i.e. the present-day *Cherkes* (Circassians) who are of Caucasian race and speak a non-Indoeuropean language. According to the *Murūj*, ii, 45-6, the Kashak who did not live united under one king, were weaker than the Alāns but could resist them in the fortresses situated along the coast. Our author must have misunderstood his source for he speaks of the Kāsak under the Alān and consequently draws the latter's northern (read: *western) frontier along the Black sea coast. Marquart, *Komanen*, 181, explains the later name *Cherkes* from Persian **chahār-kas* "the four tribes of the Kas" (?), cf. also *Streifzüge*, 10, 145, 161, 175, 479. The Cherkes call themselves by an entirely different name *Adige*.

The Kashak are not mentioned in I.R., Iṣṭ., or Gardīzī and here again, as in the account of *Lyzān* (§ 36, 36.) we find in the *H.-'Ā.* some common traits with Mas'ūdī.

2. *Khaylān* (?) is otherwise unknown, unless it is a repetition of *Khaydān* mentioned under the Sarīr (§ 49, 2.), but *Khaydān* was separated from the Alān territory by the whole length of the Sarīr.

3. *Dar-i Alān*, cf. § 5, 18 D., is the celebrated *Bāb al-Lān*, i.e. the Darial pass in Central Caucasus on the Military Georgian road connecting Vladikavkaz with Tiflis. The Ossets now live astride of the pass [cf. § 36, 33.]. Our author shows no direct knowledge of the description of the Alān castle (*Qal'at al-Lān*) in Mas'ūdī, ii, 42. The item about the 1,000 guards of the fortress is found in Ibn Rusta, 148.³ The detail about the Christian religion of the king agrees with Ibn Rusta, 148, and Gardīzī, where it is expressly stated that the king's subjects are heathens. *V.s.*, p. 444, l. 26.

According to Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, the capital of the Alāns was called معص **Maghaṣ^{un}* meaning "piety" (*diyāna*). It is not mentioned in any other Muslim source but may be connected with the city *A-su Mie-k'ie-sz'* (probably "M., city of the Ās") which is several times mentioned in Chinese sources (*Yüan-shi*, &c.) in the accounts of Mangū's expedition in Northern Caucasus in A.D. 1239, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 316-7.⁴ See also Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, April 1920, pp. 168-9, who further identifies the town of the Chinese sources with مكس or مكس mentioned in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, pp. 43, 47, after the expeditions to قریم (*Qrim?* "Crimea") and before that to Darband. However, in Juvaynī, GMS, i, 222, مكس (var. مشكو) mentioned together with Bulghār seems to refer to the Moksha (a Mordvan tribe, cf. § 52) and such may be the case of p. 225₁; p. 224₄ آس is perhaps also a mis-spelling of the same name.

¹ In the *Tanbīh*, 184, both *Kāsak* and *Kashak* are mentioned erroneously as separate peoples.

² Instead of *Garš* and *K'ut* in the *Armenian Geography*, Marquart, *Komanen*, 181, suggests to read *K'arš* (i.e.

Kashak, *Cherkes*) and *Gut* (i.e. Crimean [?] Goths). ³ *V.s.* p. 68, note 1.

⁴ It is more difficult to connect the Chinese name with the eastern neighbours of the Ossets the Chechen called in Russian sources *Michkiz*, *Mizjeg*, &c.

§ 49. The Sarir.

Sarir is no original name of the country, being only an abridgement of the title *ṣāhib al-sarir* "Master of the Throne" which the Arabs gave to the local king (on his golden throne *sarir*, in our text *takht*, see I.R., 147, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 41, Iṣṭ., 223). I.R. and Gardizī, 101, call the king respectively *اورار* and *اوراز*. This detail suggested to Marquart and Barthold (*Daghestān* in *EI*) the identification of the Sarir with the Avar people in Daghestan (on the middle one of the Qoy-su rivers of which the united waters, under the name of Sulaq, flow into the Caspian south of the Terek).¹ Balādhurī, p. 196 *in fine*, discussing the titles given by Anūshirvān to the princes of Daghestān says: "the khāqān of the mountain (*khāqān al-jabal!*) who is the Master of the Throne is called *وہارزانشاہ* (variants: *وہرارزانشاہ*, *وہرارنشاہ*, *وہرارنشاہ*). Thomas Artsruni (tenth century) mentions the people Aurhaz-k' (Աւրհազք) jointly with the Tsanar-k' (*Ṣanār*, § 36, 33.), cf. Marquart, *o.c.*, 496. In the *Zafar-nāma* (written in A.D. 1424), i, 772, 777, 779, the Daghestan Avars are called *Auhar*, and this form is very much like the first element of the king's name in Balādhurī.² Mas'ūdī, ii, 41, relates a story of the descendance of the Master of the Throne from Bahrām Gūr, and abusively confers on him an additional title of *Filān-shāh* (*v.i.*, § 50, 3c.). The connexion with the Master of the Throne seems to have been much appreciated for not only Mas'ūdī speaks of the matrimonial ties between the Alān and the Sarir princely families but we know that Ishaq b. Ismā'il, ruler of Tiflis *circa* A.D. 830–53, was married to a daughter of this king, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1416, and Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, pp. 143, 168. The important historical role of the Avar principality is shown by the fact that the Avar language is still a sort of *lingua franca* in Daghestan. This language, belonging to the local eastern Caucasian group has, however, nothing to do with the original language of the Avar invaders who first organized the principality of the Sarir. See **Map xi**.

[The Avars were the great conquerors of the fifth century who about A.D. 461–5 drove the Sabirs westwards. They are the people which the Chinese call *ŷou-jan* or *ŷuan-juan* and which, according to P. Pelliot, was of Mongol race.³ In A.D. 551 they were vanquished by the Turks (T'u-chüeh)

¹ The Avars are now an entirely Daghestanian people, but their name may reflect that of some former dynasty issued from the pre-Islamic **Aβapoi*, **Aβápeis*, see I.Kh., 92 and 119: *al-Abar*, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 74–5.

² In Armenian *Aurhazk'*, *k'* is the suffix of plural and the group *rh*, with usual metathesis, must stand for *hr*. In **Auhraz* I consider *z* as an Iranian suffix of origin similar to that of *Gur-z*, *Lak-z*, *Lāy-z* (§ 36, 36.). Consequently the Armenian form **Auhra-z* (easily < *Auhar-z*) is identical with later Persian

Auhar (> *Avār*) and in its light we may restore Balādhurī's title, which consists of a name + suffix *z* + suffix *ān*. As regards the form *وہار* we may suppose that it is a result of several tentatives to transcribe the difficult name containing the elements *ورا* usually confused in writing. One of the *ر* may be superfluous and with **وہرا* (or still better *اوہرا*) we approach the Armenian form. The tentative restoration would be **Auhar-z-ān-shāh*.

³ Cf. *T.-Pao*, xxxii/4, 1936, p. 235.

and according to Theophylactos Simocatta fled partly to China (*Ταυράοι* = *Tabghach* = the Wei dynasty) and partly to the *Μουκρί*. On the contrary, the Avars who first came into touch with the Byzantines towards A.D. 557 only assumed the name of their famous predecessors whereas in reality they belonged to the 'Ογώρ (Uyghur) tribes *Ουάρ*, *Χουβνί*, &c. Cf. Marquart, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschriften*, 94, *Ērānšahr*, 52-5, 84, &c., *Streifzüge*, *passim*, and Chavannes, *Documents*, 229-33. One should think then that the Avars who gave a dynasty to northern Daghestan belonged to the later "Pseudo-Avars", though the question needs still a special investigation. As regards the *Mukri* who were joined by a part of the true Avars they are usually identified with the Tunguz people *Mu-chi* (*Wu-chi*) or *Mo-ho* which lived north of Corea, cf. Herrmann, *Historical Atlas of China*, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1935, Map 30), but Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 54, *ult.* was inclined to take them for the *Merkit* (see, however, his later *Komanen*, 88). In favour of this opinion one could quote a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of the scholars. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, vii, 90 (transl. v, 70) one of the four divisions of the *مرکیت* or *مکربت* was called *اوه* (**Auhar*?), which name is, indeed, reminiscent of the title borne by the Sarīr king. This item does not, of course, constitute a proof for the "true-Avar" origin of the rulers of Sarīr, who, following Theophyl. Simocatta's theory, could have usurped a name which did not strictly belong to them, but the resemblance of the names in both cases is a testimony for its original form. It must be finally remembered that the evidence for the distinction of the true Avars and Pseudo-Avars, depending chiefly on one Byzantine source, is rather frail and a complete disappearance after A.D. 552 of a warrior race would be unexpected.]

On the mountain of the Sarīr see § 5, 18. On the wrong idea of the sources of the Kur see § 6, 56. Our author makes the Sarīr border on the Rūm, the latter term evidently referring only to the Georgians (§ 42, 15.).

No parallels could be found for the story about the giant flies (*pasha*). Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, gives the name **Muḡhaṣ*^{un} to the Alān capital (*v.s.*). Could not some popular etymology **Maghaṣ* > Persian *magas* "fly" have served as a starting-point for a story reflecting some discontent with the neighbours? [?]

1. On the king's castle see also § 5, 18 c. Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, calls the seat of government (*dār al-mulk*) of the Sarīr *حمرج* (حرج; d'Ohsson quotes the variant *خندخ*). This place may correspond to the present centre of the Avar territory, Khunzakh (**خنزخ*). See Map xi.

2. *خندان* (perhaps repeated under § 48, 2.) corresponds to *خیزان* in I.R., 147, and Gardīzī, 109, and *جیدان* in Mas'ūdī, ii, 7, 39. Already d'Ohsson in his very good book *Des peuples du Caucase*, Paris 1828, p. 19, wrote: "il me paraît hors de doute qu'il faut lire *خندان* puisque le pays ici désigné est encore habité par les Kaitacs (*دانس* dans Abul-Fidā¹ et

¹ Abul-Fidā, p. 71, says that *Jabal al-Qytq* (perhaps for **Qabq*?) stretches

from the coast of the Caspian sea near the town of *Bāb al-abwāb* in a southern

Kātib-Chelebi).¹ Marquart in the additions to his *Streifzüge*, 492, came practically to the same conclusion. The Qaytaq (speaking [now] a Daghestanian language) live on the rivers Gumri (**Humri*?) and Darbakh, along the coast immediately north of Darband.² I.R., 147-8, quoting from some earlier source calls the king of *Khyzān* Ādharnarsē and says that he is equally respectful to the three religions of his subjects (Muslims, Jews, and Christians). He places *Khyzān* at 12 *manzils* "to the right"³ of the Master of the Throne's castle which distance is certainly exaggerated, unless it is based on a confusion with a different *Khyzān*. According to Mas'ūdī the *Jydān* was formerly a part of the Khazarian principalities (*dākhila fi jumlat mulūk al-Khazar*); in his times the king, a Muslim said to be of the Qaḥṭān tribe, bore the hereditary name of سلفان.⁴

A certain difficulty results from some of Balādhurī's data on خيران: p. 204, in the enumeration of Salmān's federates he mentions "Shakkī, *Khyzān*, Shirvān", &c., as if they were neighbours; p. 206, he says that Jarrāḥ after having attacked the people of حميرين (**Humrīn*? cf. Balādhurī, 208) settled them in the "*rustāq* (sic) of *Khyzān*" which suggests a place in the rear [?]. Finally I.Kh., 124, in his identification of the places mentioned in the Qor'ānic legend of Moses, mentions "the village of *Khyzān*"⁵ along with Bājarvān (south of the Araxes) and Shirvān. Between Baku and Qubba there exists on the Ata-chay a village and a district of *Khizi* which may be taken into consideration in connexion with the above hints. Its distance from the capital of the Sarīr would roughly suit I.R.'s "12 *manzils*" (v.s.).

Mas'ūdī entirely separates *Jydān* from the Sarīr but I.R. and Gardīzī speak of *Khyzān* in the middle of the chapter on the Sarīr. This arrangement which evidently existed in the common source is responsible for the place which our author assigns to *Kh.ndān* in the present chapter. The Sarīrian "generals" living in the town may be only an echo of the original report on the king Ādharnarsē.

3. A parallel of رنجس is found only in I.R., 148, who places رنجس at a distance of 10 farsakhs from the town of *Khyzān* and describes the cult of the tree practised by its inhabitants, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 15. The

direction. Then quoting from *al'-Azizī* (cf. note to § 60, 4.) Abul-Fidā adds that this mountain is called *Jabal al-alsun* because some 300 languages are said to be spoken on it. Then he proceeds "and on its northern side are القيتق **Qaytaq* who are a (special) race (*jins*); and on its southern side the Lazgī who are also a (special) race".

¹ *Jihān-nūmā*, pp. 401-2.

² Marquart, *o.c.*, p. 492, identifies *Jydān* with *Majālis* (on the left bank of the Buam). However, the usual residence of the *Utsmī* of the Qaytaq was at *Bashli*, or *Barshli* on the Humri river, cf. Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, 1827,

p. 139. D'Ohsson, *o.c.*, p. 10, proposed the identification of this place to برشلي where according to Balādhurī, p. 195, Anūshirvān met the khāqān of the Khazars. Consequently *خيداق may be Bashli = برشلي [= Armenian *Varač'an*].

³ It can mean only to the "south-east" for, p. 148, the Alān territory begins at 3 days' distance "to the left" of the Sarīr.

⁴ The title may be Turkish, cf. the title *Se-li-fa* many times mentioned in Chinese sources, see Chavannes, *Documents*, Index.

⁵ Marquart, *o.c.*, 492, was inclined to distinguish it from Mas'ūdī's *Jydān*.

only name I can think of is that of the river *Rubas* which waters the Tabarsarān district to the south-west of Darband. Following the coast north to south the districts come as follows: Qaytaq, Darband, Tabarsarān, but west of Darband the sources of the Darbakh (in Qaytaq) and the Rubas (in Tabarsarān) lie very close to one another. Therefore the mention of Rubas would not be unexpected after Qaytaq (**Khaytāq*). رنجس could easily be restored as *ربخس *Rubkhas* > *Rubas*.¹

The mention of *Masqut lying farther south in the same direction (§ 50, 3.) may be explained by our author's reading off his map the whole series of names situated in one line. I.R., whose text is our sure parallel, after the intermezzo on *Khyzān* and *Rnhs*, finishes the chapter by mentioning a second castle belonging to the Master of the Throne: "it is called الال وغميك and has a strong position; in it is the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) of the king and it was given to him by Anūshirvān". This fortress is undoubtedly غميق mentioned in Mas'ūdī, ii, 39, in the neighbourhood of Zirigarān and the Sarīr, i.e. the present-day Qumiḡ situated on the southern branch of the Qoy-su in the proximity of the Avar territory.²

§ 50. The Khazar.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Index; Barthold, *Khazar* in *El*; H. v. Kutschera, *Die Chasaren*, Wien 1910 (unimportant); J. N. Simchowitsch, *Studien z. d. Berichten arab. Historiker über d. Chazaren*, Berliner Dissertation 1920, still unpublished; the author's résumé in *Jahrbuch d. Dissert. der Philol. Fakultät . . . zu Berlin*, 1919-20, pp. 248-52, is reviewed by M. Palló in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ii, 1922, pp. 157-60 (with a list of Hungarian literature on the subject): Simchowitsch studies the earlier history of the Khazars down to Harūn al-Rashīd's times; M. Kmoskó, *Die Quellen Iṣṭahrī's in seinem Berichte über die Chasaren*, *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum*, 1/2, 1921, pp. 141-8;; M. Kmoskó, *Araber und Chasaren*, *ibid.*, 1/4, 1924, pp. 280-92 and 1/5, 1925, pp. 356-68. The Jewish sources on the Khazars have been recently republished by P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, Leningrad 1932 (exhaustive bibliography and very detailed commentary). Some Byzantine sources are quoted in Dietrich, *o.c.*, Index; see also Constantine Porphy., *De admin. imperio*, chap. 10, 12, 42 (scarce details).

The principal Muslim source on the Khazars is Ibn Faḍlān (in Yāqūt, ii, 436-40), many of whose data are found also in Iṣṭ., 220-5, though each of the two sources has a good many independent details. Since Frāhn it has been admitted that Ibn Faḍlān (who travelled in 309-10/921-2) was the

¹ The *Tā'rīkh Bāb al-Abwāb* quoted by A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaycan*, p. 39, spells the name روباस but the name may have had an older form.

² The territory of Qumiḡ is occupied

by the Lak who are also called *Qazi-Qumuḡ* (to be distinguished from the Turkish *Qumiḡ* living further north-east towards the Caspian sea). Cf. Dirr, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 54, 1908, pp. 204-12.

source of Iṣṭakhrī, but lately Kmoskó has advanced a new theory of their common dependence on some previous report drawn up towards A.D. 800.

Another source is that utilized by I.R., 119-20, Bakrī, Gardizī, and 'Aufī.

Our author's very condensed report reflects both groups of sources and shows a knowledge of I.Kh. For the items of the Ātil town, the seven judges (governors?) communicating with the king, and the maritime customs Iṣṭ., 220-5, is undoubtedly responsible, but our author cuts down even such characteristic features as the existence of a dual political system under which the supreme chief only appointed the head of the executive power who was the real ruler. The system is mentioned in all the sources:

Const. Porphy. cap. 42, (cf. Marquart, <i>o.c.</i> , 27)	ὁ χαγάνος	ὁ πέρχ
Ibn Rusta	<i>Khazar Khāqān</i>	<i>Ayshā</i>
Mas'ūdī, <i>Murūj</i> , ii, 12	<i>Khāqān</i>	<i>Malik</i>
Iṣṭakhrī	<i>Malik Khazar</i> ¹	<i>Khāqān Khazar</i> , ¹ or <i>Bek</i>
Ibn Ḥauqal	<i>Khāqān Khazar</i>	<i>Malik Khazar</i>
Gardizī	<i>Khazar Khāqān</i>	<i>Abshād</i>

In the *H.-'Ā.* the two persons are run into one and the king (*pādshāh*) is called Ṭarkhān Khāqān, from the children of Ansā (cf. *Ayshā*, *Abshād*). The latter name was borrowed from the source common also to I.R. and Gardizī, whereas the addition to the title *khāqān* of a further title *ṭarkhān* finds an explanation in the story of the interpreter Sallām's journey to the wall of Gog and Magog, I.Kh., 163, where *Ṭarkhān malik al-Khazar* is mentioned, though at another place I.Kh., 41, says that *ṭarkhān* was the title of lesser Turkish kings. [A Khwārazmian mercenary Rās-Ṭarkhān commanded the Khazar forces which invaded Transcaucasia in 147/764. Marquart, *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, p. 271, explains by this person's name that of the later town Astrakhan. Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 328, استرخان **Ās-tarkhān*?.]

Our author equally omits the important statement regarding the outward appearance of the Khazars: being of two distinct types (one very dark, the other fair-skinned and handsome) they did not resemble the Turks. Their language was also different from Turkish, but resembled that of the (Volga) Bulghārs, Iṣṭ., 225. According to this description the Khazar language of which no texts have come down to us, belonged to the aberrant branch of Turkish languages of which the only living representative is now the Chuvash language.

Prima facie our enumeration of the Khazar towns presents great difficulties. In fact these towns were only *four*, of which two were divided by the Volga near its estuary, and the other two lay in the Caucasian region (Balanjar and Samandar). Our compiler mentions the *two* Volga towns under *five* different names and thus his total rises to *seven*, to say nothing of the *five* additional names wrongly quoted under Khazar.

¹ The places of the rulers are wrong.

The complication with the Volga towns will be best presented in the following table:

Iṣṭ.	Western Ātil	Eastern Ātil
I.Kh.	البيضا	*خلنج
I.R.	سارغن	خلنج مالع
Bakrī	بارغن	خلنج
H.-'Ā.	[Western] Ātil, بيضا and ساور	[Eastern] Ātil and خلنج

The three traditions, namely: *A* (Iṣṭ. < I. Faḍlān), *B* (I.Kh.), *C* (I.R. and Gardīzī), are all side by side incorporated in H.-'Ā. The order of enumeration fully confirms this conclusion.

1. and 2. are evidently borrowed from Iṣṭ., 220-3, who in the Khazar land knows only these two towns of which *Ātil* (read *Ātil* > *Etil*) was a double town for it was divided by the Ātil river (§ 6, 43.) into a western and an eastern part, the former being the residence of the king and his army, and the latter the commercial centre. The two towns lay probably near the estuary of the Volga. On their different names see the table above.

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 7, reckons from Darband to Samandar 8 days and thence to *Ātil* (so instead of *Āmul*) 7 days. According to Iṣṭ., 219, 227, the respective distances are 4 and 7 days, the distance between Samandar and the Sarīr boundary being only 2 farsakhs. These data indicate for Samandar a place somewhere between Kizlar (on the Terek) and Petrovsk (now Makhach-qal'a) on the Caspian sea. It is usually (Dorn, Marquart) accepted that Samandar¹ corresponds to Tarqu/Tarkhu, situated at a few Kms. to the south-west of Petrovsk and in favour of this opinion could be quoted the short distance between Samandar and the Sarīr, and our author's indication that Samandar lay near the sea-coast. Iṣṭ., 222, mentions extensive gardens and vineyards between Samandar, Darband, and the Sarīr, which detail is also not contradicted by the situation of Tarqu. Finally, in the letter of the Khazar king (though in the more extensive and still suspect version *B*, cf. Kokovtsov, p. 100) Samandar is placed "at the end of *T.dlū*" which may easily stand for *Tarkhu*!

3. In this paragraph the names borrowed from different authorities are jumbled together into a long list. We shall treat them in three groups.

3a. The first three names come exactly as I.Kh., 124₁₂, enumerates them: *wa mudun al-Khazar: *Khamlīkh wa Balanjar wal-Bayḍā*. Of these Balanjar lay certainly in the Caucasian region. During his campaign of 119/737 Marwān penetrated into Khazaria, as it seems, through the Alān gate, i.e. the Darial pass in the Central Caucasus, and then (I. Athīr, v, 160) marched eastwards to Balanjar, Samandar, and al-Bayḍā. Consequently Balanjar is to be sought between the Darial and Samandar. The only other geographical detail referring to it is the existence of a river called *nahr al-Balanjar*, Balādhurī, 204, Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, 194 (in the account of

¹ The reading of the name may be **Sumundur*, **Samundur*, &c.

Salmān's campaign). The Khazar king's letter mentions a river *V.r.shan* situated at 20 farsakhs from the capital, Kokovtsov, pp. 86 and 102.¹ Marquart, *o.c.*, 16–19, compares this name with Balanjar² and tentatively identifies the Balanjar river with the Qoy-su "the Sheep river" (Abul-Fidā, 204: *nahr al-aghnam* flowing through the Sarīr). It is true that according to the Khazar letter the river ought to be placed much more to the north (Kokovtsov: *Kuma river*?) but then it would be difficult to understand how Marwān could march to Samandar via Balanjar. So besides the Qoy-su (Sulaq), only some of the right affluents of the Terek, or the Khasav-yurt river could eventually be taken into consideration with regard to the still doubtful situation of Balanjar. As Samandar lay by the sea, al-Bayḍā, whither Marwān³ marched from Samandar, could lie either to the south, or, more probably, to the north of Tarqu. As I. Athīr, v, 160, definitely says that al-Bayḍā was the Khāqān's residence it must be identical with one of the two Volga towns, and more particularly with that which I.R., 139, calls سارعش. The first element of the name **Sārigh-sh.n* is evidently Turkish *sarigh* "yellow", a colour of which the Arabic *al-Bayḍā* "white" might be an approximate rendering, perhaps even more suitable for the original Khazar meaning.⁴ Marquart, *o.c.*, 1, arbitrarily restores the second element شن as *shar* < *shahr*, but I am strongly inclined to think that the name **Sarigh-shin* is the original form of the still enigmatic ساقسن *Saqsīn*, as the geographers of Mongol times call a town situated by a mighty river and usually quoted along with the Volga Bulghar, cf. Barthold, *Saqsīn* in *EI*.⁵ To sum up: *Bayḍā* may be only an Arabic name for the first of the two Ātil towns already mentioned under 1. As according to Iṣṭ. the Khāqān lived in the *western* town, al-Bayḍā taken by Marwān, must be the latter. There is no record of the Arabs having crossed the Volga and in principle it would have been a most difficult feat.

3b. The following two names are borrowed from the source common

¹ It is curious that in the account of Maslama's campaign Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 381, says that he was met by the khāqān of the Khazars in رثان which here is an entirely different place from *Varthān* in Ādharbayjān and evidently refers to northern Daghestan. [It is very probable, however, that the name refers here to *Barshliya*, *v.s.*, p. 449, note 1, in Armenian *Varač'an*, see Moses Kałankatvats'i, book ii, ch. xxix, Russian transl. by Patkanov, SPb., 1861, p. 192.]

² Marquart, *ibid.*, 166, identifies *Balanjar* with *Varač'an* or *Varajan* by which name the Armenians call the capital of the Caucasian "Huns", but he withdraws this suggestion, *ibid.*, 492.

³ He was coming from the west.

⁴ The Khazar fortress on the lower Don Запкел = Russian *Bélaveža* "White tent" is called in the Khazar king's letter (version B) *Sharkil*, cf. Chuvash *shura* "white" and *kil* "house", as suggested by Poppe in Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, 105. [In Chuvash *u* < old *a*.]

⁵ The geographical identity of *Saqsīn* with the Itil town was recognized by Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908 (March), p. 40; I think that even phonetically *Saqsīn* < *Sarigh-shin* (or *-sin*?). [As a parallel cf. the name of *Tsaritsīn* "Queen's town" (now Stalingrad), important centre situated on the Volga above Astrakhan, which is said to be a popular Russian etymology for the original **Sarichin* (?) supposed to mean "yellow island" (?). **Sari-sin* would mean "yellow tomb".]

also to I.R., Bakrī, and Gardizī (see the table above). The unusual form of the first name سارعر may have been influenced by the two towns *Shāvghar* in Transoxiana, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 174. The second name, as spelt by our author, would be **Khutlugh* "happy" but to judge by I.R.'s variants it looks like a compound with the Turkish word *-baligh* "town". Very probably another form of the same name is I.Kh.'s خلیخ (so instead of خليج chosen by de Goeje) *Khamlikh*, possibly with a contraction from <*Khammalikh*<*Kham-balikh*<*Kham-baligh*. The first element still offers a difficulty. Marquart, *Komanen*, 71, rightly criticized M. Hartmann's restoration **Khan-baligh*, but his own reading **Qapigh-baligh* is still more improbable. That this town stood on the eastern bank of the Volga may be indirectly concluded from the fact that I.Kh., 124, quotes it as the terminus of the road from Jurjān, i.e. along the eastern coast of the Caspian.

3c. The last three names are found in I.Kh., 124, who following on the enumeration of the three Khazar towns says: "and outside al-Bāb (Darband) are *a.* the Malik of Suwar, *b.* the Malik of al-Lakz, *c.* the Malik of al-Lān, *d.* the Malik of Filān, *e.* the Malik of al-M.sq.t, *f.* the Master of the Sarīr, and *g.* the town of Samandar". In this list *a.* corresponds to our *Swr*; *b.* to our *Lkn*, *c.* to our *M.s.ṭ*; *g.* was already mentioned under 2., and *c.* and *f.* are treated in separate chapters (§§ 48 and 49). Only *d.* Filān has been left out of consideration.¹

Neither of the three names **Lakz*, *Swr*, and *M.sq.ṭ* could be quoted in the tenth century under the heading *Khazar*. Even *Darband-i Khazarān* (§ 36, 40.) is a purely conventional historical term pointing to the fact that Darband (which from circa A.D. 800 remained in the hands of the Muslims) was a "frontier post" (*thaghr*) directed against the Khazars and their successors. In our author's times Darband and consequently the lands lying to the south of it belonged to the Shirvān-shāh, v.s., notes to § 36, 36. and Iṣṭ., 219. A remote reason for the inclusion of **Lakz*, **Suwar*, and

¹ Perhaps because our author, like Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 42, took *Filān-shāh* for the hereditary title of the Sarīr kings. This, however, is inexact, for Balādhurī, 196, names separately *sāhib al-Sarīr* and *malik-Filān*. Nothing practically is known of this prince and his people. In Yāqūt's very valuable passage on the peoples of Daghestān, i, 438 (cf. *BGA*, i, 184) immediately after Tabarsarān (on the Rubas river) is mentioned *umma ilā janbihim tu'raf bi-Filān* which suggests that the Filān lived quite close to the Tabarsarān. After the Filān come the Lakz, al-Lirān, and Sharvān (*sic*). Balādhurī, 194, speaks of سد اللین "the wall of the *L.b.n*" which the Sasanian Qubādh built

between Shirvān and Bāb al-Lān (Darial), cf. I.Kh., 123, *bāb L.bān-shāh*. This *L.b.n* probably corresponds to *Lip'in-k'* of the Armenian authors and *Lupenii* of Pliny, *n. h.*, vi, 29, and it is not impossible to connect *Lip'in*, &c. with *Fil-* by admitting a metathesis **Lif/Fil*. It is true that Balādhurī, 196, specially mentions *Malik Filān* but the different sources may account for the difference *L.b.n/Filān*. [In the eastern part of Shakkī near the sources of the Turiyan-chay several places are found with such names as *Filifli*, perhaps <*Fil-i Filān* (cf. the royal title of *Gil-i Gilān*). This is only a hint to the future investigators on the spot.]

*Masqut in the Khazar chapter may be the fact that Marwān is said to have brought from his famous expedition (of 119/737) a number of Khazars whom he settled between the Samūr river and Shābarān in the lower parts of the Lakz lands (*fi sahl ard al-Lakz*), see Balādhurī, 207. On the middle course of the Samūr there is still a village Khazri < *Khazari.

لک stands undoubtedly for لک *Lakz*. As mentioned above (§ 36, 36.) the Lakz, or a part of them, seem to be identical with the **Khursān* (Balādhurī, 196: ویدعی حرسا شاه: (وملك اللکز). According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 6, the Shirvān-shāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd annexed the possessions of شاه خراسان (read: خراسان) and this agrees with the threefold title of the Shirvān-shāh in our source (*v.s.*). Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, even adds that the Lakz kingdom (*mamlaka*) was the bulwark (*mu'awwal*) of the Shirvān kingdom. Balādhurī, 209, mentions a fortress of the Shirvān-shāh named خرش. The original extent of the Lakz territory is uncertain but they appear as the immediate neighbours of the Layzān (*v.s.*). According to Abul-Fidā, trans. ii/2, p. 299, the Samūr river flowed across the Lakz territory and Balādhurī's passage, 207, indicates that in the region between the Samūr and Belbela rivers the Lakz originally occupied even the plains. The name Lak-z as shown by Marquart, *ZDMG*, 49, p. 666, is formed with the Iranian suffix of origin -z and the stem of the name is **Lak*. This is now the appellation of the Daghestanian Qazi-Qumuqs (Arab. غميق), living on the eastern branch of the Qoy-su. The linguistic evidence shows that the Lak once occupied a much larger area (Prince N. S. Trubetskoy's lecture at the School of Oriental Studies, 21.iii.1934), but the connexion of the Lakz with the present-day Lak is still uncertain. By metathesis *Lakz* became *Lazg*, which form was further used by Persians with the addition of the usual suffix of origin *Lazg-i* (in Russian *Lezg-in*, with the Russian "singulative" suffix -in). This later Perso-Turkish term came to denote indiscriminately all the Daghestanian mountaineers, but more especially those of the southern part of Daghestan, cf. Barthold, *Dāghestān* in *EI*. See Map xi.

On سور vocalized *Suwar* in I.Kh., 124, nothing is known and de Goeje's annotation: "سوار vulgo سور" (cf. § 51) remains on his responsibility. As a guess one might connect the name *Swr* (**Sawir*?) with that of the people *Sabir* who were defeated by the Avars in A.D. 461; a part of them was settled by the Romans south of the Kur. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 83, pretends that the "Turkish" name of the Khazar was سیر (يسر).¹ [*V.s.*, p. 401.]

المسقط (cf. also § 49, 3.) vocalized in I.Kh. *al-Masqat* most probably must be read **Masqut*.² Marquart, *Kulturanalekten* in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ix/1, 1929, p. 78, quotes as its parallels Armenian *Mazk'ut'k'*, *Maskut'*, &c., and ingeniously takes the present-day *Mushkur* for a later avatar of the old

¹ The *Swār* and *Swur* whom the Khazar king mentions in the list of his neighbours, Kokovtsov, 98, do not seem

to be connected with Daghestān.

² Cf. a mountain south of Ganja called *Maskhut* on Russian maps.

name (the passage $t > \delta > r$ is characteristic for the Iranian Tātī dialects, *v.s.*, note to § 36, 36.). The Mushkur district is situated south of the Samūr river, between the southern branch of the latter, Yalama, and the river Belbela, see Butkov, *Nov. istor. Kavkaza*, i, 94, cf. Abul-Fidā, transl. ii/2, p. 229. In Balādhurī's time (p. 196) Masqut had already ceased to exist as a kingdom.

4. These names [omitted in Gardīzī] occur in the following writers (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 173, and *v.s.*, p. 445):

I.R., 139.	Ṭūlās	Lūgh.r
Bakrī	اين	اوغونه
'Aufī	Ṭūlās	Kūgh.r
Shukrullāh	Ṭūlās	K.rgh.ra

The earliest and clearest text on these peoples is found in I.R., 139, who says that "on one side" the Khazar lands adjoin "a huge mountain at the farthest end of which (*fī aqṣāhu*) live the Ṭūlās and Lūgh.r and which stretches to the land of Tiflīs". To Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 31, 164–76, is due the ingenious explanation of the two names. He interprets Ṭūlās as *Ṭūl-Ās in which Ās represents the well-known alternative name of the Alāns: old Russian *Yas*; Georgian *Ous-i* and, with the suffix denoting the country *Ous-et'i* > modern Russian *Oset-in*. In Muslim literature Ās replaces *Alān* (§ 48) in Mongol times, cf. Juwaynī, *GMS*, i, 214, 222: آس; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 448: آس. Bakrī's اين could then be easily improved into اس, and, as a compound, Ṭūl-Ās would be paralleled by the name of the principal clan of the Alān as given by I.R., 148: دحساس *D.ḥs-Ās*.¹

The second name اوغز, cf. Bakrī's اوغونه, is restored by Marquart as اوغز/اوغز *Aughaz*, i.e. Abkhaz, Arabic ابخاز, Greek *Αβασγοί*, [Contarini, ed. *Hakluyt Society*, p. 144: *Avogasia*]. This people occupies, on the Black Sea coast, the south-westernmost slopes of the Caucasian range, which quite well suits I.R.'s mention of the "farthest end of the mountain" and Bakrī's, p. 45, clear indication that the people in question lived "below that mountain on the sea-coast". In the tenth century all the western Georgians (of the Rion basin) were usually called Abkhaz after the dynasty which ruled them. Mas'ūdī, ii, 65, seems to distinguish between the جرجان (Eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz, whereas our author quotes Eastern Georgian lands under Armenia but extends (§ 3, 6.) the name *Gurz* (Western Georgians) even to the Black Sea. Therefore, following our text اوغز* < اوغز would refer only to the real Abkhaz.²

¹ It is indeed possible that the name of one of the clans was substituted to that of the *Alān* in general. Abul-Fidā, p. 203, who wrote at the epoch when the terminology was changing, says that the Ās are a Turkish (?) people living near the Alān, being of the same origin as the latter (!) and professing the same religion. [*V.i.*, p. 481, 3.]

² 'Aufī and Shukrullāh consider the Ṭūlās and Kūgh.r (K.rgh.ra) as "two kinds of Turks" [cf. also Abul Fidā, quoted above in note 1]. The term *Turk* is here applied in a loose sense: not only the Magyars but the Rūs as well were considered Turks by Muslim writers. اسطولاس could even have been mistaken for اسطولس (*v.s.*, notes to § 14).

So far, so good, but Marquart in his *Streifzüge*, 173, 495, overreached the goal by further identifying the *Ṭulās* and **Aughaz* respectively with the *N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt* mentioned in Gardīzī. This part of his theory is undoubtedly wrong and Marquart himself later hinted at the proper explanation of the term *N.nd.r* (see §§ 46 and 53).¹

Summing up the situation, we should:

(1.) distinguish between the two pairs of peoples (see notes to §§ 42 and 53);

(2.) locate the *Ṭulās* and *Lūgh.r* in the western Caucasus;

(3.) provisionally maintain the first part of Marquart's hypothesis: *Ṭulās* = some tribe of *Ās*, and *Lūgh.r* = Abkhaz.

Our additional remarks will be as follows:

(4.) I.R., 139, only says that at the farthest end of the mountain near which lay the Khazar land, lived the *Ṭulās* and *Lūgh.r*, whereas our author makes of the latter "two districts of the Khazar". It is true that in the seventh century the Khazars penetrated down to Tiflis through the central Caucasian pass but the western Caucasus was hardly ever under Khazar sway. Our author's mistake may be somehow connected with the frequent confusion of *خر* *Khazar* with *جرز* *Jurz* "Georgians". I.R.'s detail on the mountains "stretching to the land (*bilād*) of Tiflis" is perhaps a hint of some mention of the *Jurz* in the original source.

(5.) The first element of *Ṭul-Ās* is confronted by Marquart, *ibid.*, 172, with the name of the Alan prince *Dula*, known from Magyar sources.² It is much simpler, however, to identify it with the Osset *Tual-tā*, i.e. the *Tual*, or Southern Ossets, in Georgian *Dvali*, who on the map annexed to Brosset's edition of Prince Vakhusht's *Geography*, St. Petersburg 1842, are shown (1) north of the Caucasian range on the upper course of the Ardon which is the left tributary of the Terek, and (2) in the upper valley of the Great Liakhvi which, south of the range, flows into the Kur. The *Tuals* living in the heart of the Caucasus would very well suit the requirement of our case including the remark on the warlike character of the people. The name *طولاس* would then be read **Tuwal-Ās*.³ See Additional Note to § 48.

(6.) As regards Bakrī's report on the *ابن* and *اوغونه*, here is a com-

¹ However, it remains possible that a similar confusion of the two pairs of names had already occurred in Muslim authors themselves and there may lie the explanation of some puzzling characteristics of the *Mirvāt* in our author and Gardīzī (*v.s.*, § 46).

² Even in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, ix/1, 1929, p. 86, Marquart repeats: "ich bin . . . nach wie vor der Ansicht, dass jener Name [*Dula*] mit dem des Stammes *Ṭul-ās* zusammenhängt."

³ There exists a Georgian family *Tulasdze* but I am unable to ascertain their origins. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/2, p. 151, mentions a locality *T'ula* which does not seem to be connected with the Ossets. In any case, the attested Georgian form of the name *Tual* is *Dval-i* (from which the family name of *Dvalishvili* is derived). [The imaginary name *دوالی* which Nizāmī in his *Iskandar-nāma* gives to the Abkhāz king may reproduce *Dvali*.]

parative table of the relevant passages in I.R.'s and Bakrī's chapters on the Khazars:

I.R.	Bakrī
Description of the road from the Pechenegs to the Khazars.	<i>ditto</i>
"The Khazar country is a vast land one of whose sides adjoins a huge mountain"	<i>ditto</i>
"and this is the mountain at the farthest end of which live the Ṭūlās and Lūgh.r"	left out, <i>v.i.</i>
"and this mountain stretches to the lands of Tiflīs"	"then [you go <i>tasīru</i>] to the lands of Tiflīs, the latter (Tiflīs) being the beginning of the frontier of Armenia"

Instead of the sentence on the two peoples left out in the chapter on the Khazars, Bakrī, in the chapter on the Majgharī, says: "a frontier of their country adjoins the Rūm country whereas another frontier of theirs, on the steppe side, adjoins a mountain inhabited by the people called *ابن* who possess horses, cattle, and fields; under that mountain on the sea-coast lives the people called *Aughūna*; they are Christians and are conterminous with the Islamic lands belonging to *the country of Tiflīs which is the beginning of the frontier of Armenia*.¹ This mountain continues down to Bāb al-abwāb and joins the Khazar country."

Bakrī's information on the one hand contains some independent traits and on the other reflects his own arrangement of the principal source. The description in I.R. moves from east to west (the Pechenegs [in their Ural seats], the Khazars, the mountain stretching to Tiflīs, the peoples at its farther end). Bakrī proceeds in an opposite direction (the Majgharī [in some of their seats on the Black Sea coast], the [Caucasian] mountains, the **Ās* and *Aughūna*, then Tiflīs, Bāb al-abwāb, and the Khazar). The form of Bakrī's names is peculiar. If *لوغر* < *اوغر** for *اوغريه* < *اوغونه* is due to the general use of forms in *-iya* (*Bajānākiya*, *Majghariya*), *ابن* presents more difficulty. Marquart, *o.c.*, 167, restored it as **أس* *Ās* which is a later appellation of the Alān (§ 48), the latter name not appearing in the known fragments of Bakrī. Although the forms **D.khs-Ās* and *Ṭwl-Ās* occur already in I. Rusta as the names of special tribes, the pure form *Ās* as referring to the Alāns in general appears only in Mongol times. Moreover Bakrī's description of the *ابن* lacks the characteristic features of the Alān. Even the combination of *ابن* with the **Aughaziya* suggests that Bakrī has in view the particular clan corresponding to *Ṭwlās*.² The disclosure of the identity of Bakrī's *ابن* (*i.e.* whether it stands for Alān or *Ṭwlās*) is important

¹ The passage in italics is a repetition of what had been said under the Khazar.

² As the separation from the name *Ṭwlās* of the basic element *Ās* is not at all an obvious matter we are perhaps

entitled to suppose that Bakrī has been inspired by some later source. Under *Pecheneg* he quotes the evidence of Muslim captives in Constantinople for the events after A.D. 1009.

for in the former case Bakrī possessed some more detailed knowledge of the early Magyar seats near the Caucasus than is found in the more complete text of the earlier I. Rusta. In the second eventuality the vicinity of the Magyars to the ابن must be merely a guess on Bakrī's part.

This author's information on the Magyars [who over a century before had settled beyond the Carpathians] is certainly traditional and derived from the same source as that utilized by I.R., Gardīzī, and 'Aufī. This group of authors definitely says that the Magyar country reaches down to the Rūm sea (*baḥr, daryā*) instead of which Bakrī mentions "Rūm country" (*bilād al-Rūm*), thus considerably modifying the situation. This procedure does not give us much confidence as to the eastern frontier of the Magyars with regard to which Bakrī quotes a detail not found in I.R., H.-'A., Gardīzī, or 'Aufī. We must remember that according to I.R., 143¹, the Khazars "some time ago" entrenched themselves against the Magyars and other peoples (*yuqālu anna-'l-Khazar fimā taqaddama kānat qad khandaqat 'alā nafsi-hā ittiqā'a 'l-Majghariya wa ghayrihim min al-umam al-mutākhlima li-bilādihim*). Assuming then that the Magyars were the neighbours of the Khazars, Bakrī could logically infer that, more precisely, they bordered on the peoples who were said to live at the westernmost limit of the mountain mentioned on the confines of the Khazars. Such then may be an explanation of Bakrī's mysterious passage.

This hypothesis may be objected to on the ground that according to our § 47 the Khazarian Pechenegs neighboured in the south on the Alān and a similar view is suggested by Mas'ūdī's embroiled passage on the *W.l.nd.riya* (*v.i.* § 53). Both indications are supported by the well-known passage in Const. Porph., ed. Bonn, p. 166, according to which the Pechenegs lived at 6 days' distance from the Alāns. As the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from their Lebedia seats it could have been inferred that the latter as well had bordered on the Alāns. However, the fact is that Muslim authors knew nothing of what we ourselves, thanks to Const. Porph., know about the events, cf. Iṣṭ., 10, and our § 47. Therefore a retrospective conclusion is highly improbable for a Muslim author. Only the arrival of the Pechenegs seems to have cleared up for Muslims the situation near the Azov sea but for Bakrī the Pechenegs were still in the north and, living a century later than I. Rusta and depending on the same source as I.R., he could hardly have improved on the latter's data. Therefore I am inclined to maintain the view that (a) Bakrī's ابن refers not to the Alāns as a whole but to the little-known tribe of Ṭwlās, and (b) that the idea that the Magyars and ابن were neighbours is a result of Bakrī's personal surmise. As a matter of fact even at the time when the Magyars lived near the Caucasus the Ṭwlās mountaineers must have been separated from them by the other Alān tribes living in the plains. [Cf. p. 458, l. 18? .]

(7.) During his expedition to the north-eastern Caucasus Timur operated against the قلعة کولا و طازس, see *Zafar-nāma*, i, 766, 788. Further *Kūlā* and

¹ Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 28, connects Khazar fortress of Sarkel (on the Don) this report with the construction of the after A.D. 833.

Ṭā'ūs appear as the names of two local chiefs,¹ though they may represent hereditary titles. The fortress of Ṭā'ūs which was particularly strong, lay at the third range of mountains counting from the north, probably near the sources of the Terek and the Kuban for, immediately after, Timur marched to *Balqān* (*Balqar*? at the sources of the Terek). Both the name طائوس, which could be easily restored as *طولاس*, and the geographical details make it possible to see in our passage an echo of the tenth-century terminology. [Hājji-Khalifa, p. 402, repeats the statement of the *Z.-nāma*.]

§ 51. [The Bulkār.]

Frähn, *Drei Münzen* and *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen*, 1832 (still valuable); Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta* [**Rusta*], 80-101; Barthold, *Bulghār* in *EI* (in great detail); R. Vasmer, *Über die Münzen der Wolga-Bulgaren*, in *Wiener Numism. Zeitschrift*, 57 (1924), pp. 63-84 (instead of بارمان read on some coins Vasmer restores the well-known title of the Bulghār kings بطوار); Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 365-77.

There are two gross misunderstandings in the present chapter.

Its title "Burtās" is entirely wrong (cf. also § 20). *Burtās* is only another form of **Burdās* (see § 52), whereas here the Volga Bulghārs² are described, i.e. the northern colony of the people from which the Danube Bulgars had separated. The language of the Volga Bulghārs of which we possess only a few specimens in the late funeral inscriptions was probably related to the present-day Chuvash (a special and very aberrant member of the Turkish family). The Danube Bulgars had, at an early date, adopted a Slav language, but some expression in the original Bulghar language are found in the inscriptions, as well as in a Slavonic chronicle discovered by A. N. Popov in 1866. They are still the subject of much speculation, see J. J. Mikkola, *Die Chronologie d. türkischen Donaubulgaren*, in *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx (1918), fasc. 33, pp. 1-24 (with a survey of the former tentatives of decipherment). Perhaps the strongest argument for the Chuvash language being a remnant of the old Bulghar is the great number of loan-words in Hungarian which have a striking resemblance to the Chuvash ('bull' is *ökör* in Magyar and *wākār* in Chuvash) as well as the enormous number of Chuvash cultural words in the languages of their Finnish neighbours of the Volga basin, see N. Poppe, *Chuvashi i yikh sosedi*, Cheboksari, 1927. The present-day Chuvash are of course only a poor and small fraction of the old Bulgars who for the most part have been turkicized. This latter part of the old Bulgars probably can be traced in the so-called "Volga Tartars".

The outstanding authority on the Volga peoples is Ibn Faḍlān, who in 309-10/921-2 took part in the embassy sent by the caliph Muqtadir to the

¹ Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 45, mentions an Ās chief executed by Ögedey: قاجراوكوله (note the final كوله).

² As Barthold has pointed out, the Bulghār and Burtās are also confused in Yāqūt, i, 567.

Bulghār khāqān in view of the latter's desire to be advised on religious matters.

The present chapter is a poor abstract chiefly of Iṣṭ. The details on the special language and the number of the Bulghārs and their towns remind one of this latter author who, p. 225, says that the Bulghār language has a resemblance to the 'Khazar language (the latter, p. 222, being an idiom apart), and that in the towns of Bulghār and Suvār there are some 10,000 men (*nās*). Gardīzī, 97, gives an entirely different number (500,000 *ahl-i bayt*). The names of the three tribes have the following close parallels:

<i>H.-'Ā.</i>	Ibn Rusta	Gardīzī
<i>B.hdūlā</i>	<i>B.rṣūlā</i>	<i>B.rṣūlā</i>
<i>Ishkil (?)</i>	<i>Isghil (?)</i>	<i>Iskil (?)</i> ¹
<i>B.lkār</i>	<i>B.lkār</i>	<i>B.lkār</i>

The form of the latter name points to the Persian (?) origin of the basic source: بلکار **Bulgār*. The name *B.rṣūlā* (**B.rchūlā*) is known in two places: since the fifth–sixth century A.D. the Byzantine and other Christian authors mention Βαρσγίλτ, Βερζυλία, &c., in the north-eastern Caucasus whereas Muslim authors (tenth century) speak of the **Barchūla* off the middle Volga. According to Marquart this tribe of unknown origin was turkicized by the Huns, see *Die Chronol. d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 87–93, *Streifzüge*, pp. 490–1, and *Arktische Länder*, p. 328. The name seems to have found an echo even in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv, 70, where Afrāsiyāb is accompanied by his grandsons ایلا استقلا (cf. the name of the river *Ili* < *Ilā*) and برزویلا *Barzuvilā* (the *Mujmal al-tawārikh* gives: *B.rzīlā*). Justi's Iranian etymology in *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 74, is certainly inadequate. Idrīsī, ii, 398, mentions on the Dniepr a place برزوله which lay at one day's journey upstream from Pereyaslav (برزلاو), i.e. in the neighbourhood of Kiev. More to the south from this point a station *Birzula* exists on the Kiev-Odessa railway.

The king *M.s* in Ibn Faḍlān's original *risāla* is called بطوار المثنى بن شلکى **Almush* and this name resembles the name *Almus* which was borne by the father of Arpád, founder of the first Magyar dynasty, Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, 91, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 497. Our author dropped *al* which he evidently took for the Arabic article. *Blṭwār* must be perhaps restored as بطوار **Yiltuvar* or *Yiltüver* in view of the Hunnic (= Turkish) title *Alp-Ilutver* found in Moses Kalankatvats'i, Part ii, chap. 41, Patkanov's transl., p. 198. [Marquart: البطوار **Alp-ilätvār* ?.]

The second error in our text is that the description of the two Bulghār towns is inserted out of place between § 53 and 54. The ruins of Bulghār (cf. § 6, 43.) are situated near the village Bolgarskoye, or Uspenskoye, in the Spassk district, 115 Km. south of Kazan and at 7 Km. from the left bank of the Volga. Suvār lay on the river Utka near the present village Kuznechikha, cf. Barthold, *Bulghār* in *EI*.² See Map xii.

¹ Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, 97, compares this name with that of the Transylvanian *Szekler* (?). [Cf. *supra* p. 320, line 2.]

² Smolin, *Po razval. drevn. Bulgara*, Kazan, 1926.

§ 52. *Burādhās* (?).

Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta*, pp. 71–80; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 311 (on Mongol times); I. N. Smirnov, *Les Populations finnoises*, i/2: *les Mordves*, traduit par P. Boyer, Paris 1898; A. V. Markov, *Russo-Mordvan relations in history* (in Russian), Tiflis 1914 (in annex Toumansky's translation of our § 52); Barthold, *Burṭās* in *EI*; *Finno-Ugorskiy sbornik*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1926. See Map xii.

Although according to Persian phonetics ذ in براداس is consistent with an intervocalic position, the first ا appears superfluous in view of برداس, in I.R., 140, and Gardizī, and فرداس in Bakrī. All these spellings point to a special tradition to which also belongs the form بلکار (§ 51) instead of بلغار. The usual Arabic transcription of the name is برطاس which is found in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 14, Iṣṭ., I.H., as well as in our source (rightly [?] in the chapter on the rivers, § 6, 43., but wrongly in § 51). The form Burṭās is confirmed both by Russian chronicles (under A.D. 1380) and official documents (seventeenth century), as well as by the still extant names of places in the region to the south of the middle course of the Volga. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, p. 277, explains Burṭās from old Iranian *mrtāsa "man-eater".¹ On the other hand A. V. Markov confronts the name with the Finnish word meaning bridge (*puurdas*, *pordas*, *purte*, &c., which also is of Iranian origin, cf. Avestan *parətu*, Kurdish *purd*) and Bakrī's alternate spelling *Furdās* would be in favour of the original form **Purdas* if only we could believe in the independent character of Bakrī's form which may be due to a mere mis-spelling, cf. *supra*, pp. 458–9.

I. Rusta, 140, places the Burdās between the Khazar and Bulkār at 15 days from the former and at 3 days from the latter and adds that their territory was 17 days by 17 days (*ibid.*, 141). Iṣṭ., 227, reckons 20 days from the Khazar capital to the Burṭās boundary, adding that the Burṭās country was 15 days long. In the description of the Volga Iṣṭ., 222, says that after its bend to the east (read: *south-east*) it "flows past the Rūs, then Bulghār, then Burṭās".² Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 14, in a confused passage speaks of a Burṭās river which from the upper regions flows into the river on which the Khazar capital stands (*nahrūn fauq al-madīna yaṣibbu ilā nahri-hā min a'ālī-hā yuqālu la-hā Burṭās*). This river could be taken either for the upper course of the Volga itself, or the Don (supposing that it was considered as an affluent of the Volga, cf. § 3, 8.), or the Oka, but in the *Tanbih*, 62, Mas'ūdī aggravates his statement by saying that "into the Khazar river . . . flows the Burṭās river. The Burṭās are a great nation of Turks [?] living between the lands of Khuwārizm [?] and the Khazar king-

¹ Already Tomaschek, *Kritik d. ältesten Nachrichten über d. skytischen Norden*, in *Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.*, 1889, t. 107, pp. 7–16, suggested an identification of the Herodotian Ἀνδροφάγοι with the Mordva whose name he compared

with the old Persian μαρτιχώρας commented in Greek as ἀνδροφάγος.

² A rigorous interpretation of this text would indicate that Burṭās lay downstream from Bulghār (both these names in Iṣṭ., 222, stand without article).

dom and depending on the Khazar. This [?] river is navigated by large vessels (carrying) various merchandise from the Khuwārizm lands and other places. From the Burṭās (country) are exported black foxes which are the best of furs, &c.” The passage must be full of confusion. No other authority mentions the Burṭās in the direction of Khwārazm and such a position in the steppes would entirely contradict the possibility of export of furs. As regards the river the text seems to refer simply to the Volga. No waterway [except the Yayiq?] could be utilized for trade from Khwārazm to the Khazar country and, judging by Iṣṭ.’s indications, one would think that by some mistake Mas’ūdī has substituted *Khuwārizm* for **Bulghār*. Of all the sources the *H.-’Ā.* (§ 52) most positively locates the Burādhās to the west of the Ātil river (§ 6, 43. which simply follows Iṣṭ., 222, is less clear).

The fact that the Pechenegs are mentioned as the northern neighbours of the Burādhās suggests that the Pechenegs occupied some territory on the right bank of the Volga between the Burādhās and Rūs. I.R., 140, Bakrī, 44, and Gardīzī, 96, say only that struggles were going on between the Burṭās and the Pechenegs and, moreover, speak of the Pechenegs as neighbours of the Slavs.¹ On the western neighbours of the Burṭās cf. notes to § 53 and diagram on p. 440.

Generally speaking our chapter on the Burādhās drastically abridges the source used by I. Rusta and Gardīzī and omits many details. The item about the two kings seems to be a misunderstanding. I. Rusta says that the Burdās have no chief (*ra’īs*) but “in every community of theirs (*maḥalla*) there is an elder (*shaykh*), or two (*shaykhayn*) to whom they have recourse in the matters which happen to them” (ditto in Gardīzī). The religion is described as in I.R. and Gardīzī, and the burning of the dead as in I.R.²

Since Frāhn’s time the Burṭās have been usually identified with the Finnish Mordva who, as long as we have known them, have lived between the Oka and Volga. Their remnants (since 20.xii.1934 organized into an autonomous republic with the centre at Saransk) are still found in the same region. Two tribes compose the Mordva people: the *Moksha* in the basin of the Moksha river which flows to the Oka from the east and of which the southernmost head-water is still called Burtas, and the *Erz’a* in the basin of the Sura which flows to the Volga to the east of the Oka.³

Rubruquis who travelled in A.D. 1253 writes, ed. Paris 1839, pp. 251-2: “Ad aquilonem [from the Don region] sunt silve (*sic*) maxime quas habitant duo genera hominum: *Moxel*, scilicet quī sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Civitatem non habent. Habundant apud eos porci, mel et cera, pelles preciose et falcones. Post istos sunt alii qui dicuntur *Merdas* quos Latini vocant *Merdinis* et sunt Saraceni. Post istos est Etilia [Volga].” The des-

¹ This latter fact, as bearing on the location of the Pechenegs, already attracted Marquart’s attention in *Komanen*, 98.

² Several tombs of the L’ada mound situated in the Mordva region (on the

Saratov-Tambov railway) show traces of cremation of the dead, see I. N. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 249-50.

³ Location rough. The emigration of the Mordva to the east of the Volga dates only from the 17th-18th century.

cription proceeds west to east: *Moxel* stands for *Mokša-ley* (many Mordvan names are composed with *ley* "river"). The *Merdini* (*Mordvini*) are evidently the eastern Erz'a but the difficult point is the name *Merdas* which Rubruquis applies to the latter. Is it a deformation of *Mordva*, or of *Burtas*? In the latter case the term *Merdas* (< *Burtas*?) would be applied to a region outside the basin to which the river presently called Burtas belongs. It is more probable that *Merdas* is meant to be a form of *Mordva*, which name down to the sixteenth century referred only to the Erz'a. Markov to whom we owe this latter remark says in conclusion, *o.c.*, 19, that the names *Burtas* (tenth century), *Meščera* (eleventh century), and *Moxel* (thirteenth century) equally refer to the eastern-Finnish ancestors¹ of the present-day Moksha occupying the Moksha basin (inclusive of the rivers Tsna and Burtas). [The mention of the *Meščera* is doubtful.]

The identification *Burtas* = *Mordva* (or better *Moksha*) still meets with some opposition. I. N. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 271, gave expression to the following views: "1. que les Burtas sont un peuple différent des Mordves; 2. que jusqu'au X^e siècle au moins ils ont occupé la rive gauche de la Volga; 3. qu'au XVI^e siècle ils occupent la rive droite de ce même fleuve, tout près des Mordves." He thinks then, *ibid.*, 270, that "les Burtas seraient des Tchouvaches ou du moins de très proches parents des Tchouvaches". This theory, so far as Arabic sources go, attaches too much importance to the passage from the *Tanbīh* (*v.s.*), and on the other hand forgets that according to Išt., 225, the language of the Bulghār (of which Chuvash is at present considered to be a survival) was different from that of the Burṭās. However, even lately Prof. M. Vasmer kindly wrote to me (Berlin, 7.xi.32) that the Burṭās must be distinguished from the Mordva, and that, judging by the toponymy of the Volga region, they formerly lived to the north of the Mordva. He finally adds that such was also the view of the late Prof. A. A. Shakhmatov ("ich hatte den Eindruck, dass auch er bereit war, die Burtas von den Mordven zu trennen"). I must confess that I do not quite see the point of the argument about the toponymy, for the Burtas river flowing into the Tsna is the southernmost source of the Moksha river; of the other names quoted in Smirnov, *o.c.*, 266-70, the *Burtas* of Kadom and the village of *Burtasi* of Krasnoslobodsk both belong to the Moksha basin. Therefore, as regards the tenth-century Burṭās,² I think that their identity with the Moksha is to be retained. The Arab sources may reflect a temporary supremacy of that particular clan, or it may be that the latter first came under the notice of Muslim travellers. It is only natural that the numerous and sturdy Mordva people (even now, after long series of invasions and struggles, counting over 1 million representatives) could not fail to be mentioned by the Arabs. The details on the forests (I.R., 140;

¹ And as a corollary the identification of Išt.'s ٭𐰽𐰸 (*v.s.*, § 44, 3.) with *Erz'a* would become impossible.

² In later times (after the 13th century) there may have been some move-

ments of the population obscuring the situation. In the seventeenth century some "Burtas" are called "Tatar", *i.e.* *Muslims* (?), cf. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 266.

wa hum fī mashājir),¹ the honey, and the Burtāsī furs suit the Mordva quite well. The travellers like Rubruquis and Herberstein quite particularly insist on these details.² The freedom enjoyed by the Burtās women (I.R. and Gardizī) in the choice of their lovers can be traced down to recent times in the habits of the Mordva, cf. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 337, who speaks of the "liberté des mœurs des garçons et des filles".

§ 53. V.n.nd.r.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, passim; Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, v.s., § 22.

The natural sequence of the three closely connected chapters would be: § 22 (Majgharī), § 53 (V.n.nd.r), § 46 (Mirvāt). The subject is of considerable difficulty and the following points must be examined:

The seats of the V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r.

Harkavi's and Marquart's views

The Onogundur.

The source of the H.-'Ā. and Gardizī.

W.l.nd.r in Mas'ūdī.

W.n.nt.r in the Khazar king's letter.

THE SEATS OF THE V.N.ND.R. Our peoples V.n.nd.r (§ 53) and Mirvāt (§ 46) have direct parallels only in Gardizī's N.nd.r and M.rdāt. In both the H.-'Ā. and Gardizī the V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r are the immediate neighbours of the Majgharī though the latter's habitat is conceived differently: our author places them near the Urals, whereas Gardizī describes the Southern Magyars as living in the region of great rivers in the north-western corner of the Black Sea. Gardizī's views on the Magyar territory are supported not only by I.R. and Bakrī but by the consensus of Byzantine and Western European sources as well. Therefore in discussing the location of the V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r territory contiguous on that of the Majgharī we have to depend chiefly on Gardizī and disregard our author's theoretical constructions.³ Such is the conclusion arrived at after a long series of attempts to co-ordinate our data with those of Gardizī until it became evident that our author's starting-point was based on an error.

According to Gardizī the N.nd.r lived between the river separating them from the Majgharī and the mountain from which another river flowed down and behind which lived the M.rdāt. The reading of the Oxford MS. according to which the mountain stood *above* the N.nd.r. would suggest

¹ The *kh.l.nj* (*kh.l.ng*) trees abounding in the Burtās forests, I.R., 141, have been compared by Chwolson with Mordvan *kileng* "birch" (the Chuvash form for "birch" *khorin* does not resemble the Arabic word).

² The only puzzling detail is that

according to I.R. the Burtās possessed camels and cows.

³ Gardizī simply describes the facts and our author forces them into a geographical scheme. His error arises the moment that he tries to dispose his materials in map form.

that it stretched in a northern direction. The river from the eastern (or northern) bank of which the Majgharī could see the N.nd.r on the opposite bank is most probably the Danube, or alternatively its northern affluent Sereth mentioned in Const. Porph.'s description of Atelkuzu (*v.s.*, § 22). Consequently the N.nd.r lived *west* of the last mentioned river, or *south* of the Danube, with the Transylvanian Carpathians standing "above" them. Gardīzī adds that the N.nd.r lived in the direction (*bar janb* "on the side") of the Saqlāb. As stated in § 43 the latter term may refer to the western Slavs (or even to the Macedonian Slavs, § 42, 17.).

Our author, in spite of his cartographical error, preserves the original disposition of the peoples with regard to one another, but this goes only as far as the original triad Majgharī-V.n.nd.r-Mirvāt is concerned. In § 46, north [east?] of the Mirvāt are named "*some of the Inner Bulghār* and [!] the V.n.nd.r mountains". As the Inner Bulghār belong definitely to the Iṣṭ. < Balkhī tradition which does not know the V.n.nd.r, this combination may be disregarded as the author's own guess. See diagram on p. 440.

HARKAVI'S AND MARQUART'S VIEWS. In the Hebrew document quoted below Harkavi, as early as 1875, explained the name *V.n.nt.r* by that of the Bulgarian *Ὀὐνογοννδοῦροι* but it was a long time before the parallel names in *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī became known.¹ When Marquart first studied Gardīzī's passage, *Streifzüge*, 172, he was led astray by the fact that Bakrī also mentions a pair of the Majgharī's neighbours. Having very ingeniously located the latter in the western Caucasus Marquart was less happily inspired in identifying them with the two peoples found in Gardīzī. He overlooked the fact that Bakrī (see notes to § 50, 4.) speaks of their *south-eastern* neighbours, while Gardīzī has in view the later Atelkuzu territory and its *south-western* neighbours. The identification of Gardīzī's نندَر and مردات with Bakrī's اوغونه and ايسين has often been taken for granted, but after the publication of the *H.-'Ā.*, where the two series of names are separated, no place for doubt could remain as to its inconsistency.² Twenty-three years after the publication of the *Streifzüge*, Marquart dropped *en passant* a hint for a new identification of the V.n.nd.r with a promise to develop the subject. His sudden demise (4.ii.1930) prevented him from carrying out this intention and his note buried, as if intentionally, at an unexpected place does not seem to have attracted the notice which it merits. In his *Arktische Länder* (1924) Marquart, among other things, studies the disappearance of the sound *γ* in old Bulgarian and Turkish and gives as an example the name of the Turcoman tribe *Salur* < *Salghur*. As another instance of the same phenomenon he quotes (p. 275) "den bulgarischen Hordennamen *Ὀὐνογοννδοῦροι* (Nikephoros); النندر *Ulughundur* (Ibn al-Kalbī, † um 820, bei Jāqūt); *Olxontor* (Anania

¹ In his translation of § 52 (in annex to Markov's work) Toumansky illustrates V.n.nd.r by ولندر* found in Ibn al-Athīr, i, 243 (< Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 58-64). On other similar hints cf. now

Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, 92.

² Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 43. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 172, 517, knew only a stray quotation from the *H.-'Ā* through Westberg's *Beiträge*, p. 215.

Širakac'i, VII. Jahrh.) > *W(u)l(u)ndur Bulkar* (Ps. Moses Chorenac'i, letztes Drittel des IX. Jahrh.), *Wunundur* (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, Ende des X. Jahrh.), bereits mit prothetischem *w* vor labialem Vokal, wie im Čuwaschischen; وندر *Wulundur* (al-Mas'ūdī, 943-4 n. Chr.) = magy. *Nándor Fejérvár* = Belgrad."

The exact references of this cryptic passage are: Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani *Opuscula*, ed. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p. 24; Yāqūt, iii, 404: Japhet's sons: Yūnān, al-Šaqlab, البدر (*sic*),¹ Burjān, Jurzān, Fārs, Rūm; *Géographie de Moïse de Corène* [attributed sometimes to A. Shirakats'i], ed. by Soukry, Venice 1881, p. 25, transl. p. 34 (Marquart's translation in *Streifzüge*, 57); Moses of Khoren, *History*, book ii, ch. 6. The reference to the *H.-'Ā.* evidently hails from Westberg's *Beiträge*. Mas'ūdī mentions وندر, both in the *Murūj*, ii, 58-64, and in the *Tanbih*, 180, 183 (see in detail *Streifzüge*, 60-74).

Marquart thinks that *Onoghundur* belongs to the type of names formed with the Turkish suffix *-dur* (*Bayandur*, *Mongoldur*). The forms attested in the sources would then suggest for our *V.n.nd.r* the reading **Vunundur*. [Gardīzī's *N.nd.r* can hardly be compared directly with the Magyar form *Nándor*; most probably the initial *v* taken for the conjunction *va* was dropped by the scribe in the same way as we find in our text *Khān* instead of *Vakhān*, cf. also Mas'ūdī's وندر, with initial *w*.]

THE ONOGHUNDUR. The people called Onoghundur were a Bulgarian tribe (cf. § 51) which "from the sixties of the fifth century down to the end of the seventh century" lived north of the Caucasus, to the east of the Azov sea in the Kuban region. Their great ruler Kobrať (*Κοβράτης*) organized them into a powerful state but after his death (*circa* A.D. 642) the advance of the Khazars split the Bulgar kingdom; a part of the tribes under Bayan (said to be Kobrať's son) remained in their former seats as Khazar subjects, whereas another of Kobrať's sons Asparukh travelled westwards and after having crossed the Danube (A.D. 679) conquered the territory of the present Bulgaria. Const. Porph., *De thematibus*, p. 48, says that since that time the name of the *Bulgar* has become known for "previously they were called 'Ονογουνδουροι".² The centre of Asparukh's kingdom was in the strong locality "Ογλον surrounded on one side by marshes and on the other by very high rocks. Jireček, *Geschichte d. Bulgaren*, 1876, p. 129, read the name "Ογγλον < Slavonic *oglü* "angle, corner" and identified it with the southern part of Bessarabia known under the Turkish name *Bujaq* which also means "corner". [However the situation of "Ογλον better suits some place in Dobruja.]

Considerably later, in the second half of the ninth century, the Onoghundurs who had stayed in the old seats and became mixed with the Magyars³

¹ Not in the general index of Wüstenfeld's edition.

² Marquart, *Chronologie*, pp. 89-96, *Streifzüge*, pp. 126, 505; Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire*, 1889,

ii, 333; Moravcsik, *o.c.*, pp. 65, 71-2, 89.

³ The name *Onoghundur* (*Onoghur*, &c.) may be responsible for the western designation of the Magyars as *Hungar*-.

began their westward trek which finally brought them into the present-day Hungary, cf. Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 89.

THE SOURCE OF THE *H.-'Ā.* AND GARDĪZĪ. If our two Muslim sources have preserved the name of the Onoghundur it remains to be seen to which of the two migrations the item can be assigned. It does not look probable that the original name of the Danubian Bulgars, not recorded in the earlier Muslim sources, should have suddenly emerged at a later time.¹ Both in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī the *V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r* appear not as an abstract symbol but as a tribe in flesh and blood. As shown in the notes to § 42, 17. our item on the "Christianized Slavs" is due to some later source of *circa* A.D. 900 when the Magyars sat in Atelkuzu and it is most likely that the additional details on the Magyars's neighbours (§§ 46 and 53) found in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī belong to the same source (Hārūn b. Yaḥyā?). If so, the special information of our two sources must refer to the second lot of Onoghundur pushed on by the Magyar migration.² Neither the *H.-'Ā.* nor Gardizī mentions any enmity between the *V.n.nd.r* and Magyars. The qualification of the *V.n.nd.r* in our source as cowards (*badh-dil*) may be due to a wrong interpretation of the word *tarsā* (which means both "Christian" and "coward").³ In Gardizī⁴ the *N.nd.r* are definitely called Christians (*tarsā*) and *Rūmī*, i.e. "Byzantine", very possibly with a reference to their religion. In the list of bishoprics dating from the middle of the eighth century a bishop of the Onoghurs (δ'Ονογούρων) is mentioned under the metropolitan of Crimean Gothia (ἐπαρχία Γοθίας), cf. Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 64. The Onoghurs in question were certainly those who still remained to the north-east of the Black Sea and therefore could be controlled from the Crimea.⁵ The rest of our author's characteristics may be only a development of his initial mistake about *tarsā*.⁶

See Munkácsi and Németh quoted by Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 81, note 3.

¹ The Khazar king's letter (*v.i.*) refers to the events of A.D. 679, but this detail may point to the literary origin of the passage.

² Unless the name *V.n.nd.r* < Onoghundur refers to some special Bulghar territory, such as the original "Ὀγλον" occupied by Asparukh?

³ Was then the original source on Eastern Europe, or the text in which it was available, in Persian? The absence of underground canals (*kārīz*) in the *M.rdāt* country, mentioned in Gardizī, could hardly strike any one except an Iranian. Cf. also the strange transcription of the name بلکار (§ 51) براداس (§ 52). These facts still await an explanation. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 59, says that dissensions among the *W.l.nd.rī* tribes arose in connexion with the

presence among them of a Muslim merchant from Ardabil. Consequently Persian traders penetrated into the southern Russian steppes and could be the source of information for their co-religionists.

⁴ [And also in our § 22.]

⁵ Were it not for the name **Vunundur* one might consider as the Magyars' neighbours the Rumanian Vlachs, see Kunik in *Izvestiya al-Bakrī*, ii, 16, and Niederle, *Manuel*, Map.

⁶ The Danube Bulgars were baptized under King Boris in A.D. 864. If indeed our data refer to them (= Burjān = Inner Bulghār = Bulgharī), their weakness in comparison with the Magyars could be explained by the fact that the latter were moving westwards and their forced energy (under the Pecheneg impact) could be mistaken for strength.

MAS'ŪDĪ'S "W.L.ND.R". An entirely independent use of the term¹ is found in Mas'ūdī's well-known report on the incursion into the Byzantine Empire of the nomads called *W.l.nd.rī* in (or after) 320/932.² In the *Murūj* (written in 332/943), i, 262, ii, 58–64, Mas'ūdī calls the invaders "Turkish peoples" and enumerates their four tribes, namely, B.jnī,³ Bajghurt (= evidently Magyar), Pecheneg (the most valiant of the four), and Nūkarda (still obscure). In the *Tanbīh*, 180, 182, Mas'ūdī refers to the incursion "of the Burghar and the Turkish tribes" and under the latter mentions the same four names. The reasons of this association of tribes are not quite apparent and it is possible that information belonging to different epochs has been telescoped in Mas'ūdī's version. As regards the date, the invasion seems to correspond best to that of the *Τοῦρκοι* (i.e. in Byzantine terminology: *Magyars*) recorded under 934! However, Mas'ūdī presents the four tribes as living in the neighbourhood of the Khazars and Alāns,⁴ which after the events of 889 (v.s., § 22) could be true only with regard to the Pechenegs. The kings of the four tribes appear as independent chiefs and only by the consent of his three colleagues is the king of the Pechenegs invested with the supreme command on the day of battle. Mas'ūdī says that the tribes were called *الندرية* "after the town of *ندرة*, situated in the extreme frontier region of the Rūm towards the east" and adds that the cavalry dispatched by the Emperor against the invaders reached this frontier post in 8 days. The exact situation of *W.l.nd.r* has been a matter of much speculation. Some scholars looked for it even in the Caucasus and in the Crimea, but Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 499–500, with some probability identified it with the fortress of *Δεβελτός* which lay in the neighbourhood of Burgas and was mentioned in the delimitation treaty of 864 concluded between the Emperor and the Bulgarian King Boris.⁵ Jireček, *o.c.*, 499, already suspected in *W.l.nd.r* a Bulgarian (non-Slavonic) name corresponding to some different official term (Debeltos?). Mas'ūdī must have got it from some oral source. Already in his innumerable "Zusätze" in *Streifzüge*, 500, Marquart wondered whether "Walandar" has not preserved the name of the "Unughundur-Bulgars" and in his *Arktische Länder* (1924) he finally adopted this point of view. The fortress, of which the name must consequently be restored as **Vulundur*, could have received this name either

¹ The form *W.l.nd.r* peculiar to Mas'ūdī results from the dissimilation *n.n>l.n*. Cf. the Armenian form *Vlāndur*.

² See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 60–74, 499–500, 527.

³ Contrary to Marquart, *o.c.*, 67, *بجنى* mentioned alongside with Pecheneg can hardly be identical with the latter. Perhaps it is only a metathesis of *جنى* *Čäpni*, as one of the Oghuz clans is called in *Kāshgharī*, i, 57; on their later history see M. F. Köprülü-zade, *Oğuz*

etnolojisiine dayır, pp. 24–7 (v.s., § 18). However, cf. *infra* the Khazar king's letter. [Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, vii, 7, among the Oghuz tribes issued from Kök-khan mentions separately *بجنى* and *چبنى*.]

⁴ Marquart, *o.c.*, 74: "verblasste Erinnerungen".

⁵ See now V. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava*, Sofia, 1927, i, 25: the frontier left Develt to the Byzantine Empire.

from some colony of Onoghundurs with whom the Greeks were in relations since the times of Kobrat, *Streifzüge*, 529, or because it was directed against the Vulundur (in Arabic one might say: '*alā thaghr al-Wulundur*'), and consequently Mas'ūdī's term **Wulunduriya* (referring to all the four, or even five different tribes), most probably has to be taken in the sense of "the coalition attacking on the *Vulundur front".¹ Whatever the explanation of the raid,² the survival of the name *Vulundur in Mas'ūdī is a firmly established fact interesting as a parallel to our *Vunundur.

THE KHAZAR KING'S LETTER. Among the parallels to the name *V.n.nd.r* it remains for us to consider *V.n.nt.r* וַנְנַתְר found in the Hebrew letter supposed to have been sent by the Khazar king Joseph in answer to that of Chasdai ben Shafrut, an agent to the Cordovan caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān (A.D. 912–61). The year 961 is the *terminus ante quem* of Chasdai's original letter and the king's reply must have followed it within a not too long period. As has been recently discovered (1924), the existence of King Joseph's letter was known already to Yahuda ben Barzillai (lived towards A.D. 1100) who wondered "whether it was genuine or not". The question is complicated by the existence of two versions of the document:³ the one (*A*) in a shorter form was published in Constantinople in 1577 (this text is very close to the Christ Church College MS. 193); the other (*B*) in a more complete form came to light only towards 1873 among the manuscripts collected by Firkovich. This fact, in view of this collector's suspect practices, was not in favour of a blind acceptance of the contents of this particular version.

The passage containing the name *V.n.nt.r* is found only in version *B*. The Khazar king says that his ancestors fought against "many nations" whom they expelled and whose country they occupied. Then comes the additional paragraph: "In the country in which I live lived formerly the *V.n.nt.r*. Our Khazar ancestors warred against them. The *V.n.nt.r* were more numerous, as numerous as the sea sand, but they could not resist the Khazars. They left their country. . . ." After this the two versions agree in saying that the enemies were driven beyond the great river *Rūnā* (*A*. וַנְנַתְר) or *Dūnā* (*B*. וַנְנַתְר), and "until the present day they are situated on the river *Rūnā*/*Dūnā*, near Kushtantiniya/Kustandina [*i.e.* Constantinople] and the Khazars have occupied their country".⁴

¹ Unless the coalition was formed on some special territory, *v.s.*, "Ὀγλον = Bujaq.

² In his final "Zusatz", *o.c.*, 528, Marquart writes: "was es mit der Erstürmung der Festung Walandar für eine Bewandtnis hat, lässt sich bei dem völligen Schweigen der Chronisten . . . auch jetzt noch nicht erkennen, so viel ist aber nunmehr klar, dass die Walandardhorden eigentlich die Bulgaren (*B.rgh.r*) und ihre damaligen Verbündeten, die Pečenegen, sind. . . ." [Cf. C. A. Macart-

ney in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, 1930, pp. 159–70.]

³ See Prof. P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazaraskaya perepiska v X veke*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1932, which gives the originals of all the documents bearing on the correspondence with the Khazar king with translation and a very valuable commentary. The third document discovered lately in Cambridge does not concern us here.

⁴ Kokovtsov's transl., pp. 75 and 92.

In a later passage the king gives an account of the Khazar boundaries and, immediately after a very detailed enumeration of the localities belonging to the Crimea [Firkovich's home!], the frontier is said to turn northwards to the country of Batsra (בצרא most probably בצנא *Bačna referring to *Bajni* or *Bajnā* whom Mas'ūdī associates with the Pechenegs, *v.s.*, p. 469, n. 3). The (inhabitants) of this country lived near the river *V.zg* (*A.* spells *Y.zg*, very probably **Uzu* = Dniepr) and wandered in the steppe down to the limits of the *H.gry'im* (*A.* *Hyndy'im*), *i.e.* evidently Hungarians **H.ng.r.* Consequently the lands of a (Turkish) tribe and those of the Magyars stretched to the west of the Khazar and separated the latter from the Danube. The writer clearly refers to the expulsion of the *V.n.nt.r* beyond the Danube as a remote past (events of A.D. 679), whereas the account of the Khazar frontiers presupposes the arrival of the Pechenegs in the second half of the ninth century. The form *W.n.nt.r* has a striking resemblance to our *V.n.nd.r*, and on the other hand considerably differs from the forms attested in Greek and Armenian sources. Numerous names in version *B* seem to have been borrowed from Muslim geographers¹ and the question arises whether such is not the case of *W.n.nt.r* as well. The interpolator could not possibly know the *H.-'Ā.* or Gardizī [which in Europe have come to light at a very recent date] but could he not have seen their common source? The text of the Khazar letter as it stands, if confronted with our two Persian authors, would confirm the interpretation of our *Rūtā/Dūbā* as Danube² and, on the other hand, suggest the identity of our *V.n.nd.r* with the Danubian Bulgars. However, the origin of the Hebrew interpolation remains obscure and the clever interpolator may have read his own sense into his source. Therefore in our own explanation of the Muslim texts we have to go principally by their internal evidence.

§ 54. Southern Countries.

The countries described in the remaining part of the book lie in Africa, with the exception of the semi-mythical *Zābaj* (§ 56) which is a connecting link with the southern islands (§ 4, 8.). The principal sources of the African chapters are *Khuwārizmī* (indirectly), *I.Kh.*, *Iṣṭ.*, and perhaps some *Book of Marvels* of which traces are also found in the chapter on Egypt (§ 39). The last folio is the only one in the MS. more seriously damaged.

§ 55. Zangistān.

Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856, i, 155-304 (Muslim period); L. M. Devic, *Le Pays des Zendjs*, P., 1883; G. Ferrand, *Relations*, Index; Capt. H. Stigland, *The Land of the Zinj*, L., 1913; F. Storbeck, *Die Berichte der arabischen Geographen des Mittelalters über Ost-Afrika*, in *MSOS*, Berlin, 1914, xvii, pp. 79-169.

¹ The most striking example is the Arabic form צלרין **Ṣlawiyūn*, Kokov-

tsov, *o.c.* 98-9.

² See, however, *supra*, p. 217.

The term *Zangistān* (later *Zangibār* > *Zanzibār*, "the Zang coast") covers the whole of the eastern coast of Africa known to the Muslims. Moreover, instead of following its real (N. to S.) direction this coast is represented as stretching eastward: "la côte africaine se replie vers l'Orient, comme si la direction qu'on observe entre le détroit de Bāb al-Mandeb et le cap Guardafui était à peine modifiée, de manière à faire face successivement à l'Arabie, à l'Inde, aux Îles Malaises et à la Chine . . . l'extrémité du Ouagouag, qui continue la côte de Sofāla, se trouvant ainsi reportée au sud le la mer Chinoise", Devic, *o.l.*, 46. This explains why our author places *Zangistān* opposite *Fārs*, *Kirmān*, and *Sind* and mentions the enmity existing between the *Zanj* and the *Zābaj*. Cf. Iṣṭ., 11, who assumes that the land of the *Zanj* "lies opposite Yemen, *Fārs*, *Kirmān*, and *Hind*". Cf. also *ibid.*, 29. *Shahriyār b. Buzurg*, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. Van der Lith, pp. 174-5, says that in 334/945 the people of *Wāqwāq* [here rather Madagascar than Sumatra, *v.s.*, p. 228] attacked the region of *Sofāla* in the *Zanj* country.

1. ملجان *M.ljān*, which stands before *Sofāla* must correspond to ملندی *M.l.ndī*, mentioned in *Idrīsī*, i, 56, and *Ibn Sa'īd* (A.D. 1250) in *Ferrand*, *Relations*. *Malindī* lies on the coast north of *Mombasa*, see *Tomaschek*, *Mohīt*, maps I-II, on which *Mombasa* is shown as the seat of the *Zanj* king, cf. also *Storbeck*, *o.c.*, 129-30. [*Mas'ūdī*, *Murūj*, iii, 6, calls this king وقلي، read وقلي cf. in *Bantu mfaleme* "king", plur. *wafaleme*, *Ferrand*, *Four. As.*, January 1921, p. 163.] This ملجان (**M.l.ndī*) must be distinguished from the name similarly spelt under § 56, 2.

2. *Sufāla* (*Sofāla*) lies in the southern part of the Portuguese *Mozambique* (south of *Beira*). The place is mentioned in *Mas'ūdī*, *Murūj*, i, 223, as the southernmost point of the *Zanj* possessions and it was known as a great gold-producing centre. See *Ferrand*, *Sofāla*, in *EI*, and *Storbeck*, *o.c.*, 141.

3. حوغل *Hwfl* (?). At this place one would expect واقواق *Wāqwāq* and such a restoration is admissible in Arabic script. Cf. *Mas'ūdī*, i, 233: *bilād Sufāla wal Wāqwāq* (الواقواق) *min aqāṣī arḍ al-Zanj wal-asāfil min baḥrihim*. See *Idrīsī's* map (*Reinaud*, *Introduction*, i, p. 120) on which *Wāqwāq* forms an immediate continuation of the *Zanj* land. The only other name somewhat resembling *Hwfl* is هونا (*Howa*), applied to the southern part of *Madagascar* (*jazīrat al-Qumr*) by the Turkish admiral *Sidī 'Alī Chelebi* in his *Mohīt* (1554) based on Arabic sources, see *Mohīt*, map III, and *Ferrand*, *o.c.*, 502. The name *Howa* could, however, hardly be known in the tenth century.

§ 56. *Zābaj*.

G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Črīvijaya*, in *Four. As.*, 1922, t. xx, pp. 1-104, 164-246 (an extremely complete survey of sources), and *Zābaj* in *EI*.

That our author pronounced *Zābaj* (not *Zābij*) is clear from his other transcription of this name با Zāba (§ 4, 6.) on a false analogy with the Persian

forms: *Khūnaj* > *Khūna*, &c. Zābaj (**Javaga* "Javanese") is a term designating now Java, now the centre and south of Sumatra, now the whole of the Sunda archipelago, see Tomaschek, *Mohīt*, map I, Nieuwenhuis, *Java*, in *EI*, Ferrand, *L'Empire*, p. 241. According to our author, Zābaj adjoined eastern Africa (Zangistān) and formed the southern limit of the Indian Ocean, while farther south of it (as well as of Zangistān) stretched the southern uninhabited lands. Cf. also §§ 4, 6., and 10, 4.

The details on camphor-trees and the king are borrowed from I.Kh., 16, 65, cf. § 4, 6. Of the variants of the king's name quoted in I.Kh., 13, de Goeje adopts الفنجب which he interprets (transl., p. 16) as *Pati-Jaba*, "prince of Java" (?). Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 24, and *L'Empire*, p. 52, explains the name as Indonesian *puṅgawa* "prime minister, officer, hero, courtier" but admits that it may represent the personal name of some *Çrīvijaya* sovereign. Meanwhile, I.Kh., 17, 68, and Ibn Rusta, 137, call the king of Zābaj *al-maharāj*.

The town 1. منجری M.nj.rī (?) is unknown. One wonders whether it is not simply a mis-spelling of *maharāj* > *maharāy* *مهرای. The complex *shahr-i Maharāy* "the town of the M." could easily be transformed into "M., the town [of Zābaj]".

2. ملجان very probably corresponds to the island of ملجان **M.ljān* (?) which Sulaymān the Merchant, p. 22, places between Sarandīb and Kala (Malay peninsula). The mention of a great island where the king stays in summer may echo the fact mentioned in Sulaymān, p. 18 (and Abū Zayd, *ibid.*, p. 90), namely that the same king possessed the *Kalāh-bār* (* Kra) and the Zābaj, cf. Ferrand's tr., 1922, pp. 43, 95. [Or Waqwāq = Madagascar?]

§ 57. Abyssinia.

I. Guidi, *Abyssinia*, in *EI*; Marquart, *Benin*, pp. cclxvi-ccxcv; H. von Mžik, *Afrika nach d. arabischen Bearbeitung des Ptolomaeus*, in *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 59, No. 4, 1916; Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Omārī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. "L'Afrique moins l'Égypte", transl. by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, P., 1927 (later times); Cerulli, *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia*, in *Memorie dell'Accad. dei Lincei*, Rome, October 1932 (specially on Muslim possessions, e.g. Zayla').

This and the following chapters (§§ 58-60) must have a common source from which some vivid traits on African peoples have been borrowed. Two details (§§ 58 and 60) undoubtedly point to I.Kh.

By Abyssinia (*Ḥabasha*) early Muslim geographers understood chiefly the maritime zone of the present-day Eritrea and British Somaliland, cf. Iṣṭ., 35. Our § 7, 13. represents *Ḥabasha* as stretching far north along the coast of the Red Sea. The names quoted in this chapter are terribly mutilated and can be restored only by a comparison with other sources.

1. The starting-point for the identification of راسن is that it was the king's residence. According to I.R., 96, the capital of the Abyssinian (*Ḥabasha*) king was called Jarmī جرמי. This then must be the reading of the name of

which the mis-spelt form can without much difficulty be explained in Arabic script. *Jarmī* greatly puzzled the commentators who since Golius's times, cf. Reinaud, *Abul-Fidā*, transl. ii/A, p. 228, tried to connect it somehow with Axum, supposed to be the contemporary capital of Abyssinia, though as a matter of fact Axum اخورم or اخورم (so instead of اخشم) appears only in later Muslim sources (Maqrīzī). Marquart, *Benin*, pp. cccliii-iv, has finally disposed of the mistake in the Ma'mūnian map and Khuwārizmī's *Šūrat al-arḍ* caused by Ptolemy's broad use of the term *Aithiopes* in the sense of "dark-skinned people" (and not especially "Ethiopians"). The name *Jarmī* [or rather *Jaramī*] *al-Ḥabash* has consequently nothing to do with Abyssinia proper, but corresponds to Ptolemy's *Γαράμη μητρόπολις* (liber iv, cap. 6, 12) situated at long. 43°, lat. 21° 30'. Cf. C. Müller's *Atlas* to his edition of Ptolemy, Paris, 1901, table 28, where Garama, the capital of the *Γαράμαντες*, is shown to the south-west of *Phazana = Fazzān (near Murzūq, in the present-day Italian Libya, cf. § 60, 1.).¹ Idrīsī, i, 112, mentions جرمة and نساو as the towns of Fazzān. The ruins of the ancient Garama were discovered by H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Central Africa*, London 1857, i, 155-8; *ibid.*, i, 171, on Tasāwa.

2. The first idea is that by some mistake سوار represents اسوان Assuan (*v.s.*, § 39, 10.) which in Khuwārizmī, No. 80, is spelt سوان and stands 4 lines below جرمى, but I now prefer to restore the name as عذاب which, as Iṣṭ., 54, admits, was reckoned to Abyssinia in spite of the fact that its inhabitants were Buja. 'Aydhāb is identified with Aidip lying on the sea-coast opposite Jidda at N. lat. 22° 19' 47", cf. C. H. Becker, 'Aidhāb in *EI*.² زين (different from its homonym § 60, 2.) most probably is زيلة Zayla', which in Iṣṭ., 36, follows on 'Aydhāb. It is the well-known port of British Somaliland, immediately east of the Bay of Tajura. During the late Abyssinian crisis (1935) Zayla' was mentioned as an eventual point of access to the sea for Abyssinia. [November 1936: *tempora mutantur!*]

§ 58. Buja.

Marquart, *Benin*, cccxi-ii; Becker, *Bedja*, Vollers, 'Abābde, R. Hartmann, *Bishārin*, all three in *EI*.

These Hamitic tribes living between the Nile and the Red sea formerly occupied the territory between Cairo and Abyssinia, cf. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 218-9, and *BGA*, vii, 336-7; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 32.

In the mutilated part of the text the question was probably of the celebrated gold mines lying in the desert of Buja (§ 7, 12.-13.), see Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 334-5, Iṣṭ., 28, 34. The Buja had no towns, 'Aydhāb on the

¹ Jointly with *Jarmī al-Ḥabash* (long. 41° 40', lat. 10° 40') Khuwārizmī mentions another *Jarmī madīnat al-kabīra* (long. 34°, lat. 19° 30'). Marquart thought that "Gross Garma und Garma der Ḥabaš sind . . . in Wirklichkeit

identisch", but Mžik, *Afrika*, No. 75, with more probability restores the second name as *جيرة مدينة الكبيرة* and explains it as *Γείρα μητρόπολις* (cf. Ptolemy's *Γεῖροι Αἰθίοπες*).

² [See *Geog. J.*, 68, 1926, p. 235-40.]

coast of the Red Sea being considered as Abyssinia's, Iṣṭ., 54, v.s., § 57, 2.

The trait of the king keeping aloof from his subjects is well known in African countries (v.i., under § 60).

§ 59. Nubia.

Quatremère, *Mémoires géogr. et hist. sur l'Égypte*, 1811, ii, 1-126: "Mémoire sur la Nubie"; Marquart, *Benin*, pp. ccxlviii-cclxvi; G. Roeder, *Die Geschichte Nubiens*, in *Klio*, xii, 1912, pp. 51-83; von Mžik, *Africa* (v.s., § 57); S. Hillelson, *Nūba* in *EI*.

Iṣṭ., 11, says that Nubia is conterminous with Egypt,¹ with the desert lying between Egypt and the Sūdān, with the land of Buja and the desert lying between Buja and the Red Sea, and finally, with the Impassable Desert (*lā tuslak*).

According to Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 217 (cf. also *BGA*, vii, 335-6), there were two kingdoms in Nubia, of which the one was Muqurra with the capital Dunqula ("Old Dongola") and the other 'Alwa with the capital Sūba (to the east of the present-day Kharṭūm). Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 32, confirms these facts adding that in 332/943 he heard in Fuṣṭāṭ that the king living in Dunqula and ruling over Māqurra and 'Alwa was *Kbry b. S.rwr*,² a descendant of a long line of kings. On Dongola cf. also I.R., 96, and I. Faqīh, 78.

I.Kh., 17, gives the king of Nubia the title of Kābīl, which detail is reproduced in our text. كبرى and كابل do not seem to refer to the same dynasty. From our § 6, 63, it results that Kābīl's capital lay near the junction of the Nile with the Blue Nile (*al-baḥr al-azraq*) for near Dongola no river joins the Nile from the east. This would indicate that Kābīl ruled (chiefly?) over 'Alwa though such an interpretation conflicts with Yāqūt, iv, 820,³ where Kābīl is called king of Muqurra and Nūba, whereas 'Alwā is mentioned separately. Idrīsī, i, 33, mis-spelt the name of the king into *Kāmīl*.

The mines situated amidst the sands are mentioned in § 7, 12. See in detail, Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 334-5.

The item on the two Christian monasteries may belong to the source from which similar fabulous details on Egypt have been borrowed. The name *Ṭ.rī* (*Ṭ.hī?*) is certainly mutilated.⁴ The late Prof. F. Ll. Griffith to whom I communicated this passage wrote back to me (6.vii.1933): "the find is certainly important for Nubian Christianity but if the names are correct or nearly so (neither *Ṭarī*, nor *Ṭahī* reminds me of anything) they would seem to belong to the unknown region which is fairly extensive

¹ I. Faqīh, 78, says that Nubia began at 5 days' distance to the south of Assuan. Cf. § 39, 10., and I.Kh., 83.

² Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 339, calls the king of Muqurrā (*sic*) Zakariyā b. Q.rqī = Zacharia son of Kyriakos, cf. Quatremère, *o.c.*, 65.

³ Marquart takes I. Faqīh for the authority of this passage in Yāqūt, but if this is true for the first part of it, iv, 820, lines 3-15, the second part, p. 820-1 is introduced with a vague *qālū* and has no parallel in I. Faqīh's printed text.

⁴ [See now Appendix B.]

in Nubian geography." Outwardly طرى (طهى) resembles طحا and طرا. Of these Ṭaḥā was a very important Christian centre which once counted 15,000 Christians and 360 churches until it was destroyed by the last Omayyad Marwān, and Ṭurā and Shahrān (lying in the neighbourhood of Ṭurā) possessed each a monastery. See Abū Ṣāliḥ (*circa* A.D. 1202), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, ed. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1896, fol. 47a, 74, and 77. However, Ṭaḥā, I.Kh. 81, lay in Egypt, north of Munya between Ushmūnayn and Qays, cf. Mžik, *Afrika*, 12 (No. 148), and Ṭurā was situated still more north near Ḥulwān. Another, equally doubtful, hypothesis would be the restoration of طرى as كورى [بحيرة] as originally the lake Tsana in Abyssinia, and later the lake Chad was called, cf. Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 229.¹ No monasteries could exist near the Chad region, but the existence of some legends referring to the western Abyssinia closely associated with Nubia are imaginable, cf. Conti Rossini, *Notes sur l'Abyssinie avant les Sémites*, in *Florilegium M. de Vogüé*, 1909, p. 143 (*bāḥra kuerā* [sic] associated with the people *Quārā*, *Khuārā*) and Marquart, *Benin*, lxxxiv, and additional note in Index, p. 104. [See additional note in Appendix B.]

§ 60. The Sūdān.

W. D. Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs* (after Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Baṭṭūta, &c., whom the author used in Don P. Gayangos's translations), London 1841; Marquart, *Benin*, Leiden 1913 (a capital work as regards the earlier Arabic sources on the Sūdān); H. v. Mžik, *Afrika* (cf. § 57); Delafosse, *Sūdān* in *EI* refers only to later times.

This unexpectedly long and vivid paragraph particularly contrasts with the aridity of Iṣṭ.'s and I.Ḥ.'s data on the Sūdān which is not even mentioned in Maq.

I.Kh., 89, also mentions the king of the naked negroes (*al-sūdān al-urāt*) whom he calls Zāghī b. Zāghī, which undoubtedly corresponds to the name **Rā'i* b. *Rā'i* in our mutilated passage. In view of this important point of likeness [*v.s.*, § 59: *Kābīl*] one is tempted to admit that some more complete text of I.Kh. is the source of the whole § 60 (and maybe of the other curious details on Africa). In fact I.Kh. (cf. pp. 153-5) is fond of relating the exploits of merchants', *v.s.*, § 43. Marquart, *o.c.*, p. cxlv, commenting on I.Kh., 89, calls Zāghī b. Zāghī "eine unbekannte Grösse", but makes several interesting suggestions: the most obvious conclusion is that he was the king of the mighty kingdom of Ghāna (western Sūdān); on the other hand the name resembles the title *zā* of the ninth-century kings of Gogo, or Songoy (on the middle course of the Niger), see Delafosse, *Songhoi* in *EI*, among whom such names are found as *Zā-Zakoy*, *Zā-Akoy*, *Zā-Kū*, see al-Sa'dī, *Tā'riḫ al-sūdān*, ed. Houdas, pp. 2-3; finally Marquart quotes several Berber names (زاعراع, &c.) resembling that of Zāghī,

¹ Maqrizī quotes Idrisī as his authority on the lake *Kuwarā* but the passage is not found in Jaubert's translation.

but our text leaves no doubt that the king in question reigned over Negroes. The ironical remark on the king's moderation evidently refers to the numerous limitations to which the life of an African sovereign is subject. At places like Loango, where they are strictly enforced, no more candidates are found to assume the responsibilities of the throne. See L. Frobenius, *Atlas Africanus*, München 1921, Fasc. C. vi, Heft 2, Blatt 7, and the accompanying text.

The term Sūdān in our text evidently applies to the whole territory between the Atlantic and the Nile, but the names quoted are of little help as they are as mutilated as under § 57. In this region (First Clime) Khuwārizmī, p. 6, Nos. 41-5, quotes the following places:

	long.	lat.
'Alwa-Bahriya (see § 59)	60° 0'	12° 20'
Fazzān	62° 0'	10° 45'
Zaghāwa	60° 0'	11° 0'
Gogo	43° 0'	10° 15'
Ghāna	43° 30'	10° 45'

Our 1. حران resembles فزان. Fazzān belonging to Italian Libya is the largest agglomeration of oases in Central Sahara. Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 345, mentions it after Zawīla (§ 40, 5.). Cf. also under Jarmī, § 57, 1. On the association of the names Fazzān and Zaghāwa, *v.i.* 4.

2. *Kh.fān* and *Ryn* (cf. § 57, 3.) look mutilated. One of them may be كوكو Gogo on the Niger to the south-east of 'Timbuktu, cf. Yāqūt, iv, 329.

3. مقيس resembles المقس الاعلى (*maqs* < *maks* "toll-house"), an Egyptian frontier post towards Nubia, lying at 6 days above Wādī Ḥalfa, see Maq-rizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ch. xxx, ed. Wiet, iii, 253, cf. Marquart, *Benin* ccxcix. As our 4. lies on the confines of Nubia, our 3., too, could be situated in the same neighbourhood.

4. In script لابه resembles غانه but the latter lay too far west (to the north of the upper course of the Niger, cf. Marquart's map in *Benin*). In view of the location of Lāba near Nubia it is probable that it stands for زغاوة, a great heathen state of which the centre lay near the lake Chad. It stretched from Nubia to the Niger, and comprised the Kāwār country, Kānem, northern Wadāi, and Dārfūr. At present one of the five tribes of Dārfūr still bears the name of Zaghāwa, see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sūdān*, in *Der Islam*, i, 1910, pp. 162-77, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 932, iv, 230 (who quotes Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī's work *al-'Azīzī*, written circa A.D. 975-6). Zaghāwa is often associated with Fazzān (*v.s.* 1.). Khuwārizmī gives wrong bearings according to which Fazzān and Zaghāwa would lie far to the east, beyond the Nile, towards Adūlis (!), cf. von Mzik, *Afrika*, Map. On Khuwārizmī's own map, *ibid.*, Zaghāwa is placed to the south of *bilād al-Nūba* and this may be the reason for our author's location of Lāba near Nubia. I.H., 66, places Zaghāwa at 2 months' distance from Fazzān (*v.s.* 1.). Idrisī, transl. i, 112, reckons Fazzān to Zaghāwa.

APPENDIX A

MARGINAL NOTES IN THE H.-'A.

As mentioned in the Preface, p. v, the marginal notes in the unique copy of the H.-'A. do not shed any light on the history of its composition.

The uppermost part of fol. 1a is obliterated with ink. Some later possessor of the book evidently tried to destroy the name of his predecessor. One can faintly distinguish the words *Kitāb-khāna . . . mustaṭāb Ḥājji Mīrzā* in a modern hand.

Near the title (v.s., p. 30) are found twelve lines of poetry written by the original scribe of the book (hand A). The single verse to the right of the title is

تو همی رنج دل بجان بخری خشت ایزد کی گویت کی خری

The first of the two verses (rhyme in *-āz*) to the left of the title is

کفتم کی کم خرج رت عمر دراز تا بوک شوم با تو محرم راز

The poem below the title (9 verses of which the rhyme + *radīf* is *-āz rasadh*) begins

روزرا رایکان زدست مده نیست امکان ان کی باز رسد

I am obliged to my friend 'Abbās Eghbāl Āshtiyānī for the indication that this last poem is quoted on fol. 156 of an anthology (tenth or eleventh century A.H.?) in his possession in which the authorship of this moralizing poetry of doubtful value is ascribed to a certain Shaykh Zayn al-dīn Jāmī, otherwise unknown.

Still lower down there are entries in a different hand (B). The first, on the authority of the Qor'ānic *Tafsīr* by Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās (622-87 A.H.), gives the magic formula *هـیـه* which being written on pieces of paper and placed in the window would preserve the mother and the new-born child, respectively from the evil of the *dīv* called Āl, and of that called Umm al-ṣibyān. The second (hand B?) is a *rubā'i* composed by Ḥadrat-i Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Lāla'i, one of the *khulafā* of the late Amīr 'Abdullāh Burzishābādī (?), in honour of the latter [the term *khulafā* pointing to Ṣafavid times]. The third (hand B?) extols the beneficent properties of a dead hoopoe's eye for the refreshing of one's memory, &c.

The indistinct entry of folios 19b and 20a, in hand B records the events in Merv in the tenth century A.H., first the coming in 915 A.H. (?) of Shāh Ismā'il who during the seven (?) days of his stay there put to death 70,000 (?) people and had a tower built of skulls, 60 *zar'* high, which events were followed by a famine and the dispersion of the survivors; then the coming in 952 A.H. (?) of 'Abdullāh ibn (?) 'Ubaydullah-khān Ghāzī which entailed new calamities and the annihilation of the population, so that no one knew the origin of the "present-day" population among whom all sorts of vices prevailed.

[The dates are indistinct. The first evidently refers to Shāh Ismā'il's victory over Shaybak-khān which took place in the winter of 916/1510. The second date may be read 952, or 932 (?). The latter is adopted by Zhukovsky who utilized our entry in his *Ruins of Old Merv*, p. 74. Moreover, Zhukovsky reads the name of the invader 'Ubaydullāh-khān. According to 'Abdullāh Naṣr-allāhī's Turkish *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 'Ubaydullah-khān, during his raid of 918/1513, transferred the inhabitants of Merv to Bukhārā, see Barthold in *ZVO*, xv, 1903, p. 202, and his *Irrigation*, p. 67. Zhukovsky, *l.c.*, says that 'Ubaydullāh invaded Khorāsān for a *fourth* time in 1529. He afterwards ruled from 940/1533 to 946/1539. The fact is that the name 'Abdullāh (without a title) appears in our entry before that of 'Ubaydallāh-khān. I cannot ascertain whether 'Ubaydallāh-khān had a son called 'Abdullāh. The Shibānid khāns 'Abdullāh I (ruled 946-7) and the famous 'Abdullāh II (ruled 991-1006) were remote relations of 'Ubaydullāh-khān. 'Abdullāh-khān destroyed the Merv dam and abducted the population in 1566 (974 A.H.), but this does not suit our date of 952 (?). *Nondum liquet*. Our entry does not seem to be very exact and in this case may belong to a considerably later time (seventeenth century?).]

On fol. 22b Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī, the discoverer of the manuscript, in his fine writing recorded some data on the construction of the walls around Bukhārā [evidently borrowed from Narshakhī, cf. *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, p. 32-3].

The note inscribed in hand B opposite Dāmghān (fol. 30a) mentions the well-known story of the spring which, if polluted, brings down rain [cf. I. Faqīh, p. 310, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 277].

Several pencil notes (fol. 13b, 24b) are in Baron V. Rosen's hand.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL NOTES

During my recent visit to Bonn, in connexion with the eighth Deutscher Orientalistentag (3-8.ix.1936), I had the privilege of consulting in the Orientalisches Seminar, directed by Prof. Kahle, a photograph of the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh's geographical work. I also had numerous interesting talks with its original discoverer, Prof. A. Z. Validi, who very kindly communicated to me several passages from the rare texts in his collection.

1. I was particularly interested in I. Faqīh's version (ff. 169a-170b) of Tamīm b. Baḥr's journey to the Toghuzghuz, more complete than Yāqūt's version quoted above, p. 268. As the publication of this passage has been undertaken by the young German scholar Dr. Haag, I naturally respect his rights. Here I shall only say that the new version corroborates Marquart's original view that Tamīm visited the Uyghurs on the Orkhon, and not at their later seats near the eastern T'ien-shan (occupied after A.D. 860). The key to the passage seems to lie in the sentence:

وذكر ان خاقان ملك التفرغز كان مخاتنا بملك الصين وان ملك الصين يحمل اليه
في كل سنة خمس مائة الف فرند

which hints at the heyday of the Uyghur political life. Therefore my explanations (pp. 268-9) must be accordingly altered.

2. According to A. Z. Validi, the MS. Or. 1997 of Bīrūnī's *Canon* has proved to be very faulty in comparison with the Stambul MSS. Thus بحر ارويان (*v.s.*, p. 180) must be improved into جرجان وهو ارقانيا, *i.e.* "Hyrkania", whereas رجال (*v.s.*, p. 369) must be read رخان. As regards the first rectification I cannot help remarking how unexpected the form **Irqāniyā* (for **Hurqāniyā*) appears in Arabic. As for **Vakhān*, it suits Bīrūnī's text quite well but the name which we have to explain in our § 26, 13., *viz.*, "*R.kh.t.j.b*, a village of *Vakhān*" may still have a different origin [or may have been misread by the compiler of the *H.-Ā.* himself].

3. With regard to p. 318, note 1, and p. 445, I want to quote an amazingly interesting passage on the course of the Oxus found by A. Z. Validi in Bīrūnī's *Tahdīd al-amākin*:

ومال الماء ذات اليسار الى ارض البجناكية في مجرى يعرف بوادي مزدبست في المفازة
التي بين خوارزم وجرجان وعمر بقاعا كثيرة زما مديدا وخرب ايها فانتقل سكانها الى
ساحل بحر الخزر وهم جنس اللان والاس ولقتهم الان متركة من الخوارزمية والبجناكية

The passage shows how long the "Alān and (!) Ās" remained in the region to the east of the Caspian. Their memory survives in Firdausī's *Dizh-i Alānān* (ed. Vullers, i, 115) and probably in the wall in the Turkman steppe called *Qizil-Alan*, cf. my article *Tūrān* in *EI*.

Here are some other additional remarks:

4. *Ad* p. 67, l. 17. The fact that under § 15 the Khallukh are said to neighbour on Tibet is to be connected with § 25, 28. in which "Tibet" refers to "western T'ien-shan". This use of the term "Tibet" points to the times of the great expansion of the Tibetan rule in the eighth century A.D., see p. 256, note 2.

5. *Ad* p. 98. The meaning of the awkward introduction to § 16 may be that the Chigil tribe was originally one of the Khallukh tribes, but the territory occupied by the Chigil still possessed a numerous local population, cf. quotation from Gardīzī, p. 298, l. 23.

6. *Ad* p. 227, l. 35. Our author's statement concerning 360 districts of China (*v.s.*, p. 84, l. 6) may have been also inspired by I.Kh., 69, who says that there are 300 towns in China, of which 90 are celebrated.

7. *Ad* p. 293. A detailed account of Barskhān is found in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh, fol. 170a (cf. Yāqūt, iv, 823).

8. *Ad* p. 297, l. 15. In the Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* edited by F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, SBA, 1913, l. 77, a certain *P.rvān-č žabghū* is mentioned among the local rulers. The town (or district) **Parvān* of which this *žabghū* was the lord may be identical with *Bārmān*/*Po-huan*.

9. *Ad* p. 332, l. 23. In the Mashhad text of I. Faqīh f. 163a it is said of the Balkh river: (*sic*) وهو يجي من ناحية المشرق (*sic*) من موضع يقال له ديوشاران (*sic*). **Dēv-shārān* "Devil's toboggan", cf. *supra* p. 364, note 3, seems to be entirely different from **Rēv-shārān*, "Dominions of Rēv-shār" (cf. § 23, 36. and 78.).

10. *Ad* p. 365, note 3. A. Z. Validi has found in a Constantinople MS. of the *Canon*: *wa jalā'uhu bi-Badhakhshān*, "and the polishing (of the rubies) is done in Badhakhshān", with reference to the preceding item.

11. *Ad* p. 475. In the rare *Operis Cosmographici Ibn el Vardi Caput Primum de Regionibus et Oris*, ed. A. Hylander, Lundae 1823, p. 164, among the towns of Nubia is quoted

(read: طمرى وهى مدينة كبيرة على البطيحة التى يجتمع بها ماء النيل على صفة (ضفة) * هذه البطيحة صنم كبير من حجر رافع يده الى صدره يقال انه كان رجلا ظالما فمسخ حجرا
This طمرى is probably identical with our *T.rī* (*T.hī*) in § 59.¹

¹ [The source of Ibn al-Wardī (689–749/1290–1348) is undoubtedly Idrīsī who (tr. Jaubert, i, 27) speaking of the sources of the Nile (cf. our § 6, 62.) mentions the great lake formed by the six rivers and "près duquel est située

une ville nommée طرفى, populeuse et dont les environs sont fertiles en riz" (follows the story of the statue). This *T.rfy* (I. al-Wardī: *T.rmy*) must be another avatar of our *T.rī*.]

INDEX

The present index contains all the names found in the text of the *H.-'Ā.* and it must be borne in mind that to almost every name corresponds a special note in the Commentary. As regards the latter all the essential names additional to those found in the *H.-'Ā.* will be found in the Index but imperious material considerations prevented the incorporation of such subsidiary names, or forms of names, to which other references give easy clues.

The names and catch-words have been divided into the following categories:

- A. Geographical names (places and tribes).
- B. Personal names and titles.
- C. Authorities quoted (only the principal passages).
- D. Local products and specialities.
- E. Selection of catch-words.

A. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

The abbreviations are: c.—country; is.—island; l.—lake; mt.—mountain; p.—pass; r.—river; t.—tribe.

Abādān 386
 Abādha 129
 Abān Kasavān 114, 209, 353
 Abarliq (?) 117
 Ābaskūn 28, 38, 77, 134, 386
 'Abbādān 76, 139, 392
 Abbotābād 370
 'Abdāsī 138
 'Abdīn 381
 Abhar (Auhar) 132, 383
 Āb-i Gargar 214
 Āb-i Maymana 5
 Āb-i Qaysār 329
 Āb-i Safid 199, 329
 Abkhāz (= Aughaz, Lūgh.r.) 43, 168, 324, 445, 456
 Abkhāz (= Lāyzān?) 403-4, 406-10
 Abl (?) 123
 Abraj 129
 Ab.rdkath (?) 117
 Abriq (Aphrike) 218, cf. Ibrīq.
 Absus *see* Arabissos
 Abū Ghānim's Highlands *see* Kūhistān-i Ābū Ghānim
 Abwayt 204
 Abyssinia (Habasha) 33-4, 51-2, 79, 81, 83, 147, 163-4, 179, 223, 473
 Abyssinian Sea 145
 A-ch'ai *see* Ajāyul
 'Aden 19, 147
 Adhana (Adana) 149
 Ādharakhsh, fire temple 383

Ādharbāyjān (Ādharbādhagān) 19, 29, 36, 37, 39, 53, 65, 66, 77, 83, 131, 133, 136, 137, 142, 393
 Adhkish t. 347
 Ādh.r (**Adhir*), cf. Kauristān 255
 Adhruh 150
 Adīnapūr *see* Dunpūr
 Adishtān (Srinagar) 254
 Adrama (Adhrama) 140
 Adraskand 327
 Adūlis 477
 Afghāns (cf. Ayghān) 30, 91
 Afghānistān 4, 30, 288
 Aflakhūniya *see* Paphlagonia
 Afrakhūn 68, 204
 Afrāva 325
 Africa 33, 53, 78, 153, 154
 Afrīdhān 115
 Afrūnkat 119
 Aghbāb, Baḥr al-Aghbāb, Bilād al-Aghbāb 87, 180, 242-3
 Aghristān 377
 Āhangarān (Angren) r. 24, 211, 356
 Āhangarān, in Ghūr 333, 343
 Ahar 39, 143, 395
 Ahqāf sands 77, 81, 222
 Ahwāz 12, 74, 75, 130, 381
 Aja' mt. 203
 Ajāyul 93, 257-8
 Ajlād, Kimāk t. 305
 al-Ajma, near Sarakhs 327
 Ajuḡh 200

- Akhā-yul *see* Ajāyul
 Akhlāt (Khilāt) 173
 Akhmīm 78, 152
 Akharūn 337, 353
 Akhshū r. 208
 Akhsikath 72, 116
 A-kie-t'ien *see* Aq-tagh
 'Akka 59, 149
 Alagez (Aragats) mt. 203
 Alāl-wa-Ghumīq 450
 Alān, cf. Ās, D.ḵsās, Tūlās 11, 42, 43, 53, 67, 68, 83, 156, 160, 161, 313, 318, 443, 444, 454, 456, 481
 Alān Gate 68, 161, 401, 446
 Alankaburda *see* Lombards
 Ala-Tau 195
 Alay Range 198
 Alazan r. 410
 Albān *see* Labān
 Aleppo 150
 Alexandria 78, 151, 416
 Alexandrovsky range 194, 195, 289
 Algeciras (al-Jazīra) 155
 Alhum ('Ayn al-Humm) 135, 386
 Alīn (?) 110
 A-li-shih, Türgish t. 302
 Alishtar 383
 Alishūr 255
 Alkā-bulaq 280
 Alkh.jās (Alkh.njās?) 117
 Alkrz (?), cf. Sakālkand 338
 Almata (Verniy) 298, 300
 Al.n.k.bālūs *see* Lankabālūs
 Al.shān 255
 Alqabölük t. 280
 Altai mt. 196, 202, 283, 286, 287
 Altin-Tagh 194
 'Alwa ('Alwa al-Bahriyya) 221, 475, 477
 Amazons 8, 191
 Āmid (Diyārbakī) 76, 201
 Amlütlü 200
 Āmol 64, 77, 133, 134, 386
 Amorion *see* 'Amūriya
 Amū-daryā *see* Oxus
 'Amūriya 220
 'Āna 76, 141
 Anār, in Kirmān 125; in Fārs 129
 Anatolicon (Natliq) 156
 Anbār (Anbēr), in Gūzgān 5, 39, 64, 107, 335; in Jazīra 76, 141
 Andalus *see* Spain
 Andamīn ('Andamīn?) 332
 Andarāb 39, 64, 109, 341
 Andar az Khifjāq 100, 309, 316
 Andar-haz *see* Hirand r.
 And.ghār t. 373
 Andrās (Āndhra?), in India 87, 241
 Andrās, in Kashmīr 121, 364, 370
 Andichārāgh (Andishārāgh) 208, 359-60
 Andkhudh (Antkhudh-Andkhoy) 6, 107, 177, 336
 Anfarun (?) 358
 Anf.s 84
 Angara r. 284
 Angren r. *see* Āhangarān
 Anhilvāra (Nahrivāra) 238
 An-Hsi 227
 al-Ankubarda *see* Lombards
 Anmwā (*Khumdān) 224
 Annarī (Narī) 89, 246
 Anqara 220
 Antartūs 149
 Antkhudh *see* Andkhudh
 Apar t., cf. Apurim 284
 Aphrikē *see* Abriq
 Apsheron 193
 Apurim t., cf. Apar 284
 'Aqaba, cf. Ayla 180
 Aq-Bura 211
 Aq.rāq.r(?) 98, 293, 297
 Aq-su r. (Taushqan) 27, 184, 206, 289, 296
 Aq-tagh (A-kie-t'ien) 226
 'Arab Sea *see* Red Sea
 Arabia 36, 145
 Arabian Gulf 52, 81, 179
 Arabissos 204
 Arabs (Tāzi) 6, 8, 51-2, 66, 77, 81, 83, 104, 108, 133, 145-8, 150, 153, 160
 Arachosia 346
 Aral sea (Khwarazm sea, Arvāniyān sea) 32, 180, 312, 313
 'Arandal 415
 Ararat, Great (Hārith) 66, 203
 Ararat, Lesser (Huwayrith) 66, 77, 218
 Aras (Araxes) r. 77, 144
 Araskan (cf. Adraskan) 104
 Aravalli mt. 198
 Araxes *see* Aras
 Ardabil (Ardavil) 66, 142, 394, 468
 Ardalānkath 117, 357
 Ardashīr-Khurra 376, 377
 Ardon r. 457
 Aresh 400
 Argyrē is. 186
 Ārhan ford 208, 359, 360
 Arin *see* Ujjayn
 Arjij (Archēsh) 143
 Arjinān 129
 Ark, Arl (Bügür?) 94, 207, 293
 Arm r. 401
 Armābil 123
 al-Arm.n (al-Kām.n) c. in India 237
 Armān (Zarmān) 113, 237
 Armenia (Arminiya) 19, 29, 36-7, 42, 53-4, 66-7, 77, 142-4, 156, 161, 180, 393, 395
 Armeniacon 156
 Armenian mountains 76, 77
 Armenian sea (Urmiya l.) 60, 285 (Caspian?) 444
 Arpalikh 256
 Arraghān (Araghān, Arrajān) 74, 127, 376, 378
 Arrān 19, 29, 36-7, 67, 77, 142-4, 393, 396

- Arsāng (K.rāng), cf. Ūsāng 25, 262
 Arthāniya (Abārma?) 434, 436-8
 Artūj (Bartūj) 96, 281
 Artush *see* Irtish
 Arvāniyān (?), cf. Aral sea 180
 Arwādh, Arwād is. 8, 58, 190
 Arzan (Arzhan) 55, 185
 Ās t. 445, 456, 458, 481
 Asābād (Asadābādh) 132
 Asad t. 146
 Asak (Āsak, Āsk) 130, 380-1
 Asbuzār *see* Aspuzār
 Asgil (Ashkil, &c.) 162, 320, 461
 Ashbūrqān *see* Ushbūrqān
 Ashkavar 388
 Ashkil *see* Asgil
 Ashmūnayn 152
 Ashpara 289
 Ashtigor t., cf. Ās 445
 Asia, 33, 82; Central 24, 27
 Asiani t., cf. Ās 444
 A-si-yen 294
 Askar *see* Sukar 221
 al-'Askar in Sīstān 345
 'Askar-i Mukram 75, 130
 Askf 123
 Asna (Ushnū) 142
 Aspuzār 63, 64, 104, 199
 'Asqalān 81, 149
 Assam *see* Qāmarūn
 Assuan (Suwān, Uswān) 68, 78, 152
 Astarāb (Astārā?), on the Caspian 137,
 391; in Gūzgān *see* Bastarāb
 Astarābādh 29, 134, 386
 Asus r., cf. Ishūm 308
 Atak 200
 'Atbara r. 221
 At-Bashi 292
 Atelkuzu 313, 320, 322, 441, 444, 468
 Athens 21, 41, 158
 'Aththar 147
 Ātil town 75, 80, 161, 452; r. *see* Itil
 Atlāligh (Otlāligh?) 98
 Atlantic 201
 Atrābulus 60, 149, 153
 Atrak 29, 200, 218, 385
 Aufa *see* Oba
 Aughaz *see* Abkhaz
 Auhar in Ādharbaijān *see* Abhar; in
 Daghestān *see* Avār
 Aulās (Eleusa) 149
 Aurhazk', cf. Avār 447
 Āva 133, 384
 Āvāl 116, 355
 Avār t. 42, 419, 429, 447, 450, 455
 Avars, Pseudo- 448
 Āvāza-yi Paykand, cf. Paykand 56, 73,
 185, 211
 Awās *see* Ephesus
 Axum 474
 Ayvaj (Auway), on the Oxus 360
 'Aydhāb 474
 Ayghān (Abghān, Afghān?) 349
 Ayla 52, 81, 149, 222, 414
 'Ayn al-Humm *see* Alhum
 'Ayn-Zarba 149
 Ayvān-i Kisrā 138
 Az (Aziyān) t. cf. Lāzina 99, 302
 'Aza (Ha-za), cf. Ajāyul 258
 Āzādhvār 102
 Azaila 154
 Azam 381
 Azār 296
 Azbarā 128
 Azd (Urd?) 74
 Aziv 108
 Azov sea (Maeotis) 32, 41, 42, 54, 59,
 180, 181, 182, 191, 216, 320, 422, 429
 'Azr (Gh.zr?), in India (?) 86, 235
 Ba'albakk 67, 150
 Bāb, in Farghāna *see* Pāb
 Bāb-Akhsikath 355
 Bāb al-Mandeb 472
 Bāb al-Abwāb *see* Darband
 Babarhān 370
 Bābī 27, 88
 Bābil 139
 Babn *see* Baun
 Bābol r. 218
 Babr (Hir?) 391
 Bābīn, cf. Nubīn (?) 243
 Badakhshān (Badhakhshān) 63, 71, 112,
 119, 325, 365, 366, 482; ford, 359
 Badal-Art *see* Bedel
 Bādghīs 104, 386
 Bādkhāna 387
 Bāft 124
 Baghaskān (?) 116
 Baghdād 12, 15, 20-3, 37-8, 76, 129,
 138-40
 Baghlān 109, 340
 Baghnī 111
 Baghrās 67, 150
 Baghshūr, in China 26, 70, 84, 229, 230;
 near Marv 64, 104, 327
 Baghūykath 117
 Bahamshir canal 214
 Bahār (spelt . . . ghār?) 125
 Bahārak 350, 365
 Bahlavān in Fārs 127
 Bahmanābād 39, 102
 Baḥr al-akhḍar (Green Sea) 32, 51
 Baḥr al-A'zam (Great Sea) 32, 51-2,
 56, 72-4, 76-7, 79, 80-3, 85-6, 122-4,
 126, 145, 163, 179, 220
 Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ *see* Western Ocean
 Baḥr Warank 181
 Bahra (Pahra), in Kirmān 125; in Fārs
 129
 Bahrā mt., in Syria 67
 Bahrāmābād 201
 Bahrāyij 89, 246
 Baḥrayn 81, 127, 148, 164, 412, cf. Niz-
 wayn
 Bahrūgān 124, 374

- Baikal l. 284
 Bajanāk *see* Pecheneg
 Bājarvān 449
 Bajghurt t. *see* Bashghird
 Bajirbagān 127
 Bajja 129
 Bajnī (Bajnā), cf. Čapni 469, 471
 Bakhtagān (Bīchagān) l. 54, 74, 183
 Bākhwān, cf. Bārmān 281, 295
 Bakrābād 133, 385
 Bākū (Bākūh) 77, 145, 193, 407, 411, 449
 Balad 76, 140
 Balad al-Dāwar *see* Zamīn-D.
 Balanjar 162, 452
 Bālas (Bālus?) 76
 Balāsāghūn 280, 291
 Balavvat (B.l.vv.t) 72, 91, 253
 Bālāyān 357
 Baliapatam 243
 Bālis (Bālīsh, Valīsh-tān), in Balūchistan 111, 346
 Bālis, in Jazīra 142, 149, 393
 Baljuvān (= Munk) 208, 361
 Balkans, cf. Balkhan 205, 411
 Balkh 16-17, 39, 63-4, 70-1, 73, 81, 105, 107-8, 111, 311, 337, 369; Balkh r. *see* Dah-ās
 Balkhān (Balqān), east of the Caspian 180
 Balkhash (Balqash) l. 208, 276
 Balqā mt. 67, 151, 415
 Balqān (Balqar?), in the Caucasus 460
 Bāls (?), in Kāshgharia 93
 Baltic Sea 8, 54, 181
 Baltistān 258, 369
 Balūch, Balūchistān 28, 123-4, 372-3
 Bālūs *see* Baros
 Balūt *see* Balavvat
 Bam 65, 125
 Bamījkath 352
 Bāmiyān 64, 73, 105, 108, 109, 330
 Bāmkakhush 355
 Bampūr 373
 Banākat 72, 73, 118, 211
 Bandar-i Daylam 377
 Bandar Lahori 372
 Band-i Turkistān 199
 Banīhār *see* Nihār
 Bāniya 27, 245
 Banjikath *see* Panjikath
 Bānjikāsh 357
 Bānjikash (Bānkhash?) 356
 Bankālūs *see* Lankabālūs
 Bannū 251
 Bānū 127
 Bāra (spelt: *Nāra*) is. 179, 189, 190
 Baradān 140
 B.rādhās *see* Burtās
 Barakdz (spelt: *B.r.k.d.r?*) 73, 105, 328
 Bārāmūla 370
 Barbar town 179
 Barbarā 179
 Barbarī Gulf 52, 81, 164 222
 Barchūla t. 162, 461
 Barchuq, cf. J.rm.q 281
 Barda'a (Bardha'a) 29, 66, 143, 144
 Bardangān 129
 Bardasir 125
 Bardij (Barděj) 77, 144, 218, 403
 Bardūj *see* Vardūqiya
 Barfak (Fārfak?) 338, 340
 Barfjān 137, 390
 Bārfurūsh, cf. Mamatir 386
 Barghar (Falghar), in Sughd 115, 354
 Bārgin-i Farākh 183
 Bargri 143
 Bārī 249
 Bariha (B.rīja, B.rikha) near Khotan 70, 92-3, 206, 262
 Bārījān (Bārīzān) mt. 65, 125, 201
 Bārimmā mt. 66, 202
 Bāriz t., in Kirmān 373
 Barkul l. 266
 Bārlugh 94, 272, 273
 Bārmān, cf. Aqrāq.r. 295, 296, 482
 Baroda 245
 Baroghil p. 365, 369
 Baros (Bālūs) 57, 187, 228, 241
 Barqa 81, 153
 Bar-qa'id 140
 Barqūh (Abarqūh) 129
 Bārsāragh, cf. Bāsārān, K.brs.rāgh, 120, 359, 361
 Barsarkān (?) 128
 Barshliya, cf. Bashli 453
 Barskaun valley 293
 Barskhān (Barsghān), Upper 28, 54, 98, 116, 269, 273, 276, 287, 289, 291-3, 296, 298, 482; Lower 269
 Bārtang 208, 360
 Bartūj *see* Artūj
 Barv (Burj?) 131
 Barzand 142, 403
 Barzanj (?) 403
 Bāsafūya (Bāsahūya) l. 54, 183
 Bāsand 38, 114
 Bāsahri *see* Bāsafūya
 Bāsārān (Bās.rā) *see* Bārsāragh
 Bashin (Abshin) 64, 73, 106, 327
 Bashli 449
 Bashm *see* Pashm
 Bāsht 201
 Basilion l. 184
 Bašinay *see* Bašunnay
 Bāsiyān 74, 75, 130, 214, 381
 Bāsjirt *al-dākhil* ("Inner B.") 319
 Bashghird, Bashghurt, Bashqir, cf. Bāsjirt 312, 318-20, 322, 469
 Baskunas, *see* Basques
 Basmad 246
 Basmil t. 264, 266, 272, 285
 Basques 158, 424
 Bašra 58, 76, 81, 137-9, 146; sea of Bašra 52; swamps 56, 76; desert 137
 Bašra (Bušayra), in Morocco 154, 417

- Bastarāb (Astarāb?) 31, 55, 185, 334
 Baṣunnay (Baṣinnay) 75, 131
 Batsrā, cf. Bajni 471
 Baun (Bavan?) 104
 Bāvard (Abivard) 64, 80, 103
 Bāvul (Bābol) r. 77
 Bayān 139, 214, 381
 Bayāndur t. 304
 Bayās (Payas) 149
 Bayḡā, in Fārs 23, 128; in Khazaria 162, 452-3
 Bayhān (spelt: *Mijān*) 77
 Baylaqān 144, 398
 Bayrūt (Beirut) 149
 Baysūn 353
 Baytāl (Nepal?) 91, 239, 248
 Bazda 114
 Bāzhgāh 144, 398
 Bazmān-kūh, cf. Dundāvand 375
 Bāzranj 74, 212
 B.dhmīniya 122
 B.dhūshāvur see Gundē-Shāpūr
 Bedel p. 195, 293
 Bedouin steppe 81
 Behbehān 379
 Beja (Bāja), in Spain 155
 Belbela r. 456
 Belgrad, near Constantinople 41, 221, 423
 Belozero l. 437
 Belt of the Earth mt. 65, 196, 200
 Benares 247
 Bengal, cf. Harikel 188, 241
 Bengal Gulf 180
 Berbers 40, 153, 154, 221, 476
 Bethlehem (*Bayt al-Lahm*) 150
 B.gh-Shūrā, Baghsūz see Baghsūr in China
 B.ghūrānk (?) 117
 B.hḡūlā, B.rḡūlā see Barchūla 461
 Biarmia (Perm) 436-7
 Bichagān see Bakhtagān
 Bidhān 214
 Bidlis 143
 Bigliligh (Bigligh) 99, 298, 303
 Bih 123
 Bih-Shāpūr see Bishāpūr
 Bijagān (Bichagān) see Bakhtagān
 Bilād al-Dawār see Zamin-D.
 Bilasuvār 391
 Bilwat fort 253
 Bimand, cf. Kūtmīdhan 376
 Binā 94
 Binālūd mt. 326
 Bind 123
 Binkath 118, 357
 Birdhaun 382
 Birūn (Nirūn) 122, 372
 Birūza, cf. Ba'ūra 72, 91, 210, 239, 253
 Birzula, cf. Barchūla(?) 461
 Bishāpūr (Bishāvūr) 376, 379
 Bishārīn t. 33
 Bish-baliq (B.-baligh), cf. Panjikath
 Bishgird see Veshgird
 Bishlang (Bashling?) 111
 Biskant 356
 Bistām 36, 135
 Bistān t. 97
 Bistarāb see Bastarāb
 Bisūk 127
 Biya-Pas 388
 Biya-Pish 388
 B.jūna 88
 B.ksān 88
 Black Sea, cf. Pontos, Georgian Sea, Khazar Sea 14, 32, 42, 53-4, 67, 78, 156-8, 160-1, 180, 182, 216, 422, 443
 B.lāq t. 96
 B.lhārī 72, 88, 246
 Bljm see Munjān
 B.lkār see Bulghār
 B.lkh.mkān(?) 95
 B.llin (?+pattan) 188, 243
 B.l.vv.t see Balavvat 72, 253
 B.nābid 103
 Bnchūl (*Bnchūk?) see Wen-su
 B.ndāq.lus 78
 B.nvādha 103
 Bolan p. 346
 Bolōr 39, 63, 71, 93, 121, 208, 258, 364, 367, 369; Bolōrian Tibet see Tibet
 Bōn see Baun
 Bontos (Pontos) see Black Sea
 Boro-Dabasun l. 184
 Bosphorus 21, 141
 Brahmanābād 372
 Brahmaputra r. 208
 B.rhāra 89
 B.rīkha see Bariha
 Brihūn (Budā'un?) 90
 Brinjak, cf. B.rīha 206, 262
 B.rīsh t. 97
 Britannia (Britāniya) 8, 59, 159, 191, 425
 B.rji 386
 B.rkhmān in Tibet 93
 Br.niya (?) in Tibet 93
 B.rūza see Birūza
 B.rwān (perhaps *لوان Lou-lan) l. 276
 B.sm.d (?) in Hind 89
 Buam defile 292
 Buccelaron (Buqallār) 78, 156, 220
 Budā'un 247, 248
 Budha t. 123, 372
 Budhandūn (Podandon, Bozanti) 78, 220
 Bū-ghānim see Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim
 Bughrāj 280
 Bughsūr see Baghsūr
 Būgūr 274
 Buja (Baja) t. 33, 34, 79, 81, 83, 164, 474, desert 81, 223, r. 79
 Bujaq (cf. Oglon, Onglon) 467
 Bukhārā 3, 16-8, 38, 39, 55-6, 63, 73, 102, 105, 112-14
 Bukhārā river (Zarafshān) 73, 113, 115

- Bula *see* Ubulla; Bula canal 76
 Bulainā 512
 Bulaiq 274
 Bulghār, Black 41
 Bulghār, Great (*a'ṣam*) 434, 438, 439;
 Magna Bulgaria, 319
 Bulghār, Inner (*al-dākhil*) 41, 42, 53,
 67, 83, 158, 160, 319, 423, 429, 438,
 440, 442, 466, 468
 Bulghārs, Outer (*al-khārija*) 439
 Bulghār, town 163, 221, 312, 461
 Bulghārī (cf. Bulghars on the Danube)
 157, 423, 440; mt. 69, 79, r. 79
 Bulgaria 41
 Bulghārs on the Danube, cf. Burjān,
 Bulghārī, V.n.n.d.r. 11, 40, 41, 157,
 181, 423, 440, 460, 468
 Bulghārs (Bulghār) on the Volga (Mus-
 lim Bulghārs) 43-4, 75, 81, 159, 162,
 181, 217, 319, 437, 439
 Bulkār, cf. Bulghar on the Volga 320,
 436, 460
 Bulrī 72, 89, 246
 Būmkath (?) 112, 352
 Būnābidh 326
 Būnjikath 115
 Būnūghnī t. 84, 229
 Buqallār *see* Buccellarion
 Burghar (Bulghar) 419
 Burj 213
 Burjān (Burchān, Danube Bulghars) 40,
 41, 53, 79, 156-7, 423, 429, 440, 468;
 Burgunds (?) 419
 Burj-i sangīn (*Lithinos pyrgos*?) 26, 85,
 233
 Būrkhimū 86, 234
 Burma (al-Arm.n, Rahmaniya) 237, 242
 Burṭās t. (Mordva) 25, 43, 44, 75, 83,
 101, 161-2, 217, 314, 315, 437, 439,
 460, 462, 464, 465; r. 462
 Burūgird 132
 Burzīn-mihr, fire-temple 325
 Buṣaira *see* Baṣra, in Morocco
 Būsanana (Būšana?) 133
 Būshang 22, 64, 104
 Busht 117
 Būṣīr 68, 152
 Bust 5, 39, 64, 73, 106, 110-1, 344-5
 Bustugān 128
 Buṭtamān (Buttam, Butmān) mt. 22,
 55, 63, 71-3, 115-16, 120, 198, 211,
 354, 363
 Buzdighūr 103
 Būzhagan (Pūchagan) 103
 Bystān (?) t. 289
 Byzantines (Rūmiyān), cf. Greeks 53,
 143, 149
 Byzantium (*see also* Rūm) 8, 32, 38, 40,
 41, 42, 148, 218
 B.z.r.k., cf. F.r.z.k 127
 Cadiz (Ghadira) 58, 190
 Cairo 37
 Cambodia (Khmer) 27
 Canary is. *see* Islands of the Blest
 Canton *see* Khan-fu
 Čāpni *see* Chāpni
 Cappadocia 156
 Čaqir *see* Chaqlr
 Carmona 155
 Carnatic 222
 Carpathians 203, 441, 466
 Caspian Provinces 29, 37, 39
 Caspian (Khazar) Sea 28, 32, 36, 38, 42,
 53, 60, 67, 71-2, 75, 77, 80-1, 100,
 133-4, 136-7, 156, 180, 215, cf. Daryā-
 yi Armīna 444
 Caucasus *see also* Qabq mt. 42, 145, 201,
 204, 318
 Ceylon, cf. Tabarnā 7, 157, 189, 194,
 235
 Chāch town (Tashkent), cf. Burj-i-
 Sangīn 24, 72, 73, 116, 117, 118, 119,
 233, 357; r. 13, 122, 149
 Chachaktu 335
 Chad l. 476
 Chadghal (Chatqal, Jadghal) 116, 117,
 118, 211
 Chaghāniyān 17, 38-9, 63, 71, 114-5,
 119-20, 178, 198
 Chaghān-Rūdh 71, 353, 363
 Chaghatay t. 299
 Chahār-dar p. 340
 Chahāryak *see* Sangchārak
 Chahbār 373
 Chāhuk 379, 380
 Chākarān 365
 Chāl r. 341
 Chaldia 156
 Chālkān (Chālakān) 110, 344
 Chālkūrūdh (Chālkūrūd) 136, 387
 Chalmadana 259
 Chalmakazan 259
 Chalqar l. 310
 Chālūs r. 134, 135, 136, 388, 391
 Chambā state 239, 250
 Chāmghār *see* Jāmghar
 Chamhad *see* Babarhān
 Champa (Ṣanf) in Indo-China 86, 240
 Chandor mt. 198
 Chandror 89, 246
 Ch'ung-an *see* Khumdān
 Chan-pei, cf. Jāba (Sumatra) 250
 Chāpni t., cf. Bajni 469
 Chaqlr t. 319
 Chaqmaqting l. 332
 Chārikār 348
 Charkiyān (Sharkhiyān) 6
 Charkhlik 234
 Charmangān 93, 114
 Charqān (Kharqāna?) 115
 Charsianon (Kharshana) 156, 420-1
 Charuq t. 275
 Chashma-yi Sabz *see* Tūs l. 185
 Chaymūr (Chaul) *see* Ṣaymūr
 Chechen t. 402, 446

- Ch'è-Lê *see* Tölös
 Cherkes (Circassians), cf. Kāsak 32, 161, 422, 446
 Chiao-ho 269
 Ch'ien-fo-tung 233
 Chigil t. 28, 35, 54, 83, 97, 98-9, 291, 297, 319, 482
 Chīmkan (Šimkân) 377
 Chīn *see* China 52, 227 [confused with Khotan?]
 China (Chinistān, Chīn) 11, 24-6, 27, 34, 51-3, 56, 61-2, 79, 80, 82, 83-6, 92-4, 96, 179, 227, 445
 Chinānjikath (Kao-ch'ang) 94, 195, 229, 271
 Chindwin (Mi-no) r. 243
 Chink mt. 314
 Chirchik r. 211, 289, 356
 Chisht (Khawja-Chisht), near Herat 343
 Chitrāl 350, 364, 365
 Ch.ma (Chomkhala?) 137, 390
 Chrysē is., cf. Gold island 186
 Chū r. 194, 195, 264, 289, 300, 301, 358
 Chūbin *see* Dih-i Chubin
 Chuguchak 274
 Chūnpān t. 288
 Chuvash t. 322, 451, 460, 464
 Comans 315, *see* Khifchakh, Qumāniya
 Constantinople 21, 40, 53, 56, 156, 470; straits of C. 82-3, 156, 158
 Cordoba 154, 155
 Corea (Shilā) 228
 Coria, in Spain 69, 155, 205
 Coros r., in Fārs 183
 Corsica (Qurnos) 59, 192
 Cracow 430
 Crete (Iqritas) 60, 192
 Crimea 32, 444, 471
 Croats, cf. Khurvāt, White Croats 430, 432, 441
 Cyprus (Qubras) 59, 192

 Dabīq (Dabqu, Danqarā) 151, 416
 Dabūsi (Dabūsiya) 38, 113, 352
 Daghestan 42, 203, 204, 362
 Dahae t., cf. Dihistān 193, 386
 Dahana-yi Shīr 74, 214
 Dahan-i Kāshān, cf. Ribāt-i Karvān 336
 al-Dahnā desert 222
 Dah-Ās r. 73, 211
 Dailamān *see* Daylamān
 Dākharraqān (Dihkharghān) 143, 395
 Dākhil in Gilān 137, 390
 Dakhkath 356
 Dāliya 364
 Damascus 67, 150
 Damāvand mt. 375, 411
 Dāmghān (Dāmaghān) 36, 135, 387
 Dandānaqān 105, 336
 Danpūr *see* Dunpūr
 Danqarā *see* Dabīq
 Danube (Dūnā) 11, 42, 43, 44, 321, 430, 441, 443, 466, 467, 470

 Darā, in Jazīra 140
 Dārāgird (Dārābjird) 54, 65, 128, 183, 376
 Dārakān 128
 Daraut-qurghan *see* Stone-tower
 Darawliya (Dorylaion) 220
 Darbakh r. 449, 450
 Darband-i Khazarān (*Bāb al-Abwāb*) 42, 60, 145, 203, 361, 407, 411, 454
 Dārchīn (Dārjīn) 125, 375
 Dārūr 477
 Darghām r. 71, 338
 Darghush *see* Durghush
 Darial p. 203, 446, 452
 Dar-i Alān *see* Alān gate
 Dar-i Andara 106, 107, 334
 Dar-i Tāziyān 112, 350, 364, 365
 Dar-i Tubbat 120, 350
 Darkān (al-Adhkān?) 129
 Darmashān (Dar-i Mashān?) 106, 111, 333, 342-3, 346
 Darvāz 364, 366
 Daryā-yi 'Arab *see* Red Sea
 Darya-yi Gurziyān *see* Black Sea
 Daryā-yi Khazarān *see* Caspian Sea
 Daryāzha l. 55, 63, 73, 115, 185, 198, 211
 Darzāb-va-Gurziyān *see* Gurziyān
 Dārzangī (Dārzanji) 114, 353
 Dasht-i Arzan *see* Arzan
 Dasht-i Dastaqān (Dastagān) 212, 377
 Dasht-i Navur 199
 Dasht-i Qipchaq *see* Khifchāq
 Daulatābād (Pāryāb) 4
 Dauraq 75, 130, 213, 214, 380
 Daybul (Dēbul) 123, 372
 Daylam 35, 53, 64, 83, 131-7, 145, 384-91, 411; cf. Bandar-i Daylam
 Dayrā 130
 Dayragān 378
 Dayr 'Āqūl 138
 Dayyir 377
 Dead Sea 54, 81
 Debeltos 469
 Denau (Dih-i Nau), in Chaghāniyān 353
 Dhakhkath 117
 Dhamīra 151
 Dhanbādh (Dīnār mt.) 74, 212
 Dharnūkh 119, 358
 Dhimār 147
 Dibājāt is. 244
 Dīdūn *see* Budhandūn
 Digor t. 445
 Dihaj 375
 Dihak 65, 125
 Dih-i Chūbin 75, 100, 310, 312
 Dih-i Gōz (Qaryat al-jauz, "the Walnut Village") 125, 375
 Dih-i nau (Yāngi-kānd) 122, 306, 308, 312, 353, 371
 Dih-i Qaratigīn 122
 Dih-i S.n.k.s. (Sangas?) 112, 364
 Dihistān 29, 60, 80, 133, 134, 385

Dihistānān-Sur 60, 193, 386
 Dilmān (cf. Daylam) 64
 Dimyāt 55, 151
 Dīnār (Dhanbādh) mt. 212
 Dīnārūdīh r. 136, 388
 Dīnār-Zārī 64, 200
 Dīnāvar 132
 Distra *see* Silistria
 Dīvrūdīh 212
 Dīvshārān, 482
 Diyālā r. 218
 Diyārbakr *see* Āmid
 Diyār-Qaum-Lūt 415
 Diyār-Rabī'a 141
 Diz-, cf. Qal'a-
 Diz-i Ahnaf (Diz-i Hīnaf) 73, 105
 Diz-i Mahdī (Dar-i Mahdī) 130
 Diz-i Pisar-i 'Umāra (Hīṣn b. 'Umāra)
 126, 377
 Diza 22, 64, 105
 Dizak, in Sind 123; in Transoxania 115
 Dizh-i Alānān 193
 Dizh-i Nāvāzak, cf. Āvāza 186
 D.khs-Ās (Rukhs-Ās?), Alān t. 445, 458
 Dniepr r. 322, 471
 Dniester r. 431
 Don (Tanais) r. 41, 181, 216, 322, 429,
 433, 462
 Dora p. 365
 Dorylaion *see* Darawliya
 Dōshī r. 209, 340, 341, 342
 Draguignan 192
 D.rān 113
 D.krān 380
 D.stūya (Rastūya) 93
 Dūbā *see* Danube 321, 441
 Dubays canal 76
 Dūlāb 137, 391
 Dūnā *see* Danube
 Dunbāvand mt. in Ṭabaristān 135, in
 Kirmān 375
 Dunpūr 63, 72, 92, 209, 252
 Dunqula ("Old Dongola") 475
 Dūr 40, 140
 Durghush (Darghush) 73, 111, 211, 345
 Du-Shanba (= Stalinābād) 353
 Duvin (Dabil) 142
 Dvali, cf. Ṭwlās 457, cf. Ṭulās
 Dynwr *see* Dunpūr
 Earth 50, 51
 Ēcija (Isinja) 155
 Edessa 37
 Egypt 36-8, 52-6, 68, 78, 81-3, 148-55,
 165, 415
 Egypt, Upper (Sa'id) 10, 68, 165
 Egyptian Desert 149, 151
 Elbrus mt. 445
 Eliseni 400, 402
 Emba (Jam) r. 215, 312
 Ephesus *see* Rustā-yi Awās, Arabissos
 68, 204
 Equator 33-4, 50-2, 58-9, 82-3

Equius *see* Iki-ögüz
 Er(i)-chou (Liang-chou) 230
 Eritrea 473
 Erz'a t. 434, 436, 463, 464
 Erzerum *see* Qalīqala
 Eski-Shehir 220
 Euphrates (Furāt) r. 37, 70, 76-7, 81,
 84, 140-1, 148-9, 218
 Europe (Ūrūfi) 33, 83
 Faghkath 115
 Fayd 67, 148
 Falghar *see* Barghar
 Fallāhiya 213, 214
 Fam al-Ṣilḥ 138
 Fāmīr *see* Pāmīr
 Fanšūr (Sumatra) 87, 228, 236, 240
 Fārāb *see* Pārāb
 Farah 110
 Farah-rūd 343
 Faramā 151
 Fārān *see* Tārān
 Farāv 80, 133, 386
 Fārf.za (Fārfak?), cf. Barfak 338
 Farghāna 38, 115-8, 293, 338
 Fārgāna (?), in Ṭukhāristān 330, 338
 Fārgar (Pārgar), on the Oxus 208
 Fargird 104
 Farinkath 113, 117, 352
 Fārīṭa 183
 Farkhār, in Tālaqān 330, 340
 Farkhār, Great, in Tibet 94, 263
 Farmul (or Parmul), cf. Saul 251
 Faró 418
 Fārs (Pārs) 6, 19, 25, 34, 36, 40, 52-5,
 58, 65-6, 74, 80, 83, 123, 125-31, 163,
 212; desert 126; gulf 52; sea 52
 Farsāna (Qalshāna?) 153
 Farūnkath 119, 358
 Farvāb 74; r. 74, 213
 Fārvāf, in Kābul(?) 338
 Fāryāb, *see* Pāryāb
 Fās 154
 Fath 76
 Faydābād in Badhakshān 350; in
 Chaghāniyān 353; on the Oxus 360
 Fayyūm 68, 78, 152, 205
 Fazāra t. 146
 Fazzān, cf. H.rān(?) 416, 474, 477
 Filān t., in Daghestan, cf. Lupenii 454
 Finns 191, 433
 Firab (Firabr) 113
 Firīm *see* Pirīm
 Firūzābād 377
 Firūz-kūh, cf. Gharchistān 327
 Firūzqand 345
 F.ma (N.ma?) 89
 F.nīkī (Q.nb.li?) 123
 "Four Garrisons", in China 280
 F.rāj.klī 70, 84, 207, 228
 F.rākhiya (Qarajiya?) 99, 303
 Franks 53, 155, 158, 191, 418, 424
 Fraxinetum (Frainet) 192

- F.rdir (?) 125
 F.rz.k, cf. B.zr.k 212
 Fur' 148
 Fūrī *see* Qūrī
 Furj 128
 Fustāt 37, 68, 78, 81, 151, 152

 Ganāfa (Ganāwa, Jannāba) 74, 127, 212
 Gandāwa, cf. Qandabil 373
 Gandhāra, cf. Vayhind 238
 Ganges r. 198, 209
 Ganj, Ganj rustāq 104
 Ganja (Ganza) 144
 Gardaban, south of Tiflis, cf. Qal'a ibn
 Kandmān 398, 402
 Gardimān-chay r. 407
 Gardīz 91, 251
 Gargar, on the Araxes 396; cf. also
 Āb-i Gargar
 Garm, in Khuttal 361
 Garsh t. near the Azov sea 32, 446
 Gash 110
 Georgia *see* Gurz
 Ghadīra ('Adīra) *see* Cadiz
 Ghāfiq 155, 418
 Ghalijaskush, inhabitants of Jacā 155,
 158, 418, 425
 Ghalzay (Ghilzai) t. 348, cf. Khalaj
 Ghāna, in the Sūdān 477
 Ghandhār *see* Qandāhar
 Ghārān 366, 367
 Gharbangī canal 17
 Gharchistān 5, 73, 105-6, 109, 325, 332
 Gharjand, in Chāch 357
 Ghazā (Gh.zā), in Tibet 71, 94, 207,
 262
 Ghaznīn (Ghazna) 30, 64, 91, 111-2,
 176, 345, 346, 348
 Ghazaq 115, cf. also Ghazna 111
 Ghazwān 66, 203
 Ghazza 150
 Gh.drānk 357
 Gh.nksīr 97
 Ghiyān r. (Kiang, Yangtze-kiang) 70,
 84, 206, 228
 Gh.nūn l. 217
 Ghōrband 340, 348
 Ghubairā 125
 Ghund (Ghunt) r. 206, 367
 Ghūr (Ghōr) 1, 5, 63-4, 73, 104-6, 110-
 11, 174, 199, 330, 333, 342
 Ghūz t. 35, 38, 43-4, 53, 72, 75, 80-1,
 83, 97, 100-1, 102, 112, 119, 122,
 133-4, 162, 216, 305-6, 314, 317, 444;
 Ghūz desert *see* Khwārazm desert;
 Ghūz Turks, 38, 60, 121; Gate of the
 Ghūz 121
 Gh.zjand 117
 Gh.zk 117
 Gh.z.r *see* 'Azr
 Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriq) 59, 154
 Gilābādh 137
 Gilān 53, 64-5, 77, 136-7, 142, 388, 391
 Gilgit 350, 364, 365, 369
 Girang (Kirang?) 73, 105, 328
 Godavari r. 241
 Gogo, in the Sūdān 477
 Gogra, 246
 Gök-chay r. 407
 Gold island (*Dhahabiya*, cf. Chrysē,
 Wāqwāq) 56, 228
 Gośrngā, near Khotan, cf. Kohmāri 232
 Goths, Crimean 440, 442, 468
 Gözbön (Gözbun), cf. Güzgān 330-1
 Great Sea *see* Baḥr al-a'ḡam
 Greeks (Yūnāniyān), cf. Byzantines, 21,
 33, 41, 51, 58
 Green Sea *see* Baḥr al-akhḡar
 Guadalajara (*Wādī al-hijāra*) 155
 Guadalquivir 205
 Guadiana 205
 Guchen 272
 Gujarāt peninsula 239
 Gujrāt, in Panjāb 251
 Gulfaḡān 340
 Gulnābād 201
 Gumri (Humri?) r. in Daghestan 449
 Gümüşh-tāpā 386
 Gundalik or Gundluk, near Khotan 262
 Gundē-Shāpur (Vindūshāvur) 25, 75,
 131, 214, 381
 Gūpāl *see* Rūd-i A'lā
 Gūr 127
 Gūrāb-i Kuhdum, cf. Kūtum 390
 Gurgān 29, 38-9, 53, 64, 77, 102, 133-5,
 200, 218, 312, 386
 Gurgānj (Gurgānch) 38, 122, 312, 314,
 371, cf. also 180
 Gurgrūdh (?) 136
 Gurz (Georgia) 32, 157, 410, 421-2, 445,
 456; Gurz mt. 68, 204; Gurz Sea *see*
 Black Sea
 Gurzivān 64, 107, 335
 Gushai (Kushai), in China 233
 Gūyum (Jūyum) 128, 379
 Guzār (Khuzār) 352
 Güzgān, Güzgānān 4-7, 31, 39, 55,
 63-4, 73, 104-11, 173, 177, 328, 331

 Ḥabasha *see* Abyssinia
 Ḥabīr sands 81, 222
 Ḥadath 149
 Ḥaditha 76, 141
 Ḥadramūt 19, 77, 81, 145, 147; r. 218
 Ḥaḡrat Imām Ṣāḡib, on the Oxus 359,
 360
 Haft-Dih 356
 Hajar 81, 148, 413
 Hakḡra, or Eastern Nara r. in Sind 372
 Halāvārd 120, 359
 Halys (Qizil-Irmaḡ) 220
 Hamadān 65
 Hamānān (?) 72, 88
 Hamāt 150
 Hamdān t. 146, 412
 Ḥamrīn mt. 203

- Hamvārān 114, 209, 353
 Han-hai mt. 284
 Haramayn (Pyramids) 152
 Haranj (H.r.nj?) is. 57
 Harāt *see* Herat
 Hārda *see* Mārīda
 Harhaz (Harāzpey) r. 77, 218
 Hari (*Harē) *see* Herat
 Harikel *see* Bengal
 Harīrūd (Herat r.) 5, 73
 Hārith *see* Ararat, Great
 Harkand, on east coast of India 87, 241
 Harrān, in Jazīra 12, 141
 Hārūnī 149
 Hasan-Kiyā-Dih 390
 Hashādhār 391
 Hāshimī t. 149
 Hāshumkirt (Hāshim-gird) 114
 Hauf [al-sharqī] 68
 Hausam 136, 388
 Haush 108
 Haybak 338
 Haydarābād 372
 Haytāl or Haytāl (Hephthalites) 277, 288, 301, 327, 340, 347, 359, 362
 Hazār 128, 379
 H.dd.njira(?) 87, 241
 Hephthalites *see* Haytāl
 Her-āb (Herow), in Ādharbaijān, cf. Babr 391
 Herāt (Harāt, Harē) 16, 22, 26, 64, 73, 103-5, 109, 125, 327
 Hījāz 146, 164
 Hilmand (Hidhmand) r. 5, 36, 39, 73, 110, 344
 Himalaya 196, 198, 236, 240
 Hīmş 67, 150
 Hīmyar (Hīmyarī) 146, 412
 Hind (Panjāb and India south of the Indus) 34, 80, 89
 Hindī, Hindū *see* Indians
 Hindiyān r., cf. Shīrīn 212-3, 378
 Hindūkush 39, 199, 340, 367
 Hindūstān 7, 34, 39, 52, 56, 61-3, 65, 83-4, 86-92, 102, 108-11, 119, 123, 235-54; Gate of H., 110, 112.
 Hīra 140
 Hirand (Gurgān) r. 29, 77, 133, 218, 325, 385
 Hişār 198
 Hişn-Mahdī 74, 214, 381
 Hīt 76, 141
 Hītāl (Hibtāl, Haytāl?), in the Himalaya 62-3, 90-1, 198, 239
 Hivān (?) 72, 91, 210, 253
 The Home of the People of Lot 151
 Horizon (*dā'irat al-āfāq*) 50, 51
 Hormuz *see* Hurmuz
 Howa 472
 H.rān (Fazzān?) 165, 477
 H.rl.j 188
 Hrmz (?) 375
 Hsi-An-fu *see* Khumdān
 H.sinākra(?) 88
 H.ski t. 287
 Huang-ho 195, 206, 207, 221, 228
 Hulbuk (Hulmuk, Hulbag) 71, 119, 359-60, 369
 Hu-lu 294
 Hulwān 139, 201
 Hu-mi *see* Vakhān
 Hunarakart *see* Khunān
 Hungar- (H.gry'im), Hungary 319, 467, 471, cf. Magyar
 Hurmūz, in Kirmān 40, 74, 124
 Hurmuz-Shahr *see* Ahwāz
 Husaynān (H.synān?) 91, 251
 Hutm *see* Khuthum
 Huwayrith *see* Ararat, Lesser
 Hwfl (Wāqwāq?) 163, 472
 Ibiza (Yābis) is. 59, 192
 Ibryq (Abwaīf, Rif?) 68, 204
 Idha (Idhaj, read: *Tustar*) 130
 Iflākhūniya *see* Paphlagonia
 Ifranja *see* Frank
 Ifriqiya *see* Africa
 Ighārayn 383
 Ighrāj(?) -Art mt. 62, 71, 95-6, 195, 206, 208, 277, 278
 Ighrāq, t. or land 275, 277, 305
 Ij 129
 Iki-Ögüz 276-7
 Ilā *see* Ili
 Ilāk r. 309
 Ilāq 117, 118, 356
 Ili (Ilā) r. 71, 195-6, 208, 277-8, 300-1
 Ilion 9
 Ilmen l. 181
 Imāk (Imāk), cf. Kimāk 304
 Imām-Bābā 328
 Imī t. 304
 India *see* Hindūstān
 Indian Ocean 7, 14, 32, 34, 52, 186; gulf, 52; mt. 72
 Indians 39, 62, 88, 90, 92, 109, 111, 121
 Indus (Mihrrān) 72, 80, 86, 89, 122-3, 198-9, 210, 253, 372; cf. Sind-rūdh
 Inhabited world 44, 83
 Iqlid *see* Kilidh
 Īraj 128
 'Irāq 15-6, 36-7, 40, 52, 66, 81, 83, 88, 129-31, 137-40, 142, 392
 'Irāq gulf 137
 Irghiz (Savūq) r. 306, 308-10
 İrgüzgükath (?) 95, *see* Iki-ögüz
 Ir.sh, in China 70, 84, 228
 Irkish (Artush) r. 35, 75, 99, 100, 196, 215, 305, 306, 312,
 Irkish, Black r. 215, 310; White r. 215, 310
 Isbijāb *see* Isfijāb
 Isfara r. 355
 Isfarāyin (Siparāyin) 64, 102, 200
 Isfijāb (Isbijāb, İspijāb, İspēchāb) 38, 118-9, 306, 312, 357

Isfīnaqān *see* Sibinakān

Isfizār *see* Aspuzār

Isgil (Ishgil) *see* Asgil

Ishbinghū 357

Ishim r., cf. Asus 202, 215, 305, 306

Ishkāmish (Iskīmisht, Sikīmisht) 109, 340-1

Ishkāshim (Sikāshim) 121, 248, 351, 364-6

Ishtikhan 113, 352

Iskalkand, Iskan, Iskar *see* Sakalkand

Iskandar-kul l. 211

Iskandariya *see* Alexandria

Iskandarūna 149

Iskitul 351

Islands of the Blest *see* Khāliya

Ispahān (Sipāhān) 65-6, 74, 126, 129, 131

Issik-kul l. 28, 54, 62, 71, 98, 183, 195, 208, 293, 298, 300

Istāhbanāt 129

Istākh 111, 347

Ištakhr 74, 126, 129, 376

Īsū t. (Ves') 437

İtil (Ātil) r. 43, 75, 80, 99, 100, 161-3, 216, 305, 321

İtlukh (?) 117, 356

Jāba is. (Sumatra?), cf. Salāhiṭ 33-4, 57, 186-7

Jāba, Continental, cf. Champā 34, 63, 188, 198, 249 (cf. N.jāba)

Jāba, Indian, King of Palembang (?), cf. Chan-pei 57, 187

Jabal al-Qamar 55, 69, 78, 205

Jabal al-Qilāl 59, 191

Jabal al-sahāb 194

Jabal al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr 52, 61, 79, 80, 193

Jabal-Ṭāriq 59

Jabala 148

Jabalān *see* Aja' and Salmā 203

Jabbul 138

Jabghūkath 117, 357

Jāb.rs.rī (?) 89, 246

Jābrūqān (Jabr.vān) in Ādharbayjān 142, 394

Jacá *see* Ghalijaskush

Jadghal *see* Chadghal

Jaen (Jayyān) 155

Jagin r. in Balūchistan 374

Jahrum 110, 129

Jahūdhān, in Gūzgān 5, 64, 107, 334; in Ispahān 131

Jāhuk 129

Jājarm 39, 102

Jalādajān 212

Jalālābād 252

Jalāliqa (Galicians in Spain) 424

Jalavvat (Jalūt) 72, 91, 253

Jālhandar 90, 247

Jalūlā 139

Jam, in Fārs 127

Jām (Emba) r. 215, 312

Jamagird, Jamakūt, Yamakoṭi 183, 377 *see* Bāra

Jambaliq 272

Jambi 188

Jāmghar (Chāmghar?) 94, 98, 273, 287, 293

Jāmi'ayn 77, 140

Jammū (Jambū), Indian state 250

Jamshidgird 189

Janart p. *see* Muzart p.

Jand 72, 81, 122, 222, 371

Jandrūz *see* Chandror

Janzarūdḥ 125

Japan 228

Jār 81, 148

Jarami al-Habash (*Garamē*, spelt *Rāsun*) 34, 164, 473-4

Jarāshān 104

Jar-i Kulbād 386

Jariyāna (Jārbāya, Gārpāya?) 39, 64, 109, 341-2

Jarjarāyā 138

Jarmagān (Jarmaqān, Jarmūkān) 29, 103, 259, 325

Jarmangān (Charmangān?), in Tibet 93, 259

Jarmi *see* Jarami

Jarrāhi r. *see* Ṭāb

Jaryāb r. *see* Kharnāb

Jassān (?) t. 146

Jaulān, cf. Khaulān 412

Java *see* Jāba

Javād, on the Kurr 398

Javāra (Khavāra?) r. 72, 81, 122, 222

Jāvkān 361

Jaxartes (Khashart, Sir-daryā, Sayhūn) r. 22, 73, 116-8, 149, 202, 210-11, 306, 308

Jayhūn (Oxus) r. 67, 71-2, 80-1, 102, 106, 113-4, 119, 149, 200; "a large river" 321

Jazīra, in Mesopotamia 36, 66, 83, 137, 140-3, 148-50, 392; cf. Thughūr al-Jazīra; in Spain *see* Algeciras

Jazīra banī Kāwān (or Barkāwān) 190

Jazīra banī Zaghannā (Algiers) 154

Jazīra ibn 'Omar 141, 203

Jazīra-yi Rūynās 193

Jazīrat al-Bāb 60, 193

Jazīrat al-Fiḍḍa (Silver island) cf. Argyrē 56, 186

Jazīrat Istiwā al-Layl wal-Nahār 188

Jaz-Moriyān l. 201

Jedda (Jidda, spelt: *Judda*) 19, 81, 148

Jehol 317

Jerm, in Badhakshhān 349-50, 365

Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Muqaddas*) 151

J.f.r (Chigil, Chaqir, Majghar?) 319, 347

Jibāl al-Shurāt 415

Jidghil *see* Chatqal

Jifār sands 68, 81, 151

Jigili (Chigili), a Khallukh t. 287
 Jil(-ariq), on the Chu 292
 Jili-kul plateau 360
 Jinānjkaṭh *see* Chinānjkaṭh
 Jira, in Fārs 127, 377; in Africa 474
 Jirm *see* Jerm
 Jiruft 65, 73, 124, 125, 201, 374
 Jisr-Manbij 141
 J.mlikath 95, 306
 J.m.lkat (J.m.l-kath), 94, 272, 273
 J.nkân l. 54
 J.n.kh-kath 93
 Jibāl (Media) 36, 65, 74-5, 83, 129, 131-3, 136-7, 150, 382-4
 Jou-Jan t. 447
 J.rm.q (Barchuq?) 281, 295
 Jubaylāt is. 58, 190
 Jubbay (Jubbā, Jubbē?) 74, 130
 Jūbīn *see* Chūbīn
 Jūdāhanjān 136, 388
 Judda *see* Jedda
 Jūdī mt. 66, 203
 Jumul t. 275, 285
 Junāvidh 326
 Junday-Sābūr *see* Gundē-Shāpur
 Jurash 146
 Jurjān *see* Gurgān (p. 180 **Gurgānj*?)
 Jurūj 123
 Jurz (spelt *Lhrz*), in India 63, 91, 183, 199, 239, 249, 250, cf. also Qinnauj;
 Georgians in the Caucasus *see* Gurz
 Jut (Yutiya) t., in Kirmān 373
 Jūygān 131
 Jydān *see* Khyzān
 Jūyum *see* Gūyum

Ka'ba 37, 412
 Kabūdhan l. and is. 54, 60, 143, 192
 Kābul 111, 346; Kābul r. 209
 Kādākh (Katak?), near the Lob-nor 85, 233-4
 Kadir, on the Jaxartes 118, 358
 Kafarbayyā 149
 Kafartūthā 141
 Kāfiristān 367, 369, cf. Bolor
 Kāfirnihān r. 353, 360, 362, 363
 Kafr-Tāb 150
 Kaftar 65, 125
 Kah 342
 Kāhūn 125
 K'ai-Fēng 226
 Kakhetia, cf. Tsanar 402
 Kakhtā r. 414
 Kala (Kalāh-bār, Kra), in Indo-China 57, 187, 473
 Kalār, Kalār-dasht 135-6, 388
 Kalb t. 146
 Kaldāniyūn (Chaldaeans) 392
 Kalvūn (Kātūn) 104, 326-7
 Kām *see* Yenissei
 Kama r. 41, 216
 Kā-mard 342
 Kāmarūpa *see* Qāmarūn

Kamičik t. 362, cf. Kumlji
 Kāmīn 129
 al-Kām.n (al-Arm.n), in India 237
 Kamsighiyā 94, 273
 Kan'āniyūn *see* Kaldāniyūn
 Kanbāya 62, 88, 244, 245, 372
 Kan-chou *see* Khāmchū
 Kāndūr-taghi *see* Kundāvar
 Kang-diz 189, 224
 Kāngir 308, 324
 Kangrī (Gangra in Asia Minor) 220
 Kanīs 149
 Kānjāk t. near Kāshghar 280, 281
 Kan-su 226
 Kao-ch'ang *see* Chinānjkaṭh
 Kapan *see* Qabān
 Karaj-i Abū-Dulaf 65, 132, 201, 383
 Karaj-i Rūdhrāvar 132
 Karakorum mt. 196, 199
 Karas-kūh *see* Kargas-kūh
 Karbalā 77, 392
 Kārbang (Kārbanj) 359-60
 Kargas-kūh mt. and desert 36, 80, 83, 102, 126, 131, 222
 Kāriyān 128, 379
 Karkh 40, 140
 Karkha r. 75
 Karkī (Karkūh) 6, 332
 Karrān *see* Kurān in Badhakhshān
 Karūkh 105
 Kārūn r. *see* Shūshtar r.
 Karvān, in Fārs 74
 Kārzīn 128, 379
 Kāsak (Kashak) *see* Cherkes
 Kāsān 341
 Kasavān, cf. Abān Kasavān
 Kasba 114
 Kasbān 124
 Kāshān (Qāshan) 80, 133
 al-Kāshbyn, in India 242
 Kāshghar (Ordū-kand, Khargāh) 25, 34, 96, 225, 234, 255, 260, 280-1, 349; r. 206
 Kashkūl (?), 206
 Kashmīr (Qashmīr) 63, 92, 121, 198, 199, 238, 254, 363, 364, 370; Inner and Outer K. 254
 Kashūkath 117
 Kāskān (Barsarkān?) 379
 Kašrā-bās *see* Qochqar-bashi
 Kastek p. 195, 290, 298, 301
 Kāth (spelt: *Kāzh*), in Khwārazm 38, 121, 370, 371
 Katha (Yazd) 129, 380
 Kātūn (Kalvūn) 104, 326-7
 Kavar 74, 219, 379
 Kavāzhān (?) 104
 Kāw *see* Kiev
 Kazalinsk 308
 Kazan 315
 Kāzrūn 54, 127
 K.bāl, on the Chu r. 289
 K.briya 117

- K.b.rna 357
 Kchi-Surkhāb *see* Kulāb r.
 Kebin, Great, r. 300, 303
 Kend mt. 308
 Kerch (K.rj, Karch?) 32, 182, 321
 Kergāna-rūd 391
 Keykān r., cf. Quyās 298
 Khabīṣ 125
 Khabr 374
 Khabrūqān 124
 Khabs *see* Khās
 Khābūr r. 141
 Khachēn r. 400
 Khada-lik, near Khotan 234
 Khafān (?) in the Sūdān 165, 477
 Khājū *see* Kua-chou
 Khāk (*Ḥiṣn al-ghabrā*) 78, 220
 Khalaj t. 108, 111, 286, 311, 338, 346-8
 Khālb.k 85, 232
 Khālhin (Jālhin) 82
 Khāliya (Khālidāt, Islands of the Blest) 7, 8, 58, 190
 Khalkhāl 391
 Khallukh (Kharlukh, Qarluq) 13, 28, 35, 54, 62, 72-3, 80, 83, 92, 94-9, 111-2, 116, 200, 222, 264-7, 270, 272, 286-97, 300-1, 338, 347, 362, 482; Khallukh Turks 108, 111
 Khallukh Gate 119
 Khallukh mt. 62, 72, 73, 211
 Khāmchū 26, 85, 227, 229, 232, 265
 Khamdādh (Khandūd) 121, 364, 366
 Khami *see* Qomul
 Khamlikh (Khamlij) 162, 429, 452, 454
 Khānābād (Aresh) 400
 Khān-Balī (Bila-suvar?) 137, 391
 Khāndūd *see* Khamdādh
 Khan-fu (Canton) 224, 227
 Khāngajāl 390
 Khāniqīn 139
 Khān Lanjān 131, 383
 Khān Mardūna (Khān Mardawayh) 75, 130, 214, 380
 Khān Ravān, cf. Rāvinī 326
 Khānū 201, 374
 Khārak is. 58, 190
 Kharama, in Asia Minor 204
 Khargāh *see* Kāshghar 280-1
 Kharghānkath 112
 Khārījites, Mountain of the, (*Kuh-i shurāt?*) 67
 Kharlukh *see* Khallukh
 Kharnāb r. (Oxus) 71-2, 119, 208, 360
 Khārōgh (Khorogh) 367
 Kharshana *see* Charsianon
 Kharūn 359
 Khās (Khabs) 117
 Khasāni t. in China 229
 Khasav-yurt 453
 Khashart *see* Jaxartes
 Khathum *see* Khuthum
 Khatlām *see* Khaylām
 Khatr (Khabr?) 65
 Khātūnkath 118
 Khaulān 145, 412
 Khāvak p. 341
 Khavāra *see* Javāra
 Khaylām (Khatlām), now Narin r. 22, 73, 116, 194, 211, 278, 289, 355
 Khaylān (?), in Alania 161, 446
 Khaym 97
 Khāymand 103
 Khayrābād (Fāryāb?) 4
 Khazar 38, 42-3, 53, 67, 75, 82-3, 121, 142, 160-2, 183, 284, 321, 411, 439, 450, 457; mt. 42, 131, 160, 203
 Khazar sea *see* Caspian; but 419 = Black sea
 Khazri (Khazari) 455
 Khifchākh (Khifjākh, Qipchāq, cf. Comani, Kūn, Polovtsi) 35, 44, 75, 83, 99, 101, 180, 216, 284, 304-5, 310, 314-5, 347
 Khīr (?), in Pārs 128, 379; near Pasā 129; in Kirmān 124, 374
 Khirkhīz (Qirghiz) 28, 34-5, 44, 52, 62, 66, 75, 80, 82-4, 94, 96-100, 179, 195, 202, 264-5, 270, 282, 297, 316, 319, 347
 Khirm.kī, cf. J.rm.q (?) 96, 281
 Khitā (Qitāy), China since Liao dynasty 282, 284
 Khīva, cf. Khwārazm 122
 Khivāl 117
 Khiyār 129
 Khīzī, near Bākū 449
 Kh.mb.rk 117
 Khmer (Qimār) 27, 87, 205, 236-7, 240-1
 Kh.mūd (Khamūl? Qamūl?) 95, 279
 Kholach *see* Khalaj 347
 Khorāsān 6-7, 10, 15-17, 19, 22, 30-1, 36, 38-9, 71, 78, 80, 83, 88, 92, 102, 104-6, 108, 110, 112, 131, 133, 135
 Khorāsān (Kargas-kūh) desert 36
 Khorāsān Marches 30, 80, 83, 109-12, 119, 122, 342-51
 Khor-Mūsā 213, 378
 Khost r. 341
 Khotan 24-5, 61, 70, 85-6, 194, 206, 255, 259-60, 270, 280
 Khoi 143
 Kh.rāy.nd-ghūn (Khwāy.nd-ghūn) r. 71, 206
 Kh.r.nj.wān 289
 Kh.rūj 373
 Kh.sānī t. 84
 Kh.shm 391
 Khujādak 112
 Khūjān (Qūchān), cf. Ustuvā 103
 Khūjand (Khujanda) 72, 115, 116, 355
 Khujistān 104
 Khūland [Khūkand?]-ghūn r. 62, 71, 94-5, 195, 206-7, 273-4, 278
 Khulm 63, 72, 108, 337
 Khumdān (Ch'ang-an-fu) 51, 56, 70, 79, 84, 206, 224-5, 229; cf. Index E.

Khumdān r., cf. Huang-ho and Wei-ho 70, 80, 206
 Khumrak, in Ilāq 357
 Khūna (Khūnaj) 142
 Khunān (Hunarakert) 144, 398
 Khunāshira 81, 149
 Khunzakh 448
 Khūr (Khuvar?) 103
 Khurdāb (?), a Rūs town 42, 67, 76, 159, 217, 430
 Khurmuk (Khurmuj) 127, 377
 Khurra 129
 Khurramābād (Shāpūrkhāst) 383
 Khursāb (Khurshāb), in Farghāna 72, 116, 211, 355
 Khursān, t., in Daghestan, cf. Lakz 144-5, 411, 455
 Khūr.sh, in China, cf. Kūr.ish 70, 84, 228
 Khurvāt-in (Croat) 441
 Khusb 103
 Khushkāb (?), in Transoxiana 117
 Khushkarūd 388
 Khushmithan 121
 Khushnābādh 125
 Khusrau-gird 102
 Khuthum (Hutm) 80, 86, 234
 Khutlugh, cf. Khamlikh 162, 454
 Kh.s.n (Kh.nīn) 282
 Khuttal (Khuttalān), 63, 71, 109, 114-5, 119-20, 198, 341, 359
 Khutukbai (Ku-t'a-ba) 272
 Khuvākand (Khwākand, Kokand) 116, 355
 Khuvānīn (Khwānīn), in Ghūr 111, 346
 Khuvar (Khwār) 36, 132
 Khuvāsh (Khwāsh), in Sīstān 110
 Khūyadhān (Khuwayjān?) 74
 Khuzār (Guzār) 352
 Khūzistān 25, 36, 40, 52, 65-6, 74-5, 83, 126, 128-31, 137, 212, 380
 Kh.vārā *see* Javāra
 Khwārazm 38, 53, 71, 121-2, 370, 463; desert 81; sea *see* Aral sea, cf. Arvāniyān
 Khwāsh 125, 375
 Khwlas cf. Khalaj 347
 Kh.ndān (Jydān, Khydān, Khyzān, Qaytaq?) 161, 448-9
 Kh.za, near Khotan, cf. Khadalik 86, 234
 Kiang *see* Yang-tze
 Kiang-su province 221
 Kie-tan, sacred mt. near Kastek 290, 303
 Kiev, cf. Kāw, Kuyāba, Sambatas 75, 159, 322, 430-1, 433-4, 436, 438
 Kif 104
 Kij (Kēj, Kijkānān, Kīz), in Balūchistān, cf. Qiqān 123, 373
 Kilian 262
 Kilidh (Iqlid) 129, 380

Kīmāk t. 35, 44, 66, 68, 75, 81, 83, 94-101, 180, 202, 204, 214, 216, 222, 283, 301, 304-5, 312, 316-7, 437
 Kīmāk-Yīghūr *see* Yughur
 Kimārij (Kumārij, Kamārij) 128, 379
 Kin-sha-kiang *see* Kīsau
 Kin-shan *see* Altai
 Kirmān 19, 34, 36, 40, 52, 55, 65, 73-4, 80, 83, 109, 122, 123-6, 128-9, 163, 373; desert 109
 Kirmānshāhān (Qarmasīn) 132, 383
 Kirmīnkath (Kūmb.rkat, &c.) 98, 289, 292, 297-8
 Kirrind r., in Ṭabaristān 386
 Kīs 129
 Kīsau r. 70-1, 206, 229
 Kish (Kishsh), in Bukhārā 113, 200
 Kishm r. 331
 Kishtim, cf. Ting-ling 286
 Kistna r. 241
 K'itan *see* Qitay
 Kīzh, in Fārs 129
 K.jā 229, 255
 K.jūrān, in Ghūr 343
 K.k.rāl 118
 K.lār, in Gūzgān 107, 335
 K.lbānk, in Tibet 71, 94, 207, 256
 K.l.shj.k 117, 357
 K.l.skān 117
 Klukhor p., in the Caucasus 445
 K.mīz (K.mrāz), cf. Kūmis 282
 K.m.jkath (Mī-ti-chih-t'o) 97, 286
 K.mrūdth 363
 K.msīghiyā 94, 293
 K.njkath (G.njkath) 113
 Ko-fu-ch'a 284
 Koh-i bābā 199
 Kōhmari mt. 232
 Kokand *see* Khuvākand
 Kokcha r. 209, 341, 349
 Koko-nor l. 194, 258
 Kok-shaal-tau mt. 296
 Kōmēdai *see* Kumīji 363
 Konkan (Kumkam) 238, 246
 Kop r. 303
 Kopal 287
 Kotyaeion (Qutīya, Kūtahye) 220
 K.rāl 117
 K.rārkhūn (K.vārkhūn) 95
 Krasnovodsk 205
 K.rdagān 125
 K.rdnāzkhās (Kurdarānkhās?) 122
 K.rjākath (?) 118
 K.rkh (K.rj, K.rts, Kerch?) xvii, 32, 182, 321
 K.rkrūdth 387
 K.rsāng *see* Ūsāng
 K.ryān (?) 93
 K.sān, in China 85, 233
 K.saym, cf. Kishtim 97, 286
 K.sbā 129
 K.shūkat 355
 Kua-chou 85, 233

Kuang-(chou)-fu 224
 Kuchā (An-hsi, Chiu-tzū, Kusan), cf.
 Kuchchā (?) 70, 85, 227, 232, 270, 295
 Kuchā (Kuchchā) r. [Tarim and Huang-
 ho ?] 71, 80, 94-5, 207
 Kuchān (Kuchchā, K.jā, Kūshān?) 70,
 85, 207, 229, 230
 Kuchchā (Kuchān, K.jā), cf. also
 Kuchā 71, 80, 85, 207, 221, 229-30
 Kūchaspān 390
 Kūfa 21, 81, 139-40, 145; swamp 56,
 76, 137
 Kūfich (Kōfich, Qufš) t., in Kirmān 28,
 65, 124, 336, 362, 373-4; mt. 65, 80,
 124, 201
 Kūghm.r 85, 232
 Kūghūn 125
 Kūh-i Bashākirt 201
 Kūh-gilū (Kūh-jilū) mt. 66, 74, 201,
 213-4, 380
 Kūh-i Gurz, cf. Gurz 68, 422
 Kūh-i La'l 367
 Kūh-i sim, in Kirmān 65; in Khorāsān
 104; cf. Kūhsaym
 Kūh-i sharāh (shurāt?) 67
 Kūh-i yakh *see* Qasak
 Kūh-i zahr in Tibet 255
 Kuhak 111, 346
 Kuhan-rūdh (Kargāna-rūd?) 137, 391
 Kuhdum *see* Kūturn; cf. Gūrāb-i Kuh-
 dum
 Kūhistān, in Khorāsān 64, 103, 125,
 326; in Syria (*Jibāl*) 150
 Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim 65, 124, 374
 Kuhrān 201
 Kūhsaym (Kūh-i sim?) 117
 Kūkath 117
 Kūkmān (Kōkmān) mt. 196, 282
 Kūkyāl (Kōk-yāl?) 98
 Kulāb *see* Hulbuk; Kulāb r. (Kchi-
 Surkhāb) 208
 Kūlān (Tarti) 97, 289, 354, 358
 Ku-li t., cf. Qūri 284
 Kūli, near Kanbāya 62, 196
 Kūli, estuary of the Indus 72, 196
 Ku-li-kan, cf. Qūri 284
 Kumārij *see* Kimārij
 Kūmb.rkat *see* Kirminkath
 Kumēdh, in Khuttal 361, 363
 Kurnijī (Kōmēdai?) t., in Khuttal 71, 120,
 361, 363
 Kūmīn 124
 Kūmis (Kūm.s, Kūmis) [-art] 95, 274-5
 Kūmish (Kūmis), in Daylam 36, 64,
 102, 135, 387
 Kūmi-talas 274
 al-Kumkam *see* Konkan
 Ku-mo 294
 Kūm.s-art *see* Kumis
 Kūn, cf. Comans 316
 Kundarm 64, 107, 335
 Kundāvar (Kāndūr, Kandavur?) -daghi
 mt., in Kimakia 66, 202, 308, 324

Kundur 103
 Kūnges r. 275
 Kūngey-ala-tau 195, 299
 Kunjdih (Kunjīda) 119, 358
 K'un-lun mt. 194
 Kūnkrā (?) 93
 Kūns.r, cf. Nu'nīn, Ujjayn 88
 Kū-p'i-lo 294
 Kur (Kurr) r. (in Arrān) 77, 144, 218,
 391, 448
 Kurān, in Fārs 127; in Badhakhshān
 365, 368
 Kurdar in Khwārazm 122
 Kurday (Qurday) p. 298, 301, 303
 Kurdivān 144, 145, 407
 Kurdiyān 129
 Kurds 138, 336, 377, 392, (in Kāriyān)
 410 (Mukri)
 Kuri 103
 Kurkath (Cyropolis?) 115, 354
 Kurr, in Transcaucasia *see* Kur; in
 Fārs 74
 Kūr.sh, in China, cf. Khūr.sh 70, 207,
 228
 Kusan, cf. Kuchā 232
 Kūsāqū 273
 Kūshān (Kuchān, Kuei-shun?) 230-2
 Kushānī, in Soghd 113
 Kūshk 111 [in the *H.-'Ā.*, Persian
kūshk usually stands for Arabic *qaṣr*]
 Kushkajān (?) 137, 388
 Kūshk-i Khāna 336
 Kūshk-i Qand 123
 Kushmihan, Kushmēhan 105
 Kūskān 70, 206
 Ku-r'a-ba *see* Khutukbai
 Kūthay-rabbā 139
 Kūtmīdhan (Kūtmimand?) 125, 376
 Kūturn (Kuhdum) 137, 390
 Kuturgur t. 439
 Kauristān in Tibet, cf. Ādhir 255
 Kuvaristān (Kauristān?), in Fārs 128,
 379
 Kuvēkat, near Tarāz 306, 310
 Kuwait 180
 Kuwarā l. in Abyssinia 476
 Kūyāba (Kuyāfa), cf. Kiev
 Kūzār.k 94, 272
 Kūzhd (?) 104
 K.vālin t. 287
 Kyk.t (Kingūt? hardly Qara-shar) 276
 Lāba, cf. Zaghāwa 165, 477
 Labān (*albān*?) t. 98, 292
 Laccadives 188, 241, 244
 Ladak (Bolorian Tibet) 258
 Lādhiqiya (Laodicaea) 149
 Ladoga 433; l. 181
 Lāfjān *see* Lāhijān
 Lāft is. 57, 188, 190
 Lāhij, in Shīrvān, cf. Lāyzān 404, 407-
 10
 Lāhijān, in Gilān 137, 384, 388, 410

Lahōgar (Lōgar), near Kābul 347-8
 Lahōr (Lōhāvar, Lohāvar), on the Rāvi 89, 246-7; cf. Lohara
 Lak t., in Daghestan *see* Qazi-qumuq
 Lakz (Lazgi) t., cf. Khursān 162, 407, 408, 411, 454
 Lambarān 398
 Lamghān (Laghman, Lamqān) 39, 63, 72, 92, 209, 251, 252; r. 72
 al-Lān *see* Alān
 Lan-chou, cf. Kuchān 207, 230
 Langā 136, 387
 Lank *see* Ceylon
 Laṅka town 188
 Lankabālūs (Alankabālūs, Lanjabālūs), Nicobar is. 57, 187, 188
 Lankurān (Lankoran) 193
 Larān, on the Oxus 364
 Lārandān 74, 127, 212, 213, 379
 Lārijān (Lāriz), in Daylam 77, 410
 Latrā 136, 387
 Lāyzān (Layrān, Lyzān), cf. Lāhij 144, 402, 404, 406-10
 Lāzina (?), cf. Az 99, 302
 L.b.n, cf. Filān, Lupenii
 Lebedia 313, 320, 459
 Lena r. 285
 Lerida (Lārīda) 69, 155
 Lhāsā 25, 93, 208, 256, 258
 Lhrz *see* Jurz (India)
 Liakhvi r. 457
 Liang-chou (Eri-chu) 230
 Libya 33, 83, 477
 Limrāsk 134, 386
 Lip'in-k' *see* Lupenii
 Līshṭar (Alishtar) 132, 383
 Līvḱand (Lēvkand) 120, 359, 361
 Liyārastān (Liyālāssān), in Gilān 410
 L.k.n *see* Lakz
 Loango 477
 Lob-nor 186, 206, 207, 221
 Lōgar (Laukar), near Marv 73, 328
 Lohāra (Lohāwar), in Kashmīr 247, 249
 Lohrāni 372
 Lombards (al-Ankubarda) 191, 192, 336, 424
 Lou-Lan 235, 259, cf. B.rwān
 Lo-yang 226
 Lubnān (Lebanon) 67
 Lūgh.r *see* Abkhaz
 Lukchun 274
 Lukkām mt. 67, 76, 149, 204
 Lūl.gh (Ül.gh?) 98
 Lun-t'ai *see* Urumchi (earlier, Būgür)
 Lupenii 454
 Luqīn (Lung-pien), in China 244
 Luristān 201, 383
 Lūt (Lot) *see* The Home of L.'s people
 Lyzān cf. Lāyzān
 Ma'arra Maṣrīn (Ma'arra Qinnasrīn) 150, 415; Ma'arra Nu'mān 415

Māb.nj J.rābās (?), cf. Yafinj 95, 276-7
 Macedonia 156, 423
 Madagascar (Jazīrat al-Qumr) 205, 472
 Madā'in (Ctesiphon) 138
 Mādarāyā 139
 Madhār 76, 218
 Mādhavān 128
 Madina 66, 146, 148
 Madr (Madhr) 64, 73, 109, 211, 336, 342
 Madura 244
 Madyāmijkath 112
 Madyan, in Arabia 81, 148
 Maeotis *see* Azov sea
 Maftah 138
 Maghaṣ, in Alanian 448
 Maghrib 36, 38, 52, 81-3 148, 151, 153, 155-6, 165
 Magna Bulgaria, Magna Hungaria 319
 Magyar (Majghari), cf. Basjird, Bashghurt, Hungar 35-6, 43-4, 76, 83, 101, 162, 305, 313, 315, 317-24, 424, 437, 442, 458-9, 465-6, 468
 Māhalūya (Mahārū) l., cf. Jankān 183
 Māhān 125
 Mahdiya 153
 Mahjar 147
 Māhīrūbān (Māhrūbān, Mahrūyak) 40, 74, 127, 213, 378
 Majar, Majghari *see* Magyar
 Māk valley 334
 Malaga (Māliqa) 69, 155
 Mālāmīr (Īdhaj) 381
 Malāt 388
 Malaṭya 21, 76, 149
 Malay archipelago 34
 Malay (Malayabār, Malabār) 57, 88, 238, 241, 243-4
 Malāzgird 143, 395
 Mālin 104
 Mallaghān 212
 Mallorca 191
 Mālwā 245
 Māmaṭīr (Māmṭīr, Bārfurūsh) 77, 134, 386
 Mānak (Māyd, Mānd), in Burma 87, 243
 Manas, in the T'ien-shan 272, 293
 Manās r., in India 240
 Manbij, cf. Jisr Manbij 149
 Mānb.klū (Mātīklū) mt. (Altai?) 196, 282
 Mānd (Qara-aghach) r., cf. Sakān 74, 212, 377
 Mandal, in India (?) 87, 236, 240
 Mandāl p. 367
 Mandam peninsula, cf. Ūr.shfīn 243
 Mandēsh, in Ghūr 343
 Mandū, in Mālwā 245
 Mandurī-pattan 244
 Manghishlaq peninsula *see* Siyāh-kūh
 Mānisā (?) mts. 61-2, 70, 73, 194-5, 206, 208, 211

- Manjābrī 72, 122
 Mankath 147, 413
 Mānkīr (Manyakheta) 238, 246
 Mānshān (Mānishān) 31, 55, 106, 332, 334
 Manšūr, in Syria 149
 Manšūra, in Sind, cf. Brahmanābād, M.nha 22, 72, 88, 122, 239, 246, 372; in Armenia 400
 Manūb *see* Mattūth
 Manūgān 124, 374
 Ma'qil canal 76, 138, 392
 Maqys (M.qys), in Wāqwāq 84, 228; in the Sūdān 165, 477
 Marāgha 65, 142
 Maral-Bashi, cf. Barchuq 281
 Mārān (Arrajān) r. 213
 Marand 143
 Mar'ash 149, 201
 Mārdīn 66, 203
 Margelan, in Farghāna 355
 Maritsa r. 221
 Mariyya in Spain 417
 Marj 132
 Marqa, cf. Qūn, Qūrī 284-5, 317; Marka-kul l. 285; Markha 285
 Marrūdh (Marrōdh) *see* Marvarūd
 Marsamanda (Marsmanda) 22, 115, 354
 Marūchāq 328
 Mār.st (Abār.st), in Ṭabaristān 386
 Marv 16-17, 73, 80, 104, 105, 106, 328; r. *see* Murghāb
 Marvarūd (Bālā-Murghāb), cf. Marūchāq 39, 64, 73, 105, 328
 Māsabadhān 203
 Māsand 359
 Māshān, in Marv 105
 Mashkai r. cf. Mushkī 373
 Māshkanāt 129
 Mashkēl 373
 Masin (Misin), in Fārs 213-4, 380
 Mašīša 149
 Masius *see* Mārdīn mts. 203
 Mašjid Ibrāhīm, in Syria 150
 Mašjid-i Sulaymān (*Mašgit-i S.*), in Iṣṭakhr 126
 Masqut (Maskut', Mushkūr), in Da-ghestan 161-2, 454-5
 Masruqān 75, 130, 214
 Masvāhī 122
 Mattūth (Manūb, Manūf) 131, 382
 Maušil (Mossul) 6, 76, 140
 Mā-warā' al-Nahr *see* Transoxiana
 Maybudh 129
 Mayhana 103
 Māy-hind, cf. Vay-hind (?) 252
 Māyin 129
 Maymana (Jahūdhan) 335
 Mayūl (M.yūl) 93, 257
 Mayyāfāriqīn 143, 397
 Māzandarān *see* Ṭabaristān 200, 218
 Mazīnān 39, 102
 Mazīrākān 128
 Mazrūqān, in Kirmān 124
 'Mdo-smat, cf. Tūsmat 259
 M.dū, in Tibet 259
 Medina Sidonia (*Sadūna*) 155
 Mediterranean *see* Rūm sea
 Mekka 37-8, 66, 131, 146, 148, 412
 Men, Isle of 8, 58, 59
 Merida (Mārīda, spelt: *Hārda*) 21, 79, 155, 221
 Meščera t. 464
 Mesopotamia *see* 'Irāq, Jazīra 19, 37, 38
 M.ghkān 112
 M.hāli (?) 123
 Mīhrā 127
 Mīhrān r. *see* Indus; Lesser (Second) Mīhrān (*Mīhrān al-thāni*) *see* Narbada
 Mikhlāf 'Akk 147
 Mila, in Ṭabaristān 134, 386
 Milwat (Bilwat) 253
 Mīmadh 143, 395
 Mināo 374
 Mi-no t. in Yūn-nan 242-3
Mīnṭaqat al-Ard *see* Belt of the Earth and Spine of the Earth
 Minusinsk 283
 Mirkī 97, 119, 289-90, 358
 Mirvāt (M.rdāt) t. xvi, 41-3, 53, 83, 160, 203, 320-4, 440-2, 444, 457, 465, 466
 Miyāna 142
 Mi-ti-chih-t'o *see* K.m.jkath 286
 Miyālafjān (Niyālafjān?) 137, 388
 Miyān-rūdhan, in Farghāna 356
 Mīzhān 124
 M.ks (M.nk.s), in Alania 446
 M.lh.mān (M.ljān?) in Zābaj 164, 473
 M.ljān (M.l.ndī), in Zanj 163, 472
 M.ljkath *see* Panjikath on the Chu 98
 M.nha (Ṭaṭha?), cf. Lohrānī and Manšūra 372
 M.nj.rī 164
 Mnkwr l. 202; Mnkwr-oghli, Qipchaq t. 202
 Moksha (Moxel) t. 446, 463-4
 Mombasa 472
 Mongols, cf. Tātār 94, 270, 316; desert 221
 Moravia 431, 441-2
 Mordva (Mordia?), cf. Erz'a, Moksha 313, 434, 462-3
 Mori-shiburghān (Qal'a-yi Maur), cf. Baghshūr, near Marv 327
 Morón (Maurūn) 155, 205
 M.qys *see* Maqys
 M.rd, in Daylam 136
 M.k.shmighnāthūr, near the T'ien-shan 273
 M.th, cf. Tūsmat 93
 Mt'iuli 401
 Mu'ān (Ma'ān) 81, 149
 Mubārakābād 380
 Mubārakī, near Bardha' 29, 144, 400
 Muḍar t. 146

- Mudhaikhira mt. 203
 Mūghakān 391
 Mughūn (?) 124
 Mugojar mt. 202
 Muḥiṭ *see* Ocean
 Mukrān (Makrān) 123-4, 222, 371
 Mukri, cf. Merkit, t. in Far-East 448;
 Kurdish t. 410
 Mūltān (Multān) xv, 27, 72, 89-91, 121,
 210, 239, 363
 Munjan (B.lj.m, M.lj.am, Mundajān)
 364-8
 Munk (Baljuvān) 71, 120, 208, 359-60,
 369; r. (Talvār) 360
 Mūqān (Mūghān) 77, 142, 395
 al-Mūqāniya, near Qabala 402, 406, 407
 Muqaṭṭam mt. 68
 Muqurra (Māqurra), in Nubia 475
 Murād-gölü l. 183
 Murcia 155
 Murdāb lagoon 391
 Murghāb r. (Marv r., Marvarūd r.) 5,
 22, 70, 73, 105-6, 208, 211, 333
 Murghāb, Bālā-, cf. Marvarūd 328
 Murzūq, in Libya 474
 Mūsa (Mūja), in Burma (?) 87, 243
 Musfarī, in Marv 105
 Mushkī(?), in Balūchistān 123
 Mushkūr, cf. Masquṭ 455
 Muvas (?), in Ceylon (?) 57, 187, 235
 Mūy 109, 342
 Muzāj t. in Kirmān 373
 Muz-art p. 195, 206-7, 277, 296; r. 274
 Muz-tagh 199
 Mymāty (Smāty) l. 54, 183
 M.zirakān (?) 129

 Nāband 377
 Nābulus 151
 Nagarahār *see* Ninhār
 Naghar 251
 Nahla (Pahra) 125
 Nahr-'Isā 76
 Nahr al-Karūm 78, 220
 Nahr al-Malik 77, 139
 Nahr-Sābus *see* Sās
 Nahr-Sābūr 212
 Nahr-Šaršar 76, 77
 Nahrawān 139; r. (Diyāla, Sirvān) 76,
 218
 Nahr-vāra, cf. Anhilvara 238
 Najīram 74, 127, 377
 Najrān 146
 Nakhchuvān (Nakhichevān) 143, 352
 Nakhshab (Nasaf) 114, 200, 352
 Nākūr 154
 Namakiya (Kimakiya, Yimakiya) 100,
 310
 Nāmākākus 116
 Nanak, in Gilān 137, 390
 Nandar *see* Vanandar
 Nan-shan 194
 Naqād, in Farghāna 355

 Nara (or Hakra) r. 372
 Nāra is. (Ceylon) *see* Bāra 58, 179, 235
 Narbada (Lesser Mihrān?) 72, 196, 198,
 210, 236, 245
 Nargen is., off Bākū 191
 Nari (?) *see* Annari
 Narin r. *see* Khaylām, cf. Ūzgand
 Narmāshir 125, 375
 Naryān (M.rsān?), in Gūzgān 107, 335
 Nasā (*Nisā) 29, 64, 80, 103, 134, 325,
 335
 Nātil 135
 Naubandagān (Naubanjān) 128, 212
 Nau-Bihār, in Balkh 108, 337
 Naukat-i Quraysh (Nūqad Quraysh)
 114, 352
 Nauqān (Mashhad) 103
 Nauzhān 114
 Navākat (Navīkat), cf. Nūnkath 24, 97,
 119, 289-91, 298, 301, 303
 Navīkath (?), in China 86, 234
 Nawyṭa (Fāriṭa?) l. 54, 183
 Nāyīn 129
 Nazvān (T.zvān?), in Tibet 61, 93, 194,
 258
 Nazwa 412
 N.dā (B.dvā) t. 287
 N.drūf (T'adrūf?) 93, 260
 Negroes 33, 476
 Nēpāl (Naypāl, spelt; *Baytāl, Nitāl, &c.*)
 63, 198, 248
 Nicaea (Niqiya) 78, 220; l. 55, 78, 184
 Niebla (Labla) 155
 Nih 110
 Nihām r. 114, 209
 Nihang r., in Balūchistān 373
 Nihāvand 132
 Nile 54-6, 68-9, 78, 151-2, 220, 475,
 482; Blue N. 221
 Nilqāz t. 304
 Nīm-rūdhī 138
 Ninhār (Nihār, Nagarahār, Ningnahār)
 72, 91, 209, 251-3
 Nīriz, in Ādharbāyjan 394; in Fārs
 201, 380
 Nishāpūr 16, 18, 64, 102-3, 199, 325
 Nišibīn 66, 140
 Nitāl *see* Nēpāl
 Niyāl mt. 145, 407, 410, cf. 388
 Nizwayn (Baḥrayn ?) 146
 N.mūdhlugh 356
 N.myās in India 87, 241
 Northmen, cf. Rūs, Warank 181
 North Pole 50-1, 181
 Novgorod 434
 Nubia (Nūba) 33-4, 55-6, 68, 78, 81,
 83, 151-2, 164-5, 475; desert 222
 Nūbyn (Bābyn) 87, 243
 Nuchārā *see* Andichārāgh 119, 360
 Nūdiz (Naudiz?) 71, 209, 359, 361
 Nūjakath 118, 357
 Nūkarda t. 469
 Nūkath *see* Tūnkath

Nūkhb.k (Nūkhik) 282
 Nukhī, in Shakkī 400
 Nu'māniya 138
 Nūmijkath 352
 Nu'nin (Kūns.r?), cf. Ujjayn 72, 245
 Nūnkāt (Nūzkat) 97 (Navākat); 289-90
 (Navākat and Tūmkat)
 Nu'nūn(?) 72, 88, 245
 Nu-shih-pi t. 287
 Nuṣratābād 375
 Nūzhābān 122
 Nūzhgān 104
 Nūzkat (var. Nūnkāt) *see* Tūmkat 289
 Nylān-Rūdbār 388

Oases *see* Wāhāt
 Oba (Aufa) 343
 Obi (Yumar) r. 275, 285, 305
 Ocean, Eastern (*Uqiyānūs-i Mashriqī*),
 cf. Green See 32, 34, 51-2, 56, 70, 79,
 80, 82-4, 96, 179, 186
 Ocean, Encircling (Muḥīt) 216
 Ocean, Western (*Uqiyānūs-i maghribī*)
 7, 8, 32, 41, 51, 53-4, 58-9, 79, 83,
 153-4, 156, 158, 165, 179, 181, 190
 Ocsonaba (Ukhshunaba) 155, 418
 Oghōr, cf. Uyghur, Avars (Pseudo-)
 448
 Oghuz, cf. Toghuzghuz, Ghuz 311
 313, 469
 Oglon (*Onglon) *see* Bujaq 467, 470
 Ohind *see* Vayhind
 Oichardēs (Tarim?) 206
 Oka r. 217, 434, 438, 462
 'Omān 39, 58, 148, 164, 396; sea 52, 145
 Omayyad t. 149
 Onoghundur *see* Vanandar 467, 470
 On-Uyghur *see* Uyghur
 Opsikion (Ubsiq) 78, 156
 Optimaton (Uṭīmāt) 156
 Ordu-kand *see* Kāshghar
 Orissa, Urshin 27, 87, 241
 Ōsh 22, 72, 116, 355
 Osset *see* Alān, Ās 318, 456
 Ostiaks 309, 318; Yenisei Ostiaks 302
 Otrar, cf. Turār 358
 Oxus (Armū-daryā) 5, 17, 198-9, 208

Pāb (Pāp) 72-3, 117, 355
 Pai-ma-ho 294
 Palembang 188
 Palestine (Filastīn) 150, 151
 Pa-lu-kia 294
 Pamir (Fāmīr) 196, 361-2
 Panj r. *see* Amū-daryā, Vakhān r. 198
 Panjāb (Hind?) 89
 Panjbūr (Panjgūr) 123, 373
 Panjhīr 39, 64, 109, 325, 341; r. 348
 Panjikath (Bish-Baliq), cf. Pei-t'ing
 94, 227, 267-9, 271-2, 275; in Sughd
 113; on the Chu (M.ljkath) 98, 291
 Panjvāy (Panjwāy) 111, 332, 345-6
 Pannonia 431

Paphlagonia, cf. Afrakhūn 78, 156, 204
 Pārāb (Fārāb), on the Jaxartes 72, 118-9,
 122, 284, 306, 312
 Parak r. 73, 118, 211, 289
 Pārghar (Pārkhār, Bārghar) in Khuttal
 71, 119, 208, 360-1
 Pārs *see* Fārs
 Partav *see* Bardha'a 397
 Parthians *see* Dahae 386
 Parvān 39, 112, 348; P.rvān 482
 Pāryāb (Fāryāb) in Gūzgān 4, 5, 39, 107,
 335
 Pasā (Fasā) 65, 128, 129
 Pashm (Bashm), different from Pazhm?
 388
 Pavlodar 308
 Paykand, cf. Āvāza 56, 73, 113, 352
 Paylamān(?)-shahr 137, 390
 Pazhm 136; cf. P.zhm
 Pechenegs (Bachanāk) 35, 42, 44, 53,
 75, 96, 101, 142, 159, 162, 305, 312-5,
 319, 458-9, 463, 469; mt. 159, 204, 437
 Pechenegs (Khazarian) 42, 67, 83, 160,
 442, 443
 Pecheneg, Turkish 43, 75, 83, 101, 160,
 162, 312, 314
 Pechina (Bajjāna) 155
 Pegu 243
 Pei Chih-li 228
 Pei-T'ing 227, 266, 272
 Perovsk 308, 371
 Persian Gulf (*Khalij-i 'Irāq*) 52, 180
 Perta, cf. Nawyṭa
 P'iao *see* Pyu
 Pir-i 'Alamdār, in Dāmghān 387
 Pirīm (Pirīm, Firīm) 39, 77, 135,
 136, 387
 Podandon *see* Budhandūn
 Po-huan 294, 297
 Poland 433
 Polovtsi *see* Khifchaq 315
 Pontos *see* Black sea 182
 Po-ta-ling *see* Bedel p.
 Prague (Firagh) 441
 Prinkant *see* Farinkath 352
 P.r.kd.r *see* Barakdzīz
 Przhevalsk (Qara-qol) 293
 Puhlpara 123
 Pu-ku-chen (Black Irtish?) 286
 Pul-i Zāghūl 177
 Pu-lu *see* Bolor
 Pulvār r. *see* Farvāb 213
 Purdas *see* Burtās 462
 Pyū, t. in Burma 242
 P.zhm, west of Somām? 136 *see* Map X

Qabala 77, 144, 402, 407
 Qabān (Kapan) 143, 398
 Qabq mt., cf. Caucasus 67, 145, 201,
 203, 409, 411
 Qādisiya 38, 81, 140
 Qaghan-Stupa, in Bish-baliq 269
 Qaḥṭān t. 412, 449

- Qā'in 103
 Qal'a ibn K.nd.mān, cf. Gardaban 398
 Qal'a-yi khum, on the Oxus 364
 Qal'a-yi Malik (The King's castle) in the Sarir 161
 Qal'a-yi Nūshirvān 338
 Qal'a-yi Sangī, on the Panj 366
 Qal'a-valī (Qal'a-walī), cf. Talaqān 5, 335
 Qalās steppe 73, 358, 361
 Qal'at al-Muḍī'a 193
 Qālīqala (Karin-kalak, Erzerum) 143, 395
 Qallārī (Qalrī) 89, 246
 Qarnādīn (Camadi), in Kirmān 374
 Qāmarūn (Kāmarūpa, Assam) 86-7, 236-7, 240
 Qāmuhul (Qāmh.l) 88, 238, 245
 Qamul *see* Qomul
 Qandabil (Gandāwa) 123
 Qandahār (Ghandar) 72, 88, 210, 245;
 Gandhāra *see* Vayhind 254; in
 Afghānistān 345-6
 Qanqli t. 309
 Qara-Aghach r. *see* Mānd
 Qara-Bāgh 203
 Qara-Chay, in the Caucasus 445
 Qaraja-Dagh 397
 Qara-kul, *see* Āvāza; on the Jaxartes
 358; in the Orkhon inscriptions 302
 Qaranghu-tagh valley 256
 Qara-Qol *see* Przhevalsk
 Qara-Qum 309, 310
 Qarashar (Yen-ch'i) 227, 274-5, 301
 Qara-Tagh, in Chaghāniyān 209, 353
 Qara-Tāl r. 196, 277
 Qara-tegin, in Khuttal 361
 Qara-Türgish *see* Türgish
 Qaraul-Tübe 360
 Qārīn mt., cf. Shahriyār-kūh 39, 77
 135-6, 387
 Qarluq *see* Kharlukh
 Qarnī 110
 Qarqarkhān (Qarqarali?) 100, 308-9
 Qarqisiya 76, 141
 Qaryat al-Hadītha *see* Dih-i Nau
 Qaryat al-Raṣād 391
 Qasak mt. cf. Kūh-i yakh 63, 71, 72,
 199, 210, 250
 Qāshān (Kāshān) 80, 133
 Qaşr- *see also* Kūshk-
 Qaşr ibn Hubayra 21, 139
 Qaşr-i Shīrīn 139
 Qataghan 338
 Qavādiyān (Qubādhīyān) 71, 359, 361
 Qāy t., cf. Qūn and Thāy 275, 284, 285
 Qayaliq (Cailac) 277
 Qayigh (Qayi) t. 285
 Qayruwān 153
 Qaysāriya 59, 149
 Qaytaq t., in Daghestān 448-50
 Qazbek mt. 204
 Qazi-Qumuq (Lak) t. 450, 455
 Qazvīn 36, 132
 Qiman 10
 Qimār *see* Khmer
 Qinnasrīn 150
 Qinnauj (Kanauj), cf. Jurz, in India
 63, 89-92, 111, 198, 236, 238-9, 246,
 250, 281, 346
 Qipchaq *see* Khifchākh
 Qiqān *see* Kij
 Qirghiz *see* Khirkhiz
 Qīr.nj (F.r.nj), in India 242
 Qishm is. 190
 Qiyān *see* Ghiyān
 Qizil-Arvat 386
 Qizil-Irmaq *see* Halys
 Qizil-su r., cf. Munk 208, 274
 Qizil-üstāng 296
 Qiz-Qurghan 370
 Qochqar-bashi (Qochingar-Bashi), cf.
 Kaṣrā-bās 276, 347
 Qocho *see* Chīnānj-kath 271
 Qomūl (Khami) 26, 229
 Qoy-su (Sulaq) r. 204, 447, 453
 Q.ri (Qūn?), *see* Qūri 444
 Qubā (Quvā), in Farghāna 73, 116, 355
 Qubba, in Daghestān 404, 408, 409, 449
 Qubbat al-arḍ *see* Ujjayn
 Qūchān *see* Khūjān
 Quetta 346, 373
 Quṣṣ *see* Kūfich 374
 Qulzum sea *see* Ayla and Arabian gulf
 53, 78, 82, 145, 148-9
 Qum 29, 80, 133
 Qumāniya (Qoman) *see* Khifchakh 285,
 315-6, 438
 Qūmis *see* Kūmish
 Qumr *see* Madagascar
 Qum-Singir 369
 Qūn *see* Qūri 229, 284-5, 316-7
 Qunduz 340
 Qurghan-tübe 361
 Qūri (Fūri) cf. Qūn 84, 97, 229, 283-4
 Qurla 274
 Qūrus in Syria 149
 Qusṭantīniya *see* Constantinople 79
 Qurqūb 131, 382
 Qurzumān *see* Gurzivān
 Qusdār 123
 Quyās (Quyash), on the Ili 298, 301
 Rabāṭ- *see* Ribāṭ
 Rabi'a t. 140
 Rabinjan 38, 113, 352
 Raḍwa mt. 66
 Rāfiqa 141
 Rāgh 364
 Raḥba 76, 141
 Rām-Hurmuz (Rām-Ūrmizd, Ramhuz,
 spelt *Rāmhur*) 25, 75, 130, 381
 Ram (Ramm?) 128
 Rāmayān (Rāmiyān) 90, 247
 Rāmi (Rāmnī) is. *see* Sumatra
 Rāmin 132
 Ramla 150

- Raml al-Ma'dan 81-2, 164; r. 78
 Rāng-Rong (?) 61, 92, 194, 256-7
 Raqqa 76, 141, 150
 Ras (?) r., cf. Asus, Ishim, Artush 75, 215, 283, 305, 308
 Ra's al-'Ayn 141
 Rasht, in Gilān 137, 361, 362, 390
 Rāsh̄t *see* Zhāsh̄t
 Rāsk 123
 Rasūkh t. 373
 Rāsun *see* Jarmī
 Ratin r. 212, 377
 Rāvī r. 246
 Ravin in Kirmān 124
 Rāvinī (Rivand) 103, 326
 Rāyagān 103
 Rāyīn (?) 125
 Rāykūtiya (Raykūyand?) 93
 Rayy 18, 36, 39, 64-5, 80, 102, 132, 135, 384; mt. 77
 Rayyu (Regio?) 155
 R'azan, in Russia 436
 R.bīnd (?) 89
 R.bkh.s (R.nj.s) *see* Rūbās 161, 449
 Red sea (*Khalij-i 'arabī*) 52, 180, 222
 Regar 353
 Rhodes (Rhudas) 8, 158, 190
 Rhyndakos (Rundhāq) 220
 Ribāt Afrighūn 6, 175, 331; R. al-ajurr 386; R.-Fāḍil 349-50; R.-Hafš 386, R.-i karvān (spelt *kirvān*) 5, 73, 106-7, 211, 330, 334, 336
 Rif, in Egypt, cf. Ibrīq 204
 Rihā (Jericho) 151
 Riḡān 125, 375
 Rishahr, in Khūzistān 74, 127, 212, 213, 378; in Fārs (Reshīr) 378
 Rishṭān 116
 Rivand *see* Rāvinī 326
 Rivshārān (R.būshārān?) 106, 108, 332, 336, 482
 Riyas (?) 55, 184
 R.kht.jab *see* Zaybāk 120, 364, 481
 R.nj.s *see* R.bkh.s
 Rome *see* Rūmiya
 R.stūya 255, 256
 Rūbās r., cf. R.bkh.s 450
 Rūd-i A'lā (Gūpāl) r. 381; R.-i Hilla 212, 377; R.-i shūr 183, 212
 Rūdbār, in Kirmān 124
 Rūdha, in Jibāl 133, 384
 Rūdhān (Rōdhān), in Afghānistān 111, 346; between Kirmān and Yazd 65, 125, 201; between Fārs and Kirmān 129; in Daylam (Rūyān) 135, 387
 Rūdhrāvar (Rūdrāvar) 132, 383
 Rūdisar 388
 Rūf in Ghūr 343
 Rūfta 128
 Ruhā (Edessa) 37, 141
 Ruhūn (Adam's peak) 134
 Rukhudh (Rukhkhudh, Rukhkhaj, Arachosia) xv, 64, 111, 121, 346
 Rūm (Byzantine Empire) 8, 40-1, 52-3, 58, 67-9, 76-9, 82-3, 142-3, 148, 153-8, 160-1, 321, 439; Western 69, cf. Rūmiya
 Rūm sea (Mediterranean) 32, 52-4, 58-9, 60, 82-3, 148-9, 151, 153-6, 158, 191, 320, 459
 Rūmī strait 52
 Rūmiya (Rome, Roman land) 21, 59, 60, 158, 192
 Rūmiyān *see* Byzantines, cf. Greeks
 Rūnā *see* Dūnā (Danube)
 Ruotsi, cf. Rūs 432
 Rūr (Rohri, Rōr) 72, 89, 246, 372
 Rūs 29, 35, 41-2, 44, 67-8, 75-6, 83, 101, 144, 158-60, 181-2, 204, 314, 321, 398, 406, 432; mt. 42, 160; r. 41, 75, 217-8, 316, 429, 438
 Rustā Bik 119, 359-60; R. B.lj.m (M.lj.m?) *see* Munjān 121; R.Rustām (?) 128; R.-yi Awās (Ephesus?) 68
 Rustāq 359
 Rūtā (Rūthā) r. cf. Dūnā 43-4, 76, 101, 159, 217-8, 315-6, 430, 437
 Ruvāt 150
 Rūy (Ru'b) 338
 Rūyagān (Ruwayjān) 74, 212, 379
 Rūyān *see* Rūdhān, in Daylam
 Ryn, in Abyssinia (Zayla') 34, 164, 474; in the Sūdān 165, 477
 Ṣa'āda 127
 Saba' (Sabā) 148
 Sabalān (Savalan) mt. 66, 202
 Sābāt 115, 354
 Sabir t. cf. Swr 455
 Ṣabran (Ṣaurān, spelt: *Ṣahrān*) 119, 306, 308, 358
 Sābūr, Bishāpūr 212
 Sābus cf. Sās (Shāsh) 76, 138, 218
 Sabzavār 64, 102
 Ṣa'da 146
 Sadūsān, in Sind 72, 122
 Safid-Rūd (Sapidh-rudh) 77, 137, 218, 390
 Sāghūr (Bālā-Sāghūn?) on the Chu 291
 Sahand mt. 201
 Ṣahārā 223
 Ṣahbān, in Sind 372
 Ṣāhuk *see* Chāhuk
 Ṣa'id *see* Egypt, Upper
 Sājū *see* Sha-chou
 Sakāh-Haumavrgah 368
 Sākala (Sialkot), cf. Tāqī 249
 Sakalkand (Iskalkand) 39, 63, 109, 338-40
 Sakān (Mānd) r. 74
 Sakhchū (Sukhchū), cf. Saukjū 85, 232
 Ṣākh-in, Czechs 441
 Sakhtasar 388
 Sakīfaghūn 114
 Salāhiṭ *see* Shalāhiṭ
 Salamās (Salmās) 143

Salamiya 81, 149
 Šālaqān *see* Chālākān
 Saler peak, in India 196
 Sālhārī 90
 Salmā mt. 203
 Salmānān, cf. *Sāmāni* 139
 Salmān-i Pāk 392
 Salonica 423
 Salor (Salghur?) 336, 466
 Salūmidh 103
 Šamāluh 220
 Šamandar, in Daghestan 162, 452, 454
 Šāmār (Sahmār) 136, 387
 Samara, in Russia 310
 Samarqand 4, 23, 38-9, 55, 63, 73, 113-14, 118, 352
 Samarqandāq, cf. Sarḥadd 39, 63, 121, 364, 369
 Sāmarrā (Sāmara) 11, 40, 76, 140
 Sambatas cf. Kiev 431
 Sambil (Bāzār-i S., Sūq-Sanbil) 130, 381
 Šamdān (*Hamdān?) 146
 Šamirān, in Fārs 128
 Šāmī-s.brak (Šāmsīrak) 117, 357
 Šāmjan, cf. Āvāza 185
 Samundar (Samudra), in India 27, 87, 241
 Samūr r. in Daghestān 408, 455-6
 Šamūr (Sawūr?) in India 62, 198; cf. Saymūr
 Sān *see* Sangchārak
 San'a 20, 37, 40, 66, 146, 147, 411
 Sanān 128
 Šanār (Tsanar) 144, 400
 Sandābil (Kan-chou?) 232
 Šanf (Champa, Annam) 86, 236, 240
 Šan-fo-ts'i, cf. Śrīvijaya, Palembang 188, 241
 Sangalākh (Sanglākh) 26, 85, 229, 233
 Sangān, in Khorāsān 103
 Sangarios r. 220
 Sangchārak (Sān-va-Charyak) 63-4, 107, 199, 336
 Sanglīnj (*Sanglich), cf. S.nk.s 112, 121, 350, 364, 367-8
 Sang-Tūda *see* Līvkan 361
 Sānikath 118
 Sanja 76, 149
 Sanju, near Khotan 207, 260
 Santarem (Shantarīn) 79, 156, 221, 418
 Šaqālība, Šaqlab *see* Slavs
 al-Šaqālība al-Mutanaṣṣira *see* Slavs, Christianized
 Saqsin, cf. Sārigh-sh.n 453
 Sarag, Saragh, Sharagh, in China 225
 Saragossa (spelt: *Sarquṣ*) 155
 Sarakhs 64, 104
 Sarandīb, cf. Ceylon 57, 61, 80, 86-7, 194, 234-5, 244; m. (connected with Indo-China *see* Map I), cf. Mānisā 61, 70, 83, 206, 235
 Sarāv (Sarāb, Sarāt) 142, 394

Sarāvān 137
 Sarāy 360
 Sarbāz r. 373
 Sardābrūd 388
 Sardan, in Fārs 74, 129, 379, 380; r. 74, 213-4
 Sardinia (Surdāniya) xvi, 60, 192
 Sarḥadd, cf. Samarqandāq 369
 Sārī (Sāriya) 77, 134, 284, 315, 317, 386, 444
 Sari-Yughur *see* Uyghur
 Sārigh, near the Chu, cf. Yār 284-5, 289
 Sārigh-sh.n, in Khazaria, cf. Sāvghar 453-4
 Sarikol (K'ie-p'an-t'o) 370
 Sar-i Pul (Anbār in Gūzgān) 5, 199
 Sarīr 42-3, 67-8, 77, 83, 142, 156, 160-1, 204, 422, 446-7, 452, 454
 Sari-su 202, 278, 285, 306, 317
 Sari-Yoghur *see* Yughur, Sari-
 Sarkel 182, 313, 453, 459
 Sarmatia 11, 401
 Sār.msābkath 255
 Šaršar 76, 139; r. 139
 Šarūj 141
 Sarvāb 129
 Sārīvān (Sērvan, Shārvān), in Gūzgān 106, 334
 Sarvān, in Afghānistān 110, 344
 Sarvistān 125
 Sās (Shāsh, Sābus?) r. 76, 138, 218
 Saṭīf (spelt: *Saṣīf*) 153
 Saukjū *see* Su-chou
 Saul, cf. Farmul 91, 251
 Sāva 133, 384
 Sāvghar (Sārigh-sh.n?) 162, 453-4
 Savitra 183
 Sāvnik (Sārnik) 80, 86, 234
 Šawur (?) *see* Šamūr
 Sayan mt. 282
 Šaydā (Sidon) 149
 Šayhūn *see* Jaxartes, Chāch r. 73, 149
 Saylākān (Sēlākān) 120, 362
 Šaymara 52, 132
 Šaymur (Chaymūr, Chaul), on the west coast of India 88 (?), 244-6, cf. Šamūr
 Sayram 358
 S.bkath 118
 Scythia 11, 401
 S.dnk, cf. Sidhing-kul 95, 276
 Sea of Darkness 179, 193
 Sea of Aghbāb 87
 Selenga r. 265
 Seleucia (Selefke) 69, 156, 205
 Semirechye (Jetti-su) 306
 Senna 218
 Serbs, cf. Kh.rwat-in, White Croats 423-4
 Sereth r. 466
 Serika (Sīnistān) *see* China 11
 Seven Sleepers' Cave 204
 Sevilla 155
 S.f.njā'i (Isfinjāy) 111, 346

- Shābirinji (?) 105
 Shabūrqaṇ, &c. *see* Ushbūrqaṇ
 Shabwa 77
 Sha-chou 26, 70, 85, 207, 229, 230-1, 233, 235
 Shādhagān (Shādhakān) r. 74, 212, 377
 Shah-Mōbadh's Fortress 126
 Shahd l., cf. Sind, Tus l. 185
 Shakra-zhūr (Shah-razūr, Siyā-razūr) 132, 383
 Shahr-i Bābak (Pāpak) 129, 380
 Shahrīstān, in Gurgān 133, 385; in Ispahān 131
 Shariyār-Kūh *see* Qārin 387
 Shahrūvā 124
 Shāh-Sevān t. 304
 Shāhū peninsula 193
 Shākh (?) -dara r. 367
 Shaki (Shakkī) 77, 144, 398
 Shāl 137
 Shalāhiṭ *see* Sumatra 57, 187
 Shalanba 135
 Sha-lē *see* Kāshghar
 Shamagān 129
 Shamākhi (Shammākhiya) 144, 403
 Shāmāt 125
 Shāmīstiyān 17
 Shamkūr (Shamkhor) 144, 398
 Shān-chou, cf. Sha-chou, 230
 Shan-shan 258
 Shantarīn *see* Santarem
 Shantariya (read *Shantabriya*, Cento-briga) 69, 155, 205, 417-8
 Shantung 221
 Shāpūr 376 *see* Bishāpūr
 Shāpurkāst, cf. Khurramābād 132, 383
 Shāristāna, near Nasā 325
 Sharja 148
 Sharkhiyān (Charkhiyān) 6
 Sha-t'o t. 266, 267, 270
 Shā'ūr (Shāvur) r., of Shūsh 214
 Shāvarān (Shābarān) 145, 404, 408
 Shāvghar 454
 Shayzar 150
 Shetland is. 191
 Sh.ghl.jān 306
 Shibām (spelt: *Shiyām*) 66, 147, 203
 Shihr 148
 Shilā, Shilā *see* Corea
 Shilji (Shalji) 61, 119, 194, 358
 Shimshāt (Arsamosata) 393
 Shindān, in Daghestān (?) 411
 Shing-bun (?) *see* S.ng-b.n
 Shing-i 'Abbādī 105
 Shinjū *see* Zaytun
 Shīr, in Gilān 136
 Shirāz 6, 54-5, 126, 128
 Shīr-Guzār 361
 Shirīn (Sirīn) r. *see* Hindiyān 74, 212-3, 378
 Shirin-Tagāb 335
 Shirjān (Shirriz) 410
 Shirūd-Hazār 410
 Shirvān (Shirvan) 144-5, 193, 403-4, 410, 445, 454
 Sh.kākab (Shikākath) 118, 357
 Sh.lāt (S.lāt) 117, 356
 Shorak p. 343
 Sh.rwī r. 217
 Sh.tūrkath 118
 Shughnān (Shakīna, Shaqīna, Shaknān, Shikinān, Shiqinān, S.qliya?) 63, 71, 86, 112, 349-50, 363-4, 366, 368
 Shu-lē *see* Kāshghar
 Shūmān 115, 120, 337
 Shumayshāt (Sumaysāt, Samosata) 76, 148, 393
 Shūra, in Sind 123
 Shūr-kul, cf. Tūz-kul 184, 290
 Shūrmīn 105, 327
 Shūsh (Susa) 40, 75, 131, 214
 Shūsha, in Transcaucasia 398
 Shūshtar (Tustar) town and r. 74, 130, 213-4
 Sialkot 249
 Siao-shih 294
 Sibdāst 200
 Sibih (Sibij), in Kirmān 125, 375
 Sibīnakān (Isfīnaqān) 103, 325
 Si-chou *see* Yar-khoto
 Sicily (Siqiliya) 20, 59, 192
 Sif banī Šaffār 377
 Šiffin 141
 Sijilmāsa 82, 154, 223
 Sikand (Shī-kand?), cf. Yar-khoto 273
 Sikāshim *see* Ishkāshim
 Sikimisht *see* Ishkāshim
 Sikūl, on the Issik-kul 99, 299
 Silistria (Distra) 313
 Silver island *see* Jazīrat al-fidḡa
 Simhapura (Seng-ho-pu-lo) *see* S. lābūr
 Simingān 63, 108, 109
 Simnān 36, 64, 135
 Sinai *see* Tūr-Sinā; S. desert *see* Tih
 Sind 19, 34, 36, 52, 64, 80, 83, 89, 109, 122-3, 125, 163, 371; desert 109; village near Nasā 185
 Sind-rūdh, cf. Indus 72, 327
 Sindān, port in India 57, 88, 244-5
 Siniz 74, 127, 212, 377
 Sinn 76, 141
 Sipāhān *see* Ispahān
 Siparāyin *see* Isfarāyin
 Sirāf 40, 74, 127, 224
 Sir-daryā *see* Jaxartes
 Sirgān (Sirjān) 124-5, 374
 Sirīn *see* Shirīn (Hindiyān) r.
 Sirmia (Srem) 441
 Sirrayn 147
 Sirvān, near Šaymara 132, 218
 Sīsar 218
 Sīstān 19, 36, 55, 73, 80, 110, 125; desert 80, 123
 Siyāh-kūh (Manghishlaq) 60, 193
 Sīvī, in Balūchistān 111, 346
 Siyāhkal 388, 390

- Š.lāba (Šlāb, Š.lāwiya), a division of Rūs (Sloveni of Novgorod?) 75, 159, 433-4, 438
 Š.lābūr (Simhapura?) 90, 247
 Slavs (Šaqālība) 11, 14, 42, 52-4, 59, 67, 75-6, 79, 82-3, 142, 156, 158-60, 181, 282, 321, 428, 433, 439-40, 442, 463; r. 216-7, 429; S., Christianized 157, 320, 424, 429, 468; S., Macedonian 429
 S.lūqī *see* Salūqiyyīn
 S.māy.nd-ghūn r. 71
 S.m.knā 99
 Samkarsh, cf. K.rkh, Kerch 182
 S.m.nd.r *see* Samandar (Khazaria) and Samundar (India)
 S.mywb.m, in Tibet 255
 S.ngān (Sungān, Sūngūn?) 143, 397
 S.ng-b.n (Shing-bun) 108, 336
 S.nk.s village and p., in the Hindūkush, cf. Sangluj 112
 Socotra 58, 190
 Sofāla (Sufāla), in Africa 163, 472; cf. *also* Sūbāra
 Soghd 55, 63, 73, 95, 113, 118, 225, 234; r. (Zarafshān) 55, 73, 198, 211; Soghdians 95, 235, 274, 304, 374
 Sōkh 22, 116, 355
 So-ko Mo-ho, Türgish t. 302
 So-lou-fēng 294
 Somaliland 473
 Somām 388
 Songoy *see* Gogo 476
 Southern countries 163-5, 471-7
 South Pole 50-1
 Spain (Andalus) 8, 21, 36, 38, 40-1, 53, 59, 69, 79, 83, 148, 153-6, 158
 Spalato 424
 Spine of the Earth (*Zahr al-ard*) 200
 S.qliya *see* Sicily; near the Hindūkush, cf. Shughnān and Iskitul 112, 364
 S.rīh (Zābaj?) 57
 Śrinagar 254, 370
 S.rmākh (Sh.rmākh) r. 276
 Ssü-chuan 194
 Stalinābād (Du-shanba) 353
 S.t.bgh.vā 117
 S.tkand (spelt: *Satkand*, Biskand?), near the Jaxartes, different from S.tkath 72, 118
 S.tkath, *see* Sikand, near Turfan 94, 293
 Stone bridge, in Khuttal 359-60
 "Stone Towers" (Burj-i sangin), cf. Daraut-qurghan, Tashkent, Tash-qurghan 233, 357
 Sūba, in Nubia 475
 Sūbakh 114
 Sūbāra, in India 88, 190, 244-5
 Su-chou (Suk-chou) 26, 85, 232
 Sūdān, cf. Negroes 8, 33, 52, 58, 79, 83, 153-4, 164-5, 179
 Sughati, on the Chu 303
 Sughnaq *see* Sūnākh
 Suhayb (?) 147
 Suhba 149
 Suhravard 132, 383
 Sui-shih, on the Chu 227, 301, 303
 Sukar, in Egypt 78, 221
 Sukāvand 111, 347
 Sulduz 394
 Sulmī (Solmi) 272
 Sulūt 407
 Sumaysāt, in Jazīra 141; in Syria 148; cf. Shumayshāt
 Sumatra (confused with Java) 57, 187-8, 228, 241, 472-7; *see also* Bālūs, Gold-island, H.rl.j, Jāba, Jambī, Jazīrat al-fidḍa, Palembang, Rāmī, Salāhit, San-fo-ts'i, S.rīh, Śrivijaya, Wāqwāq, Zābaj
 Sumayram, in Fārs 213
 Sūnākh (Sughnaq) 119, 358
 Sunbātmān (?) 144, 400
 Sūq al-Arba'ā 74, 130
 Sūq al-Jabal 144, 400, 407
 Suquq (?), cf. Irghiz r. 306, 308
 Šūr (Tyre) 59, 149
 Šūra (?) is. 189
 Surā canal (*nahr*) 77, 140
 Sūriqān 124
 Surkhāb *see* Vakhshāb; headwater of the Qunduz r. 211, 342
 Surkhān (Chaghāniyān r.) 363
 Surma (Surmaq) 129, 380
 Surr-man-ra'ā *see* Sāmarrā
 Surūshana (Ushrūshana) 55, 63, 73, 115, 119, 354
 Sūs *see* Shūsh
 Sūs-the-Distant (Sūs al-Aqsā) 8, 40, 51-2, 58, 78, 81, 154
 Sūsanaqān 105
 Sutlej 198, 210, 253
 Suvār, a Bulghar town 163, 461
 Suwān *see* Assuan
 Suwās r. 186
 Sūyāb, cf. Sughati 99, 287, 289, 291, 298, 303
 Sūzak, near the Jaxartes 308
 S.wār, in Abyssinia 34, 164, 474, cf. 'Aydhāb
 Swedes 433
 Swr (Suwar, Savir?), in Khazaria 162 454-5
 Syria (Shām) 38, 53-5, 67, 78, 82-3, 141, 145, 148-50, 156; Syrian desert 58, 148-9
 Szekler, cf. Askil, Ashkil (?) 461
 Tāb (Jarrāhī) r. 74, 126, 213-4, 378
 Ṭabaristān, cf. Māzandarān 31, 53, 55, 65, 77, 110, 133-6, 200, 218, 385
 Tabariya (Tiberias) l. 55, 150
 Tabarnā (Taprobane) *see* Ceylon 57, 235
 Tabarqa 153-4
 Ṭabarsarān, in Daghestān 450
 Tabas, Ṭ.-Masinān, Ṭabasayn 103, 326

Tabghach (Taugast, China under Wei dynasty) 284, 448
 Tāblān (Tāflān, Taylān) 156, 421
 Tabriz 142
 Tabūk 148
 Tadmur 81, 149
 Tāfi *see* Tāqi
 Tafqān (Turfān?) mt. 62, 94, 194, 271, 293
 Taghdumbash-Pamir 370
 Tahā, in Egypt 476
 Tāhart 154
 Tahī *see* Tārī
 Tā'if 146
 Tā'in fil-bahr *see* Jabal-T.
 Tā'ir-su, cf. Andichārāgh 360
 Tājikistān 353
 Tagus (Tāju) r. 79, 155, 205
 Takka-Deśa, cf. Tāqi 239, 249-50
 Takrit 66, 76, 140, 201
 Talas *see* Tārāz, cf. Kūmi-Talas
 Talaqān, near Qazvin 132; in Gūzgān 5, 107, 200, 332, 335; in Tūkhāristān (Tāraqān, Tāyaqān) 63, 109, 330, 340-1, 349
 Tālīsh (Taylasān?) 391
 Tālkha.za 98
 Talvār *see* Munk r.
 Tamākhush 116
 Tamataraka (Taman, Tmutarakan) 181, 422
 Tamāzān 106, 334, 336
 Tambūk-i Mūristān 212
 Tamīm t. 146
 Tamīsha 134, 386
 Tamistān 128
 Tamiyāt (Namliyyāt) 120, 360
 Tamrān 106, 334, 336
 Tāna (Thāna), near Bombay 238
 Tanas 154
 Tangier (Tanja) 53, 78, 154
 Tangut 228
 Tānis (Tanaīs), cf. Don 216
 Tannu-ola mt. 283
 Tanūkh 67, 204
 Tapti r. 196, 198
 Tāq 110
 Tāqi (Tāqin), cf. Takka-deśa 91, 239, 249, 251
 Tarābulus, in Syria 9, 81
 Tārān 58, 190
 Tārāz (Talas, Ulugh Talas) 61, 100, 119, 194, 202, 269, 274, 292, 303, 306, 308, 357; r. 286, 358
 Tarbaghatai range, cf. To-ta 274, 278, 283, 286
 Tārī (Tahī), in Nubia 164, 475, 482
 Tarīm (Kuchā, Wajākh) r. 70, 206-7, 222, 235
 Tarqu (Tarkhu), cf. Samandar 452
 Tarkūs (Tarkūsh) 118
 Tarmidh (Tirmidh, Termez) 71, 114
 Tarnūt 221

Tārs-aqan r. *see* Ishim 202
 Tarsūs 149
 Tārum, in Fārs 128
 Tās (Unās?) 65
 Tasāwa, in N. Africa 474
 Ta-shih, cf. Wen-su 294
 Tashkent *see* Chāch
 Tash-Qurghan, in Sarikol 233, 369
 Tasht (Bakhtagān) l. 183
 Tāt t., in Shīrvān 408, 456
 Tatabi t. 284
 Tatar, a Turkish t. 285; Volga T. 460
 Tātār, cf. Mongols 94, 270
 Tatār, a branch of Kimāk 304, 309, 317
 Taurus 204; Cilician 205
 Tā'ūs fortress, cf. Tūlās 460
 Taushqan (spelt: *T.f.skhān*, **Taghush-khan*, or, if spelt *تفشخان*, **Tawush-khan*), cf. Aq-su 278, 296
 Tavarān, near Tūs 103
 Tavāvis 113
 Tavaj 74, 212, or Tavaz 127, 377
 Taylasān (Tālīsh) 180, 391
 Taymā 148
 Tayy mts., cf. Jabalān 67, 203, 221
 T.bāgh.r., read *Yabāghu*
 Tekes r. 275
 Tekinābād 345
 Tephrikē *see* Abriq
 Terek r., cf. Armn 204, 457
 Terter (Tharthūr, Bardha'a) r. 400
 Thajākh (?) t. and r., near Khotan, cf. Wajākh 70-1
 Thaṭha, cf. Manšūra and Lohārī 372
 Thāy (Qāy?) 84, 229
 Thrace (Thirāqiya) 32, 40-1, 79, 156-7
 Thracesion 156
 Thughūr al-Jazīra *see* Jazīra
 Thule is. (Tūli, Tūliya, Shetland is.) 52, 59, 181, 191
 Tīb, in Khūzistān 131
 Tibet (Tubbat, Tūpūt) 24-5, 34-5, 39, 61, 63, 70, 80, 83-6, 90, 92-4, 96, 97, 112, 116, 119, 121, 233, 254-63, 284, 349, 482; Bolorian T. (Baltistān) 93, 258; Gate of T. 39, 120, 385; Inner T. 369; Outer T. 248
 Tibetans 39, 85, 93, 121, 227, 234, 256, 267
 Tien-ho ch'eng, cf. Lou-lan 235
 T'ien-shan, cf. Ighraj-art, Tafqān 194-5, 207, 226
 Tiflis 43, 144, 447, 456, 458
 Tigris 10, 76, 138-41, 218
 Tih banī Isrā'il (Sinai desert) 67
 Tihāma 146, 203; mts. 66, 77, 145
 Tijaspī 391
 Tijin, in Gilān 137, 390
 Tijin *see* Tizhin
 Tīl (Till), on the Hilmand 73, 111, 211, 345
 Timbuktu 477

Ting-ling (Kishtim) 286
 Tinnis town 55, 151; l. 54, 56, 78, 81, 151-2
 Tirschul, in Burma 242, cf. T̄.rsül
 Tīrgarān 365
 Tiz 123
 Tizhin-rūdh (Tijīn), in Māzandarān 77, 218, 387
 T.khsīn, a Khallukh t. 287 (cf. 282, n. 3)
 T. nkūy (?), in China 84
 T. nzāgh-art, read: *Topragh-art* 95
 Toghuzghuz, cf. T'u-chüeh, Ghuz 11, 13, 25-6, 28, 34-5, 52, 54, 62, 80, 82-5, 92-8, 207, 227, 263-77, 287, 352, 481
 Toksun, near Turfan 272
 Tōlas, (Tölös, Tūlis), name of the Uyghur (?) federation 266, 284-5, cf. Tūlas, Tūlis
 Toledo (Tulaitūla) 69, 79, 155
 Tong valley, near the Issik-kul 98, 292
 Tonkin 243
 Topragh-art 276
 Toqmaq (perhaps < Tūmkat?), cf. Sui-shi, Tun-kien 289, 303
 Tortosa (Turtūsha) 155
 To-ta (Tarbaghatai?) mt. 286
 Trans-Alay Range 198
 Transoxiana 19, 22, 30, 35-6, 38-9, 61-3, 71, 80, 83, 97, 100, 102, 112-9, 121, 351-8
 Transoxanian Marches (*hudūd*) 30, 83, 92, 119-22, 359-71
 Transylvania 444
 T̄.rsül (Tūsül, Tirschul) 87, 242
 Truxillo (Turjāla) 69, 155, 205
 Tsana l. 476
 Tsanar *see* Šanār
 Tsaritsin, on the Volga 453
 Tsih-shi mts., near Lan-chou (?) 207
 Tsna r., in Russia 464
 Tual-tā *see* Tūlās 445, 457
 T'u-chüeh, first Turkish empire, cf. Toghuzghuz 264, 286, 290, 447; Western T. 270, 286, 300
 Tudela (Tuṭayla) 155, 417
 Tukath (Tukkath) 117, 357
 Tukhs (Tukhsī) 35, 62, 83, 97-9, 297-300, 302, 304
 Tukhāristān 63-4, 71-2, 105, 108-9, 111, 278, 337, 347, 362; Upper T. 349; Tukharians 304, 359, 445
 Tūlās (Tuwal-Ās, Tual-Ās, Tual-tā), cf. Alān, Ās 43, 162, 324, 445, 456
 Tūlas (Tūlis, Tūlis?) mts., cf. Altai, Kin-shan, Tōlas, Yūn.s 62, 196, 283, 287
 Tūlim 137, 391
 Tu-lu, cf. Western T'u-chüeh 286, 300
 Tūmkat (perhaps > Toqmaq) 289, 291, 297
 Tūnal *see* Tong
 Tunikābun 387, 410

Tūnis 153
 Tūnkāt *see* Nūkath 24, 117, 356
 Tunkat-i B.khārnān 118
 Tun-kien, cf. Tūmkat 289
 Turā, in Egypt 476
 Tūrān, in Balūchistān 123, 372
 Turār-Zarākh, on the Jaxartes, cf. Otrar 358
 Turfān (cf. Tafqān) 26, 195, 229, 271
 Turghay r. 308
 Türgish 264, 268, 278, 285, 287-8, 291, 298, 300, 302, 347; Black T. 301-3; Yellow T. 301-2, 317
 Turji (?) 134
 Turks 11, 20, 32, 36, 38, 44, 82, 85, 94 (Toghuzghuz), 96, 101, 115-9, 121, 160, 456 and passim; Tork, i.e. Ghuz in Russia 316; Turk-Magyar 469; Balqar T. 445; K.njina T. 120, 361
 Turkistān, 'Turkish lands' 38, 61, 94, 102, 118, 121, 351; Eastern T. 24; Gates of T. 38, 102, 112, 115, 122
 Türkmen (Ghuz) 311, 317
 Turshiz 103
 Tūr-Sinā (Sinai) 67
 Tūs 29, 55, 64, 77, 103, 133, 185; l. (Chashma-yi sabz, Shahd) 55, 185
 Tūsmat (?), in Tibet 61, 93, 194, 259
 Tustar *see* Shūshtar
 Tuwas, *see* Thule is. 59
 Tuwaysha 378
 Tuyugh-ghun, cf. Ajāyul 258
 Tuz-chölü, in Asia Minor 183
 Tuz-kül, cf. Issik-kul, Boro-dabasun, Shūr-kul 28, 54, 98, 184, 290
 Tüzün-'ārj (hardly *Uzun-aghach!*), near the l. Tüz-kül 98, 184, 195, 290
 Tüzün-bulagh 98, 184, 290
 Twsmat *see* Tūsmat
 Tythāl 63, 91, 198, 239, 248
 Ubulla (Bula) 76, 138
 Üch-quriqan 284
 Ugra r. 323
 Üj (Uch-Turfan) 28, 98, 293-5
 Ujjayn, cf. Nū'nin 189, 245, 336
 'Ukbarā 76, 140, 218
 Ük-tagh mt. 305
 'Ulayq ('Aliq?), mt. in Armenia 76
 Ulu-tau, cf. Kundāvar mt. 202, 308
 Uninhabited Lands, of the North 42, 96, 99, 101, 156, 158-9, 316; of the South 69, 83, 163, 165
 'Uqāb (?), in Arabia 148, 413
 Ural mts. 204, 306, 443; r. *see* Yayiq
 Ūrasht (Ūrast) 72, 116; r. 355
 Urdunn (Jordan) r. 150
 Urgün (?), cf. Farmul 251
 Ūrkath (Ūzkath?) 99, 304
 Urmiya 143, 183; l. (Kabūdhan) 379
 Ūr.shfin, cf. Manduri-pattan, Mandam 27, 87, 243

- Ūrshin (Ūrnshīn) *see* Orissa 27, 87, 241
 Ūrtāb *see* Arthāniya 75, 159, 438
 Urumchi 265
 Ūrūn-'ārj (Uzun-aghach) mt. 97, 290, 298
 Ūsāng, (Arsāng, K.rsāng) 25, 71, 94, 208
 Ushbānikath 358
 Ushbūrquān (Shabūraqān, Shibarghān, Sapurgan, &c.) 5, 39, 117, 335
 Ushnū (cf. Asna) 394
 Ushturj 336
 Uskāf banī Junayd 139
 Ustuvā, cf. Khūjān 29, 77
 Ūst-yurt (Chink) 312, 314
 Uswān *see* Assuan
 Utigur t. 264
 Uwāl (Wāl) is., cf. Bahrayn 190
 Uyghur, on the Orkhon 13, 233, 264, 268; in Kan-chou (Sari-yoghur) 26, 227, 256, 264-5; On-Uyghur 265; cf. Oghor, Toghuzghuz, Yighur, Yughur
 Uzam (?) 130
 Uzbeks, in Afghanistan 288
 Ūzgand 72, 116, 211, 280, 355; rivers of, Yabāghū and Barskhān (Khaylām, Narin) 72-3, 116, 288
 Ūzkath (Z.kath), on the Chu 98, 291, 304
 Uzu *see* Dniepr
 Uzun-aghach *see* Urūn-'ārj

 Valencia (Balansiya) 155
 Vābnīt (Vāntit, Vābit, &c.), a Slav town 159, 428, 431
 Vadhār 352
 Vaghkath (Vagat) *see* Faghkath 354
 Vakhān (Vakhkhān) 39, 63, 71, 86, 120-1, 325, 350, 366-8; r. (Vakhkhāb) 208; Vakhī (Vakhānians) 39, 121
 Vakhjīr p. 364
 Vakhsh (Vakhshāb, Surkhāb) r. 71, 120, 198, 209, 360-1; district 120; mts. (Alay?) 71
 Vālishtān *see* Bālis
 Vallabha, south of Chaul 246
 Valvālij 72, 109, 209, 340
 Vanandar (V.n.nd.r, N.nd.r, *Vunundur), cf. Onoghundur, W.l.nd.r xvi, 35, 43-4, 83, 101, 160-2, 203, 320-4, 323, 440-4, 457, 465-71; mts. (Carpathians?) 160
 Varač'an (Barshliya, Bashli?) 449, 453
 Varaghsar 113
 Varang *see* Warank
 Vardhūl 117
 Vardoj r. 365
 Vardūk 357
 Vardūqiya (Bardūj?) 144, 398
 Variag (Var'ag), cf. Warank 432-3
 Varmēshān *see* D.rm.shān
 Vārpuvā (Varfū) 136, 387
 Vartān (Warthān, Altan) 77, 142, 395, 403
 Varzuqān, near Ahar 396
 Vasārnīk *see* Sāvnik
 Vascones *see* Basques
 Vastān, in Daylām 136, 388
 Vāthkath (Vankath) 116, 355
 V'atichi, Russian t. 436
 Vāyagān 74, 127-8, 213, 379
 Vayhind (Ohind, Gandhāra) 63, 92, 251, 253-4
 Vayshagirt (Bishgird, Vēshagirt) 115, 120, 353
 Vehrot (Oxus) 331
 Venice 423
 Vīma, in Tabaristān 135
 Vindhya, mts. 198, 236
 Vindūshāvur *see* Gundē-Shāvur
 Vistula r. 430
 V.j.khyān (?), in Tibet 93, cf. Wajākh (?)
 Vlachs (Rumanians) 468
 Vogul t. 309, 318
 Volga, cf. Itil 41, 43-4, 305, 309, 312-6, 462
 Volga Tartars *see* Tatar
 V.r.nī mt., in Ghūr (?) 343
 V.r.shan, in Khazaria, cf. Varač'an (?) 453
 Vulāshgird 124
 Vulundur *see* W.l.ndr 470
 Vuy-tsang, in Tibet, cf. Ūsāng 262

 Wādī Bayhān (spelt: *Mijān*) 77, 148
 Wādī al-Qurā 148
 Wādī Halfa 477
 al-Wāhāt ('Oases') mt. 69, 78, 81, 152; desert 151
 Wajākh r., near Khotan 70, 206-7
 Wāqwāq 228; Gold island (Sumatra) 52, 83-4, 187; in Zangistān 472
 Warank (Varang, Var'ag) 181, 432; W. sea 182, 422
 Wāsiṭ 37, 76, 129, 138-9; swamp 77
 Wei-ho r. 206
 Wen-su (B.nchūl, *B.nchūk) 27-8, 98, 240, 283, 293-4, 296
 White Croats 430, 432, cf. Serbs
 Wisū, northern t. 309
 W.l.ndr (W.l.nd.ri, *Wulundur), cf. Vanandar 443, 459, 468-70
 Women, Isle of, (Kwen, Naissare) 8, 58-9, 191
 Wu-sun t. 444

 Xšaθrō-suka *see* Vayshagirt 353
 Xvanvant mt. 330

 Yabāghū, Khallukh t. 285, 287-8; r. (cf. Ūzgand r.) 116, 211, 288-9, 293
 Yabghū (Yafghū, Janart) p. 276, 296
 Yābis (Ibiza) is. 59, 192
 Yāfā 149
 Yafinj, cf. Māb.nj-J.rābās 95, 276-7
 Yaghmā (Y.ghmiyā) t. 34-5, 62, 73, 83, 95-8, 195, 260, 270, 278, 290, 301

Yahūdhan *see* Jahūdhan
 Yahūdhlīq 117
 Yakh-su (Akhshū), cf. Kulāb r. 208
 Yakh, Kūh-i yakh *see* Qasak
 Yakutsk 285
 Yalama r. 456
 Yālāpān (?) 118
 Yamāk (Yimāk), cf. Kimāk, Namakiya 305, 316
 Yamakoṭi *see* Jamagird 189
 Yamāma 146
 Yamgān, Y.nb.qān *see* Yumgān
 Yamkert *see* Jamagird
 Yangi-Baliq, in the T'ien-shan 235, 272
 Yāngi-Kānd *see* Dih-i nau
 Yang-tze kiang 195, 206, 208, 228, 230
 Yār, near the Issik-kul [perhaps = Sārigh] 292, 297-8
 Yarkhoto (Si-chou) 265
 Yarīm, in Arabia 413
 Yārkand 248; r. 206
 Yasi p. 292-3, 310
 Yasin-Gilgit r. 210
 Yavadvipa (Iabadiu, Jazīrat al-fīḍa) 186
 Yayik (Ural) r. 215, 309, 313-4
 Yazd (Katha) 129, 380
 Yazdashīr, in Kirmān 375
 Yazidiya, in Shirvān 404
 Yemen 20-1, 40, 66, 81, 146-7
 Yen-ch'i *see* Qarashar 275
 Yenisey r. 196, 283, 286, 362
 Yevlakh, on the Kurr 400
 Y.ghsūn-Yāsū, in Kimakia 100, 309
 Yighur *see* Yughur
 Yighur of Turkistān 309
 Yumār *see* Obi
 Y.ra r., near Khotan 255
 Yū-chou, cf. Ūj, Wen-su 27, 294
 Yugria, "Southern" (?) 318
 Yūkand 117
 Yūghūr (Yīghūr, Kimak-Yīghūr), a t. near the Aral sea 180, 215, 310, 312
 Yulduz, in the T'ien-shan 275-6
 Yumgān 367-8
 Yūn (?) kingdom, in Tukhārīstān 109, 340, 349
 Yūn (Bwr, Mwr?) 1., in Fārs 54, 127, 183
 Yūnān *see* Greece 158
 Yūngū *see* Aq-su 296
 Yūn-nan 236, 240
 Yūn.s mt. *see* Tūlas 287
 Yūra (Yūghra), t. 309-10, 437

 Zāb, Greater and Lesser 76
 Zābaj, cf. S.rīh, Sumatra, Wāqwāq, Zāba 33-4, 52, 57, 83, 163-4, 228, 471-2
 Zabīd 20-1, 40, 147
 Zābul (Jābulistān) 112, 346
 Zaghāwa (spelt: Lāba) 165, 477
 Zagros 383
 Zakatali (according to A. Genko, *Zakar-tala? "Zacharia's plot") 410

Zāmīn 115
 Zāmīn-dāvar 64, 111, 177, 344-5
 Zamm 200
 Zamr-i Ātash-parast 366
 Zandana 112
 Zandarāmish 116
 Zangān 132
 Zangī, "East-Africans" 51, 163-4; Wāq-wāqian Z. 56
 Zangistān (Zangibār, Zanj) 33-4, 52, 83, 163-4, 179, 228, 471-2; sea 52
 Zangūya 262
 Zarafshān r. *see* Soghd r.; range *see* Buttamān 211
 Zarah 55, 73, 185
 Zāri-i Murgh mt., in Ghūr 343
 Zarīn-rūdh (Zāyanda-rūd) 131, 383
 Zarmān (spelt: Armān) 113, 352
 Zarq, in Marv 105
 Zarqān, in Fārs 128, 379
 Zava, near Khotan 93, 259
 Zawila, in Fazzān 153, 416, 477
 Zaybāk, cf. R.kht.j.b 120, 364-5, 367
 Zaydān 380
 Zayla' (spelt: Ryn) 474
 Zaytūn, in China 227
 Zhāsht (Jāsht, Rāsht) 63, 120, 361, 363
 Zina-āb 353
 Zinvar 114
 Zirigarān, in Daghestān 450
 Zirkhān 365
 Z.kat *see* Ūzkath 291
 Zughar (Zo'ar) 67, 151, 415
 Zūzan (Zōzan) 103

The following names could not be transliterated in Latin characters:

اردکت, in Transoxiana 117
 اوردخس, mt. in Armenia 218
 انفس 229
 اولوقمن (اولوقمن), east of the Aral sea 306, 315, 317
 مانجباس, in Transoxiana 118
 سحک آرت, in Toghuzghuz 95
 سحول, in Khallukh 98
 سلان روزبار (Nylān?), in Gilan 136
 سحاك, in Transoxiana 118
 سحاح (Ghannāj?), in Transoxiana 117, 357
 سذحک, in Transoxiana 118
 رنکسوم, in Transoxiana 117
 شوح, in Farghāna 116
 سسکان (M.skān?), in Transoxiana 116, 355
 سکانک, in Transoxiana 119
 ملحم (ملحم), in the Hindūkush 121
 سمر, in Sistān 345

مورس, cf. Yün, in Tūkhāristān 340
 موندآ, in Chaghāniyān 353
 موز, cf. Nūdiz, in Chaghāniyān 120, 359,
 361
 حانكجآل, in Gilān 137
 حان, in Kirmān 125
 حرسك, in Transoxiana 118
 حرحك, in Transoxiana 118
 حمدان, in Tibet 255
 حنح (Aj.kh?), in Transoxiana 117, 357

دكر, in Chaghāniyān (Rēgar?) 114, 209
 دسمانك, in Transoxiana 118
 ريس, river 73 = اُس, 215
 عن, in Arabia 148
 مياغ, in Arabia 148
 قيلي و قيع, rivers east of the Aral sea,
 310

B. PERSONAL NAMES AND TITLES

'Abd al-Rahmān, Cordovan caliph 470
 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak 141
 'Abbāsids 11, 12-13, 15, 27, 40, 140-1,
 352, 460
 'Abd al-Qayyūm b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī
 al-Fārisi, owner and scribe of the
H.-'A. vii-viii, 166
 Abraham 37, 88, 139, 146, 150
abshād (*ayshā*, *ansā*), Khazar title 162,
 451
 Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, of Chaghāniyān 17
 Abū 'Alī, a Mu'tazilite imām 381
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad, of Chaghāniyān
 17
 Abū-Dā'ūdids 341, 345, 359
 Abū Dulaf of Karaj 132, 383
 Abul-'Abbās, caliph 141
 Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd 29, 133
 Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagāni ix, xv, 3
 Abul-Faṭḥ, of Badhakshān 349-50
 Abul-Ḥārith, *see* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
 Abul-Muẓaffar, *see* Muḥammad b.
 Aḥmad
 Abū Muḥammad [b.] Ḥasan b. Mihrān
 177
 Abū Muslim 356
 Abū Muzāḥim, khāqān, 300, 303
 Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 6, 177
 Abū-Sāj, *see* Yūsuf
 Adam 37, 61, 146, 194
 'Aḍud al-daula, Būyid 28, 214, 374
 Afrāsiyāb, dynasty of 278, 295
 Afrigh (Afrighūn, Farighūn, Ifrigh) 6,
 173-4, 342, 371
afshin, title in Ustrūshana 354
 Aḥmad b. Farighūn 6, 175
 Aḥmad b. Mu'taṣim, 'Abbāsīd 11
 Aḥmad b. Sahl, of Marv 16-17
 'Alā b. Aḥmad al-Azdi 172, 394
 'Alawī Burqa'i 139, 392
 Alexander the Great 156, 225
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 17, 140
 'Alī b. Haytham, of Shirvān 406
 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, in Mashhad 103

'Alī b. Sukkarī (Sagzi?), in Dihistān 133
 Almush (Mus), Bulghār king 162, 461
 'Amr b. Layth, Ṣaffārid 6, 176, 342, 347
 Anas b. Mālik 139
 Ardashīr Bābakān 127
 Ārish the Archer 330-1
 Arpād 461
 Arslan, Uyghur prince 272
 Asparukh 467-8
 'azīm of Khotan 25, 85, 234
 'Aziz, Fātimid caliph 27
 Bābur 251
 Badī' al-Zamān Hamadhānī 178
 Bagratunids 397
 Bahrām Chūbīn 102
 Bahrām Gūr 447
 Ballah-rā (Ballah-rāy), king in India 88,
 89, 91, 236-8, 244, 251
 Bānijūr family, of Khuttal 353, 359
barāz-banda, ruler of Mānshān 106, 335
 Barzuvilā, Turkish prince 461
 Basil I, emperor 424
 Ba'ūra (B.rūza), king of Qinnauj 239,
 253
 Bāv, Bāvand dynasty 135
 Bayan, son of Kubrat 467
bayghū, cf. *yabghū* 296, 303-4.
 B.dān-Sānkū (B.dān-Sāngū), *dihqān*
 298, 304
beg-tegin, cf. Yinal-beg-tegin 95, 274,
 304
 Bilgā-Qaghan 265, 302
 Bltwār (Yiltuvar?), Bulghār king 461
 Boghrā-Khān 278
 Boris, king 468
 Bsmūt-Swyt, *see* S.mūt-swyt
 Bughā, Mutawakkil's general 401
 Bulūrīn-shāh, of Bolor 121
 Būyids 28-9, 138, 214, 374, 377, 392
 Chalukya dynasty of Vengi 238
 Chandēl dynasty 237
 Charlemagne (Qārula) 191, 424

Chasdai ben Shafrut 470
 Chaulukya dynasty 250
chorepiscopos (*korikoz*) 402

Dahum (Ruhmī, &c.), king in India 62,
 72, 80, 87, 236-8.

Daniel, prophet 131, 382.

Dān-sānkū, *see* B.dān-sānkū

Daqiqī, poet 178

Dārā (Darius) 129

Darmashī-shāh (Varmēshān), in Gūz-
 gān 106, 333

Dhaṅga, Chandēl king 237

Dib-baquy 357

Dihqān-i Ilāq 117, 356

Dihqān-i Zhāsh 120

Dula, Alan prince 457

Daqqāq, Ḥasan Abū Sa'id 127, 377

eltābir, Turkish title 265

Ērān-shāh (?), *see* Layzān-shāh 407

Faḍl b. Sahl 350

Faḍl b. Yahyā, Barmakid 350, 361

Faghfur-i Chīn 84

Fā'iḳ, amīr 176

Fanā-Khusrau, *see* Panā-Khusrau

Faridūn (Afridhūn, Faridhūn) 6, 84,
 106, 174, 227

Farighūnids 4-7, 173-8, 336, 344

Fāṭimids, cf. Maghribī 20, 27, 89, 239,
 246, 415

Fazārī, astronomer 133, 189, 384

Fazhīghūn, cf. Afrīgh 173

Filān-shāh 454

Galen (Jālinūs) 151

Ghāba, king in India, cf. Jāba 237

Ghadā'irī, poet 384

Ghaznavids 30, 177, 343-4, 346

Ghūr-shāh 1, 5, 110

Gog and Magog (absent in the text)
 439, 451

Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty 198, 239,
 246, 249

Gūzgān-khudāh 175

Habbār b. al-Aswad 372

Hajjāj b. Yūsuf 138

Hallāj 23, 128, 379

Ḥamdānids 20

al-Ḥarbī, Abū Naṣr 18

Hārūn al-Rashīd 103, 149

Ḥasan Baṣrī 139

Hāshim b. Bānijūr 353

Hātim b. Dā'ūd, of Khuttalān 361

Hekmat, A. A. khān 376

Hermes 37, 152

Hiwālī, rulers of Ṣan'ā 20

Hsi Tsung, emperor 267

Hsüan Tsung, emperor 265

Huang-Ch'ao 259, 267

Ibrahīm Darbandī, ruler of Shīrvān 405

idiqu, king of Bish-baliq 271

Idrīsids 417

ikhshēd, kings of Farghāna 355

Ilmālm.s.n.-jabūya 288

Ilyāsīd dynasty 374

Isaac 150

Ismā'il ibn-'Abbād, minister 18

Ismā'il ibn-Aḥmad, Sāmānid 6, 176

I Tsung 265

Jāba "the Indian", king of Sumatra (?)
 57, 249

Jāba-yi khushk, "Continental" Jāba 63,
 249

jabghū *see* *yabghū*

jabūya 298

Jacob 150

Ja'far b. Sahl b. Marzbān 6-7

Jalāl al-dīn Khwārazm-shāh 348

Javānshīr b. Grigor 396

Jaypāl of Vayhind 92, 237, 254

Jebu-Khak'an 304

Jesus 150

Jubbā'i, Abū 'Alī 130

jula, Magyar title 101, 320, 323

Julandā bul-K.rk.r 143

Julandids 39, 40, 390

Kābīl, king of Nubia 78, 164, 475

Kābul-shāh 350

kanārang 379

Kasrānid dynasty 404, 406

Kaykā'ūs 189

Khaidu 275

Khāqān Rūs *see* Rūs-khāqān

Khāqān of Tibet 85

Khazar-khāqān 451

Khirkhīz-khāqān 96, 97

Khumār-bik 349, 364

Khursān-shāh 144, 404, 455

Khūr-tegin 355

Khutoghlan 288

Khwārazm-shāh 121-2, 174, 180, 309-
 10, 348, 371

Kimak-khāqān 100; Kimāk-yabghūy
 310

King of the East, *see* Sāmānids 112

Kisā'i the Reader 133, 384

k.nda, Magyar title 320, 323

k.nd.r, title 323-4

Kobrat 467, 470

kūdārkin, title 312

Kül-tegin 302

Kūr-şul (Kül-chur) 301

Layth, Saffārid 110

L.bān-shāh, cf. *albān* 454

Li-k'o-yung 267

Layzān-shāh (Lāyrān, &c.) 144, 404-11

Lohara dynasty 250

Long-tegin *see* P'ang-t'ê-lê 226

mīr-i rudh 113

Louis the Pious, emperor 433

Maghribī, cf. Fātimids 3, 246
al-maharāj of Zābaj 473
 Mahdī, caliph 10, 311
 Maḥmūd Ghaznavid 6, 27, 176, 327, 336, 346
 Mahodaya, cf. Ba'ūra 253
 Ma'mūn, caliph 10-11, 40, 112, 140, 220, 350
 Ma'mūnids of Khwārazm 174, 371
manaf (?) 293
 Mānī 25, 84-5, 130, 269
 Maniach, a Soghdian 293
 Manjik, poet 178
 Maṣṣūr, caliph 138
 Maṣṣūr (b.) Nūh, Sāmānid 6
 Marwān, Omayyad 452, 455, 476
 al-Marwazī, Husayn b. 'Alī, a general 16
 al-Marwazī, Muḥammad Su'luk 16
 Marzbān b. Zādiya 6
 Marzubān b. Muḥammad, Musāfirid 396-7, 406, 409
 Mas'ūd Ghaznavid 177, 334, 336, 343
 Mazyadids 404
 Māzyār 387
 Mihrān dynasty 397
 M.n.h.b (Fanjab, *puṅgawa*?), king of Zābaj 164
 Moses 148, 449
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abul-Muẓaffar, of Chaghāniyān 178
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abul-Ḥārith, Farighūnī vii, 4, 6, 49, 173, 175-6
 Muḥammad b. Faḍl Qarmatī 21, 66, 203
 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan the Lawyer 133, 384
 Muḥammad b. Yazīd, Shīrvān-shāh 406, 455
 Muḥammad Ghaznavid 177
 Muḥammad Khwārazm-shāh 309
 Muḥammad Nādir khān, king of Afghanistan 337
 Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā Rāzī 132, 384
 Muḥtāj family of Chaghāniyān 353
 Mu'izz, Fātimid 27
 Muntaṣir, Sāmānid 177
 al-Muqanna' 311, 356
 Muqtadir, caliph 352, 460
 Musāfirids 394, 396
 Mu'taqid, caliph 15
 Mu'tamid, caliph 12-13
 Mu'taṣim, caliph 11, 40, 140
 Mutawakkil, caliph 140

 Naṣir al-Daula, Ḥamdānid 20
 Naṣir al-dīn Shāh 390
 Naṣr b. Aḥmad, Sāmānid 116
 Naṣr II 16-17, 22
 Nayzak [**Nizuk*?] 332
 Nayzak Tarkhān 327, 338, 340
 Nimrūd 139
 Niẓām al-mulk 377
 N.jāba, cf. Jāba 249, 251

Noah 66, 412
 Nūh b. Asad, Sāmānid 358
 Nūh b. Maṣṣūr, Sāmānid 4, 176, 178

 Oldenburg, S. F. x
 Oleg 433
 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, in Maṣṣūra 88
 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb 139
 Omayyads 155, 417

 Pākh (?), prince in Tūkhāristān 109
 Panā-Khusrau, Būyid 28, 124
 P'ang-t'ê-lê 226, 264
 Parmūdha, son of Shāba 185
 Pirān 295
 Prālambha dynasty 240
 P.rvānč-žabghū 482
 Pu-ku-ts'un, Uyghur chief 265

 Qadir-khan Qangli 309
 Qalīn b. Sh.khīr, in Kan-su (?) 227
 Qara-Khānids (Āl-i Afrāsiyāb) 234, 278, 280, 287, 295, 299, 355
 Qara-Khitay (Liao) dynasty 276
 qinnāz, Russian title 429
 Qubilay 228
 Qut-tegin (Qūtegin), ruler of the Labān t. 292, 301
 Qutayba b. Muslim 338, 340

 Rā'i b. Rā'i (Zā'i b. Zā'i) 165, 476
 Rās-Tarkhān 451
 Rāstrakūṭa dynasty 238
 Rāvshār, see Rīvshār 332
 Ibn Rawwād 143, 395
 rāy, Indian rajah 62, 72, 238; cf. Ballah-rāy
 rāyina [**rāniya*?], Indian queen 87, 238, 243
 R.hmī, see Dahum 237
 R'urik 433
 Rūs-khāqān 159, 433, 436, 438
 Rustam 17, 280
 Rusudan, queen of Georgia 397
 Rutbīl, see Zunbīl

 Sabuktagin 30, 176, 342, 344
 Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās 140
 Šaffārids 6, 176
 sāghūn, title 291
 Śailendra (Śrīvijaya) dynasty 241
 Salmān al-Fārisī 453
 Salūqiyyīn dynasty 91, 239, 249
 Sām (Sāma b. Lu'ayy), ruler of Mūltān 89, 239
 Sāmānids 5-6, 16, 30, 102, 175-7, 227, 270, 352, 357
 Sanjar, sultān 311
 Sarv, known to Firdausī 17
 Sāsānians 105, 108, 126, 138, 139, 332, 337, 378, 401, 404, 406, 454
 Saṭūhā (?), ruler in Sumatra (?) 87, 236, 241
 Satuq Bughra-khan 278, 281

se-li-fa, Turkish title 449
Shāba, "Turkish" king 185
shad-tutuq, title 278, 310
Shaddādids 397
Shāfi'ī, imām 151
shahr-salir, king of Andarāb 109
Shāhrukh, Timūrid 20
Shammākh b. Shujā' 404
Shanaspids of Ghūr 333, 343
Shāpūr I 128, 381
Shāqīq Balkhī 114, 354
shār, title in Gharchistān 327, 332, 335, 341, 344 (*shār of Ghūr?*)
shir (shēr), title in Bāmiyān 109, 341, and Khuttalān 359
Shīriyān-shāh 404, 410
Shīrvān (Shērvān), a Ghūr chief 343
Shīrvān-shāh 144, 404, 454-5.
Shu'ayb, prophet 148
Sipahbadh-i Shahriyār-kūh 135
Sirīn's son 139
Siyāvush 174, 371
Smbat I, Bagratunid 397
S.mūt-swyt (Bsmūt-swyt), cf. *Swyt-mlk* 159
"Son of the Sun" 121, 369
Śrīvijaya, cf. Śailendra 188, 241
rūbanj (župan?) 429, 431
Šul, prince of Dihistān 311
Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qarmaṭī 127
Su-lu 300-1
Sunbāt, see *Smbat* 143, 397
Svetopluk (Sventopluk) 430, 442
Sviatoslav 439
Swyt-mlk (Swyyt-mlk, Svetopluk?) 428-9

tabin, title 293
Tāhīr b. Faḍl of Chaghāniyān 178
Tahmūrath 105
taksin title 272, 297
Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh 139

tarkhān-khāqān, Khazar title 161, 451
tekin, title 288
T'ē-p'ang-lē 275, 301
Timūr 196
Tubbat-khāqān 71, 92, 93
Tūr, son of Faridūn 227
Türgish-khaqan 284, 289
Tuzūn, Turkish chief 20

Ulugh-bek 3-4
ustundār, title 135, 387
utsmi, ruler of the Qaytaq 449
Uyghur-khan 267

Varāz-Grigor 397

waranda, title in Gūzgān 106
Wang Yen-tē 269, 272
Wāthīq, caliph 11-12, 13
Wu-chih-lē, Türgish chief 300

yabghū (jabghū), Turkish title 95, 97, 98, 275, 287, 288, 297, 303, 304, 312, cf. *jabūya*; *žabghū* 482
Yahuda ben Barzillai 470
Yahyā b. Zayd, imām 335, 356
Ya'qūb b. Layth, Saffārid 131, 345
Yaroslav of Kiev 316, 444
Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, cf. *Mazyadids* 404
Yinal-beg-tegin (Y.nālb.rr.kīn) 99, 303, cf. *Bek-tegin*
Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj Dīvdād 142, 394

Zāghī b. Zāghī, see *Rā'ī b. Rā'ī*
Zahāk (Zuhāk, azdahāk) 174
zaisan, title 285
Zemarchos 347
Ziyādids, in Yemen 20
Ziyārids 385
Zubayda 150, 349
zunbil (rutbil), title in Zābul 345

C. AUTHORITIES QUOTED

L'Abrégé des Merveilles 187, 426
Abul-Fidā 372, 390, 453, 455-6
Abul-Ghāzī 292, 308, 310, 312, 357
Abū Ma'shar Balkhī 189
Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. 'Ubaydillāh, biographer of *Abū Zayd Balkhī* 15
Abū Šāliḥ, The Churches of Egypt 476
Abū Zayd Balkhī, see *Balkhī*
Abū Zayd Muḥammad Sīrāfi 224, 259, 267
Ibn al-'Adhārī ['Idhārī] 425
Ahlwardt 5
Aḥmad Zakī Validi, see *Validi*
Amari 192
Amedroz 29
Anvarī 328
Aristotle xvi, 7, 51

Aristov 286, 311
Armenian Geography 32-3, 330-1, 334, 401, 445-6
Assemani 290
Ibn al-Athīr 20, 28, 245, 267, 311, 397, 421, 453
'Aṭṭār, Farid al-dīn 354
'Aufī 173, 284-5, 287, 301, 305, 317, 324, 426-7, 430, 432, 436, 444, 456, 459
Avesta 330, 353
al-'Azīzī 449, 477

Bābur-Nāma 253, 336, 354
Bacot, J. 258
Badger, G. P. 39, 396
Baghdādī, 'Abdul-Qādir 338

- Bailey, H. W. xix, 271
 al-Bakrī 314, 319-20, 322-3, 416, 426-7, 456-8
 Balādhurī 4, 374, 384, 395, 398, 404, 408-9, 421-2, 447, 449, 455-6.
 Balkhī, Abū Zayd 6, 15, 17-19, 21-3, 25-7, 34-7, 41, 301, 325, 351, 434, 437, 443
 Barnett, Dr. L. D. 243
 Barsov, N. 323
 Barth, H. 474
 Barthold, V. V. xi-xii, xiv, 4, 6, 13, 16-18, 22-6, 28-30, 39, 43-4, 140, 211, 266, 274 and passim
Z. Gesch. der Šaffāriden 346
Mesto Prikaspiyskikh Oblastey 439
Ibn Sa'id 211
Semirechye 280, 294, 302
 Barthoux, J. 253
 al-Battānī 7-9, 12, 28, 190, 192
 Ibn Battūta 241, 245, 456
 Bayhaqī, Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad, *rikkh* 173, 177, 200, 334, 343, 362
 Becker, C. H. 474, 477
 Benveniste, E. 263, 271, 354
 Berezin, I. N. 273
 Beveridge, Annette S. 252
 Bichurin, Iakinf (Hyacinth) 226, 262, 264, 284
 al-Birūnī, Abū Rayḥān xiii, 18, 24, 33-4, 233, 368, 372, 422, 432
Canon 9, 180, 189, 204, 244-5, 248, 251, 272, 280, 284, 295, 309, 325, 332, 335-6, 340-1, 356, 365, 367, 369-70, 372, 377, 417, 425
Chronology 330
India 34, 189, 238, 247-9, 252, 335, 338, 362
al-Taḥḥīm 181, 189, 284
 Blagden, C. O. 242
 Bleichsteiner 444
 Blochet 460
 de Boer, Tj. 11
Book of Marvels (an unknown) 415, 471
 Boswell, A. Bruce 315
 Boyer, P. 462
 Bretschneider 26, 223, 272, 284, 446, 462
 Brockelmann 3, 8, 11-12, 15, 23
 Brooks 419
 Brosset, M. F. 398, 401, 457
 Browne, E. G. 178, 384-5
 Brutzkus, Y. 431
 Büchner, V. F. 344
Bundahishn 200, 254, 326, 327, 377, 379, 400
 Burrard and Hayden 196
 Bury 421, 440, 467
 Butkov, P. 456
 Cahen, Claude 393, 395
Carta Catalana 299
 Cerulli 473
Chahār-Maqāla 353
 Chardin 183
 Charmoy 426
 Charpentier, J. 444
 Chau Ju-kua 241
 Chavannes, E. 27, 207, 223, 226, 247, 256, 294, 334, 349, 366, 448-9
Chiu T'ang-shu 266, 288
 Christensen, A. 175
 Chwolson, D. 317-18, 430, 437, 461-2
 Codera, F. 425
 Codrington 341, 357
 Cohn-Wiener 355
 Colin, G. S. 382
 Constantine Porphyrogenitus 41, 314, 319, 322, 418, 421-2, 430-1, 439, 440-1, 450, 459, 466-7
 Conti Rossini 476
 Cooley, W. D. 476
 Cousens, H. 246, 371
 Cunningham, Gen. A. 247
 Dames, L., 328, 343, 374
 Defrémery, Ch. 426
 Deguignes 226
 Delafosse 476
 Deny, J. 311
 Devic, L. M. 471
 Dietrich 317
 Dimashqī 193, 254
 Dolbezhev, B. 272
 Dorn, B. 385, 403, 426
 Dozy and de Goeje 417
 Dussaud, R. 414
 Dvorník, F. 424, 431, 440
 Elias, N. 369
 Elliot-Dowson 27, 235, 253, 372
 Eusebius 9
 Ibn-Faḍlān 41, 215, 309, 312-14, 425, 450, 452, 460
 Fakhr al-dīn Mubārakshāhī 180, 229, 269
 al-Farghānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 178
 Ibn al-Faqīh xvii, 14, 332, 384, 387, 409, 418, 420-1, 425, 475, 481-2
 Farrukhī 178
Fārs-Nāma, GMS 212, 214, 376-7
Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣirī, by Ḥasan Fāṣlī 183, 376-7, 379
 Fehér, G. 440
 Fejér, G. 439
 Ferrand, G. 188, 228, 241, 471-2
al-Fihrist 3, 13, 290, 352
 Firdausī 17, 383, *see Shāh-nāma*
 Firkovich 470-1
 Fitzgerald, Dr. P. 230
 Foucher, A. 211
 Frāhn 426, 434, 460, 463
 Franke, O. 224, 263, 265
 Frobenius, L. 477

- Gardizī xiii, xvii, 4, 24-7, 35, 43, 174-7, 221, 229, 233, 260, 265, 273, 296-8, 301, 305, 308, 312, 319-21, 362-3, 437, 441-2, 446, 451-2, 459, 463
 Garkavi (Harkavy), A. 426, 431, 466
 Gaudefroy-Demombynes 414, 473
 Gayangos, Don P. 476
 Gelzer 418, 420-1
 Genko, A. N. 402
Georgian Chronicle, cf. Brosset 401
 Ghaffārī, *Jahān-ārā* 174
 Ghiyāth al-dīn Naqqāsh (on China) 224
 Gibb, H. A. R. xix, 225, 256, 280, 300-1, 418
 Gmelin 404
 Godard, Y. and A. 338
 de Goeje 6, 12-13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22-3, 30, 225
 Golius 474
 Golubovsky, P. 312
 Gonzales-Palencia, A. 425
 Gorodtsov, V. A. 436
 Gottschalk, Dr. W. 366
 Grégoire, H. 419
 Grenard, F. 281, 294
 Grierson, Sir G. 365
 Griffith, F. Ll. 475
 Grigoriev, V. 223
 Grohmann, A. 203
 Grousset, R. 228, 241
 Grum-Grzhimailo, S. E. 274
 Guest, R. 415
 Guidi, I. 473
 Guillain 471
 Gulpāyagānī, Abul-Faḍl ix, xv, 3-4, 111

 Hackin, J. 338
 Hādī Ḥasan 223
 Hāfiẓ 297
 Hāfiẓ-i Abrū 20, 224
 Ḥajjī Khalifa (Kātib-Chelebī) 11-12, 449, 460
 Hamdānī, *Yazīrat al-'arab* xix, 411
 Ibn Ḥamdūn 15
 Hammer-Purgstall 426
 Hansen, O. 300
 Harkavy, *see* Garkavy
 Hartmann, M. 223, 454
 Hartmann, R. 329, 337, 474
 Harūn b. Yahyā 319-20, 423, 468
 Ibn Ḥauqal xviii, 6-7, 15, 19-23, 27-8, 200, 216, 222, 312, 328, 345, 356, 406, 415-17, 424, 439
 Haussknecht, C., *Routen im Orient* 213, 376, 379-80
 Hedin, S. 274
 Hennig, R. 437
 Herberstein 465
 Herodotus 462
 Herrmann, A. 225, 274, 448
 Herzfeld 202, 324, 330, 376, 393
 Heyd, W. 382

 Hillelson, S. 475
 Hipparchus 190
 Hirth, F. 223-4, 266, 290
History of Samarkand 174
 Hoffmann, G. 326, 379
 Hogarth 222
 Honigmann 393, 414
 Houtsma 311, 328, 374
 Houtum-Schindler 374
 Hsüan-Tsang 191, 207, 247, 249, 253, 259, 264, 364, 367-8, 370
 Huart, C. 386
 Hübschmann 382, 393, 396, 398
Hudūd al-'Ālam vii-xix, 6, 7, 24-6, 29, 31, 34-7, 43 and *passim*
 Huntington 184

 Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-Shāh, *see* *L'Abrégé des merveilles*
 Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb 191, 427-8, 442
 Idrisī 181, 190, 207, 221, 238, 269, 272, 274, 281, 293, 295, 297, 306, 423, 431, 438, 461, 475, 477, 482
The Imperial Gazetteer of India 248
 Inostrantsev 387
 Ibn Isfandiyyār 387
 Isfizārī 329
 Isidore of Charax 14, 326
 Iṣṭakhri xviii, 5-6, 15, 18-23, 25-7, 34, 36-41, 140, 143, 176, 203, 205, 319 (p. 225), 424 and *passim*
 Ivanov, P. P. 358
 Ibn Iyās 237, 241
 'Izz al-dīn b. Shaddād 393

 Jacob, G. 426
 Jāhiẓ 13, 267, 287, 417
 Jalāl al-dīn Tehrānī xi
 Jamāl Qarashī 281
Jāmi' al-'ulūm by Rāzī, viii
 Jānākh b. Khāqān al-Kīmākī 297
 Jarbādhagānī, Abul-Sharaf 4
 Jarring, G. 296
 Jayhānī xvi-xviii, 16, 23-6, 28, 220, 225, 255, 301, 325, 364, 419, 423, 433
Jihān-nāma vii, 347-8
 Jireček, C. 467, 469
 Julian, Dominican 319, 439
 Justi, F. 344, 382, 387, 461
 Juvaynī, GMS 270 (i, 39-45), 278, 299 (i, 226-7), 310, 312, 319 (i, 225), 369, 386, 446 (i, 222), 456 (i, 214, 222)
 Juynboll 192

 Ka'bi, Abul-Qāsim 'Abdallah 17
 Kahle, P. 224
 Kakabadze, S. N. 402
 Karabacek (Karabaček) 382
 al-Karkhī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad 18
 Kāshgharī, Maḥmūd xiii, 28, 35, 208, 232, 235, 275, 281, 285, 288, 290, 295, 297-8, 305, 348, 408, 469
 Kasravī, Sayyid Aḥmad 393-4, 396

- Ibn Khallikān 384, 406
 Khanikov, N. V. 193, 387
 Khāqānī 193
 al-Kharaqī 7, 28
 Khazar King's Letter 468, 470
 al-Khāzin, Abū Ja'far 18
 Khazrajī, *History of Yemen* 20
 Ibn Khurdādhbih xvi, 12-15, 23-8, 30, 33-5, 37, 40-1, 188, 205, 301, 350, 384, 393, 412, 418, 420, 447, 473, 476, 482 and passim
 Khuwarizmī, Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, *al-Risā'il* 178
 Khuwārizmī, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* 178 356, 362
 Khuwārizmī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsā 9-12, 14, 26, 32-3, 178, 206, 221, 391, 471, 474, 477
 Kiepert, H. 191, 376
 al-Kindī, Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb 10-11, 15-16
 Kirfel 188
 al-Kirmānī 'Omar b. Azraq 337
 Klaproth 449
 Klemenzen, D. 271
 Kmoskó, M. 450-1
 Kokovtsov, P. K. 182, 322, 427, 450, 453, 466, 470-1
 Köprülü-zade, M. F. 285, 311, 469
 Kornilov, L. 25
 Kotwicz, W. 265
 Kowalski, T. 347
 Kozlov, P. K. 259
 Kramers, J. H. 409
 Kratchkovsky, I. 23, 427
 Krimsky, A. E. 402
 Kulakovsky, J. 444
 Kunik, A. 468
 Kunik, A. and Rosen, baron V. 8, 426
 Kuropatkin, A. N. 281, 294
 Kūshkakī, Burhān al-dīn 298, 332, 337-8, 341, 350, 365, 367, 369
 Kutschera, H. von 450
 Kuwabara, J. 223

 Landberg, C. 413
 Lane-Poole, S. 20-1, 39, 404
 Lashchenko, A. I. 431
 Laskin, G. 418
 Laufer, B. 375
 Lecocq, A. von 271
 Lerch, J. J. 398
 Le Strange xiii, 360, 376, 380, 382
 Lévi, Sylvain 226, 232, 243, 249
 Lévi-Provençal, E. 427
 Ligeti, L. 265, 282
Lubāb al-albāb 173
 Luce, G. H. 237, 242

 Macartney, C. A. 313, 318-19, 440
 McGregor, G. H. 252
Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm see Khuwārizmī
 Majumdar, N. G. 371
 Malov, S. E. 265
 Manandian, A. 397
 Mann, Oscar 396
 Mannerheim, baron 257, 265
Man-shu 242
 Maqdisi xviii, 6, 17-19, 23-4, 27-8, 40, 220, 251, 306, 342, 347, 349, 378, 385, 412
 Maqrizi 221, 267, 476
Marāḥid al-ittilā' 192
 Marco Polo 5, 369, 374
 Markov, A. K. 6, 356-7, 462, 464
 Marquart (Markwart), J., x, xiv and passim
Arktische Länder 284, 437, 451, 462, 466, 469
Beiträge (ZDMG, xlix) 410, 421, 455
Benin 473, 476
Chronologie 210, 266, 448, 461
Erānfahr 6, 26 and passim
Historische Glossen 356
Iberer und Hyrkanier 421-2, 444
Komanen 446
Kulturanalekten 322, 455, 457
Das Reich Zābul 333, 338, 344-5, 370
Streifzüge 13, 41-3, 266, 322, 461 and passim
Südarmenien 218, 383
Skizzen 211, 398
Wehrot 186, 209-10, 233, 327, 331, 340, 346, 349, 352, 359, 362-3, 383, 400
Woher . . . der Name Kaukasus? 199
 Marr, N. Y. 402
 Marschall v. Bieberstein, F. A. 404
 al-Marwazī, Ja'far ibn-Aḥmad, geographer 12-13
 Masalsky, Prince V. I. 300, 360
 Maspero, G. 240
 Mas'ūdī, xix
Murūj 181 (ii, 15), 210 (i, 212), 224-5 (i, 307, 347), 242 (i, 388), 253 (i, 206), 265 (i, 288), 267 (i, 305), 312 (i, 213), 320 (i, 262), 337 (iv, 48), 345 (viii, 42), 347 (iii, 254, v, 302), 394 (ii, 6), 400-2 (ii, 68), 403 (ii, 75), 409 (ii, 2), 441 (iii, 61-5), 443 (i, 212), 446 (ii, 42), 447-8 (ii, 41-2), 452 (ii, 7), 456 (ii, 65), 463 (ii, 14), 467 (ii, 58), 469 (ii, 58, v, 212), 472 (iii, 6), 474 (iii, 32)
Tanbih 11-12, 14, 216, 349, 418, 439, 446, 467, 469
Mathnawī (Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī) 297
 Melgunov, G. 356, 385-6, 410
 Melioransky, P. M. 302
 Mikkola, J. J. 460
 Miller, B. V. 408-9
 Miller, K., *Mappae Arabicae* 216-17
 Miller, V. F. 444
 Minchul khutukhtu 255
 Mingana, Dr. A. 182, 284-5

- Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, Abū Dulaf 225, 232, 268, 280, 306, 310, 312
 Ibn-Miskawaih 20, 28-9, 374-5, 383, 398, 411
Mohit, by Sidi 'Alī Chelebi 235, 245, 372, 472
 Moravcsik, J. 318, 465, 467
 Morgenstierne, G. 351, 368
 Minorsky, V. passim
 de Morgny, G. 376
 Moses Kaṭankatvats'i 362, 397-8, 411, 461
 Moses of Khoren 467; cf. *Armenian Geography*
 Moshin, V. A. 432, 437
 al-Muhallabī, Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, al-'Azizī 449, 477
 Muḥammad Nāzim 24, 254, 342-3, 371
 Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Abū 'Abdillāh (on India) 235, 236, 241, 249
 Muḥammad b. Mahmūd, 'Ajab al-zamān, Nishāpūrī, musician, viii
 Ibn al-Mujāwir 411, 413
Mujmal al-Tawārikh 234, 278, 291-3, 297-8, 301, 303, 461
 Müller, F. W. K. 271, 300, 482
 Müller, C. 474
 Münejjim-bashi 173, 178, 394, 405
 Ibn al-Muqaffa' 277, 381
 Munkácsi, B. 317-18, 468
 Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī 319-20, 419, 422-3, 430
 Mzik, H. von 179, 186, 189, 193, 473, 475-7

 Nallino, C. A. 7-12, 14, 28, 179, 191, 391, 414
 Napier 200
 Narshakhi 6, 39, 173, 352
 Nasawī 310, 398
 Naṣir al-dīn Ṭūsī 181
 Naṣir-i Khusrāu 173, 177, 326, 362, 367
 Németh, J. 313, 317-18, 468
 Nicephorus Archiepiscopus 467
 Nicholson, R. A. xix, 354
 Niederle, L. 431, 433, 468
 Nieuwenhuis 473
 Nizāmī 457
 Nöldeke, Th. 22, 25, 381
 Nundolal Dey 235
Nuzhat al-qulūb 263, 343, 345, 379, 385-7, 390

Oghuz-nāma 284
 d'Ohsson, A. C. Mouradja 426, 449
 al-'Omari, Ibn Faḍlallāh, *Masālik al-abṣār* 385, 473
 Orkhon inscriptions 196, 265, 270, 272, 284, 302
 Ostrogorsky, G. 419
 Ouseley, Sir W. 20, 22
 Pagliaro, A. 379
 Pakhomov, E. A. 403, 405
 Palló, M. 450
 Patkanov, K. 32, 401, 453
 Pelliot, P. xii, xvii, 172, 226, 232, 235, 245, 258, 264, 273, 282, 284, 294, 315, 317, 369, 446, 447
The Persian Gulf Pilot (Constable & Stiffe) 214, 376, 377
 Peschel-Ruge 8
 Petrovsky, N. F. 281
 Pevtsov 262
 Playfair 233
 Pliny 199
 Popov, A. N. 460
 Poppe, N. 453, 460
 Potanin, G. N. 233, 257, 265
 Poupardin 192
 Ptolemy xvi, 7-12, 14-15, 26, 30, 33, 56, 58, 186, 190, 199, 205-6, 235, 386, 474

Qābūs-nāma 173, 331
 Qaṭrān 397
 Qazvinī, Muḥammad khān xix, 174, 178, 353, 365
 Qazvinī, Zakariyā 194, 367, 387, 419
 Ibn al-Qiftī 382
 Quatremère 224, 475
 Qudāma 26, 190, 225, 256, 268-9, 287, 291, 298, 301, 306, 310, 328, 384, 418, 420
Qor'ān 39, 143, 148, 173, 437

 Rabino, H. L. 385, 388
 Radloff, W. 302
Rājataranginī 249
 Ramsay, W. R. 220, 418
 Ramstedt, G. 266
 Rashid al-dīn 4, 12, 173, 223, 228, 232, 273, 284, 315, 448, 460, 469
 Rasovsky, D. A. 313, 315-16
 Ravaisse, P. 240
 Raverty, H. G. 89, 251, 273, 371
 Ray, H. Ch. 235
 Redhouse, Sir J. W. 20
 Reichelt 230, 275, 300
 Reinaud xv, 9-10, 20, 189, 192, 221, 223-5, 391, 472, 474
 Richthofen, F. von 207
 Riḍa-qulī khān 396
 Rockhill, W. 223-4
 Robertson, Sir G. S. 368
 Roeder, G. 475
 Roerich, G. 257
 Rosen, baron V. (cf. Kunik) viii, 20, 395, 427
 Ross, Sir E. D. xix, 25, 255, 269, 369
 Rubruquis 277, 315, 463-5
Russian Chronicles 311, 316, 434, 439, 462
 Ibn Rusta xvii, 7-8, 14, 27, 35, 43, 178, 321-3, 327, 429, 437, 442, 446, 452, 458-9, 462, 473

Saavedra, Ed. 417
 Sachau 6, 18, 24, 26, 34, 174, 371, 378, 405
 Safadi 15, 17
 Safarīk 430
 Ibn Sa'id, cf. Barthold 194, 205, 361, 372, 427, 472
 Sa'id Nafisī 178
 Saka documents 271-2, 292
 Salemann, C. 338
 Salil ibn-Razik, *see* Badger
 Sallām the Interpreter 225, 451
 Sallāmī 16
 Sam'ānī 17, 328
 Sarakhsī 12, 15
 Sarton, G. 8, 384
 Savelyev, P. S. 426
 Schaefer, H. H. 225, 230, 284, 356, 392
 Schefer, Ch. 223, 384
 Schmidt, F. M. 277
 Schott 286
 Schwarz, P., xiii, 337, 375-6, 380, 382, 394
 Seippel, A. 427, 432
 Semenov, A. A. 326, 337, 367
 Semenov, V. P. 304, 308
 Seredonin, S. M. 427
 Seybold 8, 23, 418
Shāh-nāma xii, 252-3, 281, 295, 297, 324, 461
 Shahrīyār b. Buzurg, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* 472
 Shakhmatov, A. A. 432, 464
 Shams-i Qays 331
 Shihāb al-din Aḥmad b. Mājid 235
 Shirakats'i, Anania 32
 Shiratori, Kurakichi 351
 Shukrullāh b. Shihāb 456
Siddhānta 384
 Sīdī 'Alī, admiral *see* Moḥiṭ
 Simchowitsch, J. N. 450
 Simon de Keza 322
Siyāsāt-nāma, by Niẓām al-mulk 280, 337, 349
 Sköld, Hannes 318, 367
 Smirnov, I. N. 462-4
 Smirnov, P. 427, 432, 438
 Smith, V. 235, 250
 Spitsin, A. A. 427
 Sprenger 223, 355, 366, 411
 Stackelberg, R. von 330
 Stahl, A. F. 200, 385, 387, 410
 Stark, Freya 388
 Stein, Sir A. 27, 232-4, 247, 254, 256-7, 272, 294, 296, 363-4, 366, 370
 Stigland, Capt. H. 471
 Storbeck, F. 471
 Strabo 192
 Streck 392, 395
 Suidas 421
 Sulaymān al-Mahri 235
 Sulaymān-the-Merchant xvii, 236, 238, 242, 249, 473
 Suter 189
 Sykes, Sir Mark 398

Sykes, Sir P. 185

Syriac Map, *see* Mingana

Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī 273, 309, 327, 332, 342-3, 348
 Ṭabarī 10-11, 267 (iii, 1044), 288 (ii, 1604), 290, 300 (ii, 1593), 301 (ii, 1613), 332 (iii, 1875), 335 (ii, 1206), 337 (ii, 1180), 338 (ii, 1612), 359 (ii, 1492), 384, 396 (ii, 1949), 404 (iii, 645), 406 (iii, 650), 410 (i, 2658, iii, 1015)
 al-Tadmūrī 418
Tājikistān volume 367
 Tallgren 170, 191
 Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwī'i 13, 26, 268-70, 272, 481
T'ang-shu 264-5, 275, 286, 288, 301, 303, 311, 334, 366
 Taqi-zadeh, S. H. x
Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā 391
Tārīkh-i Amīnī 407
Ta'rikh Baghdād 10
Tārīkh-i Khānī 388
Tārīkh-i Nādirī 326-7
Tārīkh-i Rashīdī 25, 233, 255-6, 258, 262, 369
Tārīkh-i Sistān 344
Ta'rikh al-Sūdān ed. Houdas 476
Tārīkh-i Uljāytū 384, 390
Tārīkh-i Yamīnī 4, 6, 27, 30, 173, 175-7, 327, 344
 Tate, G. P. 344
 Täubler 444
 Tha'alibī, Abū Maṣṣūr Ḥusayn 186, 295, 330
 Thābit b. Qurra, scholar 12
 Theophylactus Simokatta 229, 266, 448
 Thomas, F. W. 233, 258; and Sten Konov 271, 292
 Thomas Artsruni 447
 Thomsen, V. 232, 263, 302, 433-4, 436
 Tiesenhausen, baron V. G. 427
 Tkatsch 413
 Tomaschek, W. 183, 190, 273, 286, 289, 292, 324, 351, 372, 377, 386, 418, 462, 472-3
 Toumansky, A. G. viii-x, 3-4, 6-7, 19, 30-1, 41, 44, 174, 324, 427, 432, 466
 Trogus Pompeius 445
 Trubetskoy, Prince N. S. 455
Tūzūk-i Bāburi 253
 Ulugh-beg viii, 3
 Unbegaun, B. 432
 Umniakov, I. I. 355
 Unkrig, Dr. W. A. 194, 256, 258, 263
 'Utbi, *see* *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*
 Vakhushht, Prince 398, 457
 Validi (Validov), A. Z. 5, 23, 171, 174, 184, 215, 225, 286, 289, 311, 314, 393, 403, 408, 425, 450, 481-2

- Vardan the Great 397, 402
 Vasilyev, A. A. 419, 442
 Vasilyevsky, V. G. 312
 Vasmer, R. 341, 385, 387, 410
 Vasmer, M. 433, 464
 Vavilov 337, 351
 Veliaminov-Zernov, V. 383
 Veselovsky, N. I. 28
Vis-u Rāmīn 331, 388
 Vogel, J. Ph. 250; and Hutchison 250
 Vollers 474
 Vullers 381
- Ibn al-Wahhāb, Qurayshite (on China) 224
 al-Warrāq, Ahmad al-Ṭinī 202, 316
 Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh* 280, 327
 al-Wazīrī, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, biographer 15
 Westberg, F. 32, 41-3, 193, 426, 431, 434, 438-42, 442, 453, 467
 Wiedemann, E. 10, 181, 284
 Wieger 267
 Wiet, G. 415-16, 477
 Wilson, C. E. 225
 Wright, K. 9
- Yakubovsky, A. 29, 358, 371
 Ya'qūb b. Ṭāriq 189

- Ya'qūbī
BGA (vol. vii) 5, 14, 237, 242, 335-8, 340, 345, 349, 353-4, 359-62, 364-5, 374, 401, 418, 425, 475, 477
Historiae 242, 350, 355, 453, 474-5
 Yāqūt
Mu'jam al-buldān 3, 5, 11, 15-19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 33, 39, 268, 294, 312 (iii, 448), 327 (i, 461), 332, 335 (iv, 775), 341 (i, 481), 410 (iii, 275), 418 (ii, 861-6), 426 (i, 112-13), 434 (ii, 834), 450 (ii, 436-40), 467 (iii, 404), 477 (ii, 932, iv, 230)
Irshād al-arīb 3
 Yazdani, G. 246
 Yeh-lü Ch'u ts'ai 284
 Youssouf Kamal, Prince 205, 415
 Yuan-shih 272, 317
 Yule, Sir H. [Cordier], *Cathay* 223, 235, 237
- Zafar-nāma* 196, 335, 378, 447, 459
 Ṭahīr al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* 200, 331, 388, 410
 Zambaur, E. 3, 6, 20, 21, 39, 173, 396, 404-5
 Zhukovsky, V. A. x, 328
 Zichy, Comte E. 225
 Zlatarski, V. 469

D. LOCAL PRODUCTS AND SPECIALITIES

- Ambergris*—Hindūstān, Rāmī, Santarem
Animals: *Civet Cats*—Sarandīb; *Elephants*—Andrās, &c., China, Qimār, Urshfin, Urshin; *Game*—Ararat, Ghūz, Jabal al-Qilāl, Yaghmā; *Harts*—Ighraj-art; *Monkeys*—Yemen; *Muskdeer*—Sarandīb, Saukjū, Tūlas; *Rhinoceros*—Qāmarūn, Rāmī, Sarandīb, Wāq-wāq; *Wild Asses*—mt. of the Oases, region between Egypt and Nubia; *Wild Sheep*—mt. of the Oases
Antidotes—Rāmī, Būshang
Armour, Arms, Coats of Mail—Ghūr; *Arrows*—Chāch, Sikāshim; *Blades*—Urtāb; *Bows*—Chāch; "*Solomonian*"
Swords—Rūs (p. 437)
Asa Foetida—Marv, Sistān
- Birds*: '*Akka*—on the Tarim; *Faucons and Pelicans*—Dihistanān-sur; *Indian Cuckoos*, *K.rkri*, *Parrots and Peacocks*—India
Brooms—Gilān
- Caraway*—Barda'
Cardamum—Sarandīb
Carpets—Fārs, Rūm (*tanfasa*); *Prayer*—Gilān, Jahrum, Mūqān; *Woollen*—Bukhārā, Dārzangi; *Zilū*—Akhlāt,

- Arjij, Bargrī, Bidlis, Guzgān, Jahrum, Khoy, Mūqān, Nakhchuvān, Fārs, Sistān; *Rugs*—Āmol, Fārs; *Palās-rugs*—Chaghāniyān, Gūzgān, Mūqān; *Stuff used as Carpets*—Sistān, Ṭabaristān; cf. *Gilim*
Cattle—Bulgharī, Hāshumkirt, Khazarian Pechenegs, Khur, Kijkānān, Maghrib, Ṭūrān; *Asses*—Egypt; *Camels*—Sarakhs, Shihr, S.lābūr; *Cows*—Balūt, Chigil, Ghūz, Gūzgān, Jalūt, Khazar, Khirkhiz, S.lābūr, Tibet, Toghuzghuz; *Horses*—Chadghal, Chaghāniyān, Chigil, Ghūz, Gūzgān, Kātūn, Khallukh, Khirkhiz, Khuttalān, K.rāl, &c., Tibet, Tukhs, Toghuzghuz, Ṭukhāristān, Yaghmā; *Mules*—Barda', Kish; *Sheep*—Balūt, Chadghal, Chigil, Ghūz, Gūzgān, Hāshumkirt, Inner Bulghār, Isbijāb, Jalūt, Khallukh, Khazar, Khazarian Pecheneg, Khirkhiz, Kh.mūd, Kīmāk, N.zvān, Rang-Rong, Saylakān, Sān, Ṣaqlāb, S.lābūr, Tibet, Toghuzghuz, Tukhs, Ṭukhāristān, Yaghmā, Zābulistān; *Vakhshī Sheep*—Livkand; *Swine*—Ṣaqlāb; *Yaks*—Saukjū
Cereals—Andarāb, Dihistān, Gharchistān, Mūqān, Nasā, Nūbīn, Sikimisht, Ṭukhāristān; *Barley*—Ṣan'ā,

Sirrayn; *Millet*—Şaqlāb, Kirmān; *Rice*—Daylamān; *Sorghum*—Mughūn, &c., Sirrayn; *Wheat*—Şan'ā Cheese (?)—Karaj-i Rūdhṛavar; *Rukhbin*—Kāth

China (ghadāra)—China, Rayy

Cinnamon—China, Dārchīn

Clothing: Aprons—Başra; *Cloaks*—Ispahān, Rayy; *Handkerchiefs*—Egypt; *Kerchiefs*—Āmol, Bullī *Kerchiefs*—Ubullā, *Gold Shot*—Āmol; *Puttees*—Dārzangī; *Quilted Garments*—Kāth; *Robes*—Egypt; *Stockings*—Rūm, Tūs; *Trouser-cords*—Akhlāt, &c., Duvin, Khūzistān, Rūm, Salamās, Tīb, Tūs, Wāsiṭ; *Turbans*—Bam, Shūsh, Bullī *Turbans*—Ubullā, *Stuff for Turbans*—Khālkhīn, R.bīnd; *Woollen Taylasāns*—Rayy; *Veils*—Baylaqān, Viqāya *Veils*—Gūzgān

Cloves—Jāba, Salāhiṭ, Sarandīb

Condiments—Marv

Coral—Hindūstān, Ṭabarqa

Cords, Hemp—Samarqand

Cotton—Dahum's country, Marv, Nişāpūr, Qabān, Rayy

Crimson—Duvin

Cumin—Bahrūgān, Kūmīn, &c.

Curtains—Başunnay

Cushions, Covers for—Kāth

Drinks (potions?)—Baghdād

Drugs—Farghāna, Khālkhīn, Khorāsān, Kish, Transoxiana, mt. between Coria and Truxillo; *Cassia Fistularis* and *Tamarind*—Jab.rs.ri; *Cubeb*—Jāba, Salāhiṭ; *Embilica Officinalis*, *Myrobalan*, *Terminalia Belerica*—road between Rāmiyān and Jalhandar; *Gentian*—Gibraltar; *Tiryāk (antidote) plant*—Būshang

Electuaries—Baghdād

Fans—Tirmidh

Felts—Gūzgān, Isbijāb, Kāth, Ṭalaqān (Gūzgān)

Fish—Abaskūn, Arzan l., Bankālūs, Bāzhgāh, Caspian sea, Daylamān, Mymāṭy l., Majghari; *Māha fish*—Gilān

Frankincense—Shihr

Fruit—Ark, 'Ayn-Zarba, Barda', Bukhārā, Burūgird, Diza, Farah, Kumish, Malaṭya, Marūd, Mizhān, Nihāvand, Palestine, Qazvin, Simingān, Simnān, Ṭukhāristān; *Dried*—Bust; *Almonds*—Lahore; *Apples*—Işākhr; *Bananas*—Bālūs, Bankālūs; *Chestnuts*—Barda'; *Citrons*—Āmol, Balkh; *Fragrant citrons*—Shūsh; *Yellow Citrons*—Damascus; *Coco-nuts*—Bālūs, Bankālūs, Kanbāya mt. La-

hore, Sarandīb, S.lābūr; *Dates*—'Abdasī, Alin, Arabia, Bam, Bayās, Farah, Bahrūgān, &c., Nahrawān, Nim-Rūdhī, Qandabil; *Dried dates*—Sistān; *Figs*—Hulwān; *Grapes*—Hamdān (p. 146), Mirvāt (p. 321); *Hazel-nuts*—Lishtar; *Jalghūza*—Lahore; *Mulberry*—Barda'; *Oranges, sour*—Āmol, Balkh; *Pomegranates*—Khujand; *Raisins*—Karūkh, Mālin (Ṭā'ifi)

Fuel—Aarat, Jabal al-Qilāl, Mizhān

Furs—Khallukh, Khirkhiz, Kuyāba, N.zvān, Tukhs, Yaghmā; *Beaver*—Qabala; *Ermine*—Tibet; *Foxes, Black*—Tibet, Toghuzghuz; *Striped and Red*—Toghuzghuz; *Grey Squirrels*—Tibet, Tūlas; *Lambskins*—Kurdar; *Sabija* (?)—Toghuzghuz; *Sable Martens*—Kimāk, Tibet, Tudela, Tūlas (cf. pp. 196, 278); *Weasel*—Barādhās, Tibet

Gilims (Tapestry Woven Carpets)—Dārzangī, Pārs, Wāsiṭ; *Blue*—Rūdhān; *Kūmish Gilims*—Āmol

Glass—see Nişibīn and p. 165

Glaze-ware—Baghdād, Rayy (?)

Grape-syrup—Araghān, Baun, Herat

Honey—Ādharbayjān, Armenia, Arrān, Şaqlāb, S.lābūr

Insects and Reptiles: Crocodiles—Buşir; *Flies* (carnivorous)—Sarīr; *Mosquitoes (pashsha)*—Nih, Tamīsha; *Scorpions*—Kāshān, Nişibīn, Hims, Ṭabarqa; *Snakes*—Ahwāz, Artūj, Hims, Nişibīn

Khāvkhīr, Chinese—China

Khutū-Horn—China, Khirkhiz, Tibet

Leather—Anbir, Sind

Mahfūri [Plates?]—Khursān

Manna (shirkhisht)—Herat (cf. p. 343) (*tarangabīn*)—Kish

Mats—'Abbadān, Āmol, Gilān, Mām-tir; *Green*—Tirmidh

Metals: Copper—Bārijān mt., Cyprus, Farghāna, Georgian mts., Gūzgān, Kirmān, Sardan, Spain, Tūs; *Gold*—Abyssinia, Akhsikath, Badhakshān, China, Chinese mts., Farghāna, Gold is., Gūzgān, Ilāq, Jabal al-Qamar, al-Jazā'ir al-khāliya, Khorāsān, Khut-talān, Kirmān, Muqattam mt., N.zvān, Pārs, Qamarūn, Ribāt-i Karvān, Rang-Rong, R.būshārān, between Rūm and Armenia, Sands of the Mines, Sarīr, Şatīf, Sijilmāsa, Spain, the Sūdān, Sūs-the-Distant, Transoxiana, Wāq-Wāq,

Zābaj, Zangistān, Zawila; [*auriferous sands*—Jiruft, Sijilmāsa]; *Iron*—Bānkālūs (?), Dunbāvand, Gūzgān, Iṣṭakhr mt., Sāmār, Surūshna; *Lead*—Bārijān, Farghāna, Gūzgān, Kirmān, Sāmār, Sarīr, Spain, Transoxiana, Tūs; *Quicksilver*—Farghāna, Sokh (? § 25, 49.); *Silver*—Akhsikath, Andarāb, Georgian mts., Gūzgān, Ilāq, Jabal al-Qamar, Jāriyāna, Khorāsān, Khuṭṭalān, Kirmān, Kūh-i Sim, Kūhsaym, Muqaṭṭam, Nāyīn, Panjhir, Pārs, Sardan mt., Silver is., Transoxiana; *Tin*—Kala [cf. p. 187]

Minerals: *Ammoniac*—Buttamān, Farghāna, Transoxiana; *Antimony*—Gūzgān, Sāmār, Tūs; *Arsenic*—Transoxiana, Dhakhkath, Kuchā [p. 226]; *Bezoar Stone*—Farghāna; *Bitumen*—Dārāgird; *Crystal*—Baghdād; *Emery*—Qamarūn, Sarandīb mt.; *Glass Stone*—Nišibīn (cp. p. 393); *Lode Stone*—Bārijān, Farghāna, Kirmān; *Marble-like Stone*—Simingān; *Naphta*—Bākū; *Plasma*—Cyprus; *Salt*—‘Abbadān, Dārāgird, Kashmīr, Kuhak, Limrāsk, Rūdhān, Tuzkūl, Yūn; *Black and Yellow Salt*—Dārāgird; *Red Salt*—Dārāgird, Kish; *Saltpetre*—Bukhārā; *Mekkan Sand*—‘Arab country; *Red Sand*—Habīr; *Schists*, *Combustible* (?)—Farghāna; *Sulphur*—Transoxiana; *Vitriol*—Gūzgān, Transoxiana

Musk—Baytāl, B.lhārī, Mūsa, Khirkhīz, Tibet, Toghuzghuz, Tukhs, Vayhind

Napkins, *Dessert*—Dāmghān

Nutmeg—Sarandīb

Oil—Baghdād, Rayy (? see p. 384)

Paper—Samarqand

Pearls—‘Aden, Hindūstān, Ganāfa sea, Khārak, Khumdān, Rāmī, Sarandīb

Pepper—Kanbāya mt., Malay, Urshfin

Perfumed Waters—Sārī; *Palm-blossom*, *Rose and Santoline*—Gūr; *Saffron* and *Sandalwood*—Sārī; *Violet*—Pārs

Plants: *Indigo*—Bahrūgān; *Madder*—Barda’, Jazīrat al-Bāb, Mūqān; *Saffron*—Burūgird, Chaghāniyān, Darband-i Khazarān, Durghush, Karaj-i Rūdhra’var, Nihāvand, Qum, Shūmān, Vayshagirt; *Sūsan-i Nargis Flower*—Shīrāz; *Tabarkhūn*—Farghāna; *Water Lilies*—Balkh

Precious Stones—F.ma, Khorāsān, Vayhind; *Chrysolites*—mt. of the Oases; *Corundum*—Hindūstān, Sarandīb, Tabarnā; *Diamonds*—Hindūstān, Saran-

dīb mt., Sarandīb rs.; *Emeralds*—mt. of the Oases; *Garnets*—Badhakhshān, mt. of the Oases; *Jade*—Khotan rs.; *Lapis Lazuli*—Badhakhshān; *Rubies*—S.nglij; *Turquoise*—Tūs

Qaraz—Maghrib (p. 417)

Red Abānk (?)—Sind

Sacks—Mūqān

Saddle-bags—Gūzgān; *Saddle-cloths*, *Covers for*—Sikāshim; *Saddle-girths*—Gūzgān; *Horse-rugs*—Baylaqān

Shagreen—Abaskūn

Shank (“White Conch”)—Dahum’s country

Shoes—Bašra, Kanbāya, Sind; *Yemenī*—Ša’da

Silk—Barda’, China, Nishāpūr; *Mulham*—Egypt; *Raw*—Gurgān, Khotan, Marv; *Textiles*—Astarābādh, Baghdād, Ispahān (*‘Attabī*, *Siqlātūn*), Nishāpūr, Rūm, Sārī; *Black*—Gurgān; *Khazz*—Egypt, cf. p. 382; *Sundus*—Rūm; *Za’fūrī* (?)—Astarābādh

Skins—Ša’da, Sind, Tā’if; *Leopard*—Berbers; *Lizard*—Malaga; *Panther*—Sūs-the-Distant

Slaves—Alān country, Darband-i Khazarān, Farghāna, Ghur, Khazar, Khazarian Pecheneg, Rāmiyān, Saylakān, Sarīr, Sūdān [cf. Adharbayjān, p. 142]

Snow—Kath, Mizhān

Soap—Bust, Tirmidh

Spices—Sarandīb

Spikenard—Jāba, Salāhiṭ, Sarandīb

Stone Kettles—Nauqān

String Instruments—Šaqlāb country

Sugar—Khūzistān, S.lābūr; *Red* and

Refined—‘Askar-i Mukram; *Candy*—Bahrūgān, &c., Kiz, &c.; *Cane*—Bahrūgān, &c., Balkh, Bālūs, Balūt, Jalūt, Mīla

Sweets: *Filāta*—Marv; *Nāṭif*—Baylaqān

Tents—Tukhs

Textiles—Ardavīl, Astarābādh, Barzand, Baylaqān, Dimyāt, Ganāwa, ‘Irāq, Ispahān, Jālhandar, Jibāl, Khorāsān, Khūzistān, Kūmish, Nishāpūr, Pārs, Rūm, Shūsh, Siniz, Tavaz; *Brocades*—China, Gurgān, Idha (Shūshtar?), Rūm; *Cotton Stuffs*—Baghdād, Bam, Bašra, Bust, Buzhāgān, &c., Herat, Kath, Kurī, Nishāpūr, Pārs, Rayy; *Linen Cloth*—Āmol, Bašra, Danqara, Darband-i Khazarān, Dhamīra, Dimyāt, Pārs, Šaqlāb, Tinnīs; *Maysānī*—Rūm; *Precious Stuffs*—Shūsh, Vayhind; *Sūzangird*—Qurqūb; *Velvet*—

Jalhandar, Khalkhîn; *Woollen Stuffs*—Abaskûn, Chaghâniyân, Dimyât, Ganja, Khursân, Marand, Shamkûr, Pârs, Tinnis; *Red Woollen Stuffs*—Rûdhân
Touch-Stone (*miḥakk*)—Shāvarân; *Whet-Stone* (*fasân*)—Arab country, Raḍwa mt., Tihâma, Tûs
Trees: *Aloes*—Dahum's country, al-Jurz, Mandal, Qāmarûn, Qimâr, Şanf; *'Ar'ar*—Bûshang; *Bamboo*—Kala, Kanbāya mt., Sarandib; *Box-wood*—Āmol; *Brazil Wood*—Rāmī, Sarandib; *Camphor*—Bālûs, Haranj, India, Ş.rih, Zābaj; *Cotton-Tree*—Andrās; *Ebony*—Silver is., Ashmûnayn; *Khadang and Khalanj*—Châch,

Khirkhîz, cf. p. 465; *Khinj* ("White tree")—Gûzgân; *Rotang*—Kanbāya mt., Malay, Ur.shfin; *Sandal*—Jāba, al-Jurz, Salāhiṭ; *Red Sandal*—Salû-qiyyin; *Teak*—Silver is.; *Timber*—Jabal al-Qilâl, Khoy, &c. (?)

Vinegar—Marv

Wax—Ādharbayjân, Armenia, Arrân
Wine—K.nd.rm, Rayy, Şaqlâb, Simin-gân, Surûsna, Ṭalaqân
Wooden Utensils—Āmol, Daylamân;
Wine Vessels—Şaqlâb
Wool, dyed—Wâsit

E. SELECTION OF CATCHWORDS

âbâdhân, "prosperous" 37, 53 and passim; *abadhânî*, "inhabited lands" 54, "oecumene" 83, "prosperous place" 85, &c.
akhbâr, "information [heard?]" 55, 79, 83
albân, *alpāghût* 292
 antiquities, 108, 126, 128, 138-9.
 Arabic, misunderstood in the *H.-'A.* 184, 384, 412
'ar'ar, "juniperus polycarpa" 104; cf. *artûj* 281
 ashes, mounds of 129, 139
 astronomical observations 58-9, 166, 190-1, 245
 Bahā'î viii, ix
band, *ḥavḍa* 220
baṭiḥa, "swamp" 55, 179
bāzargānî (*bāzurganî*), "business transactions" 115, 153
 bearings, wrong xv, 192, 222, 289, 300, 316, 325, 351, 372-4, 376, 380, 443, 445
 Bih-Āfarīdhī, sect 105, 328
biyābân "desert, plain" 79, 221
 brothels 88
 Brahmans 88
 Buddhists 233, 337; (*shamanî*) 84, (*but-parast*) 85
champā, a flower and a sort of rice 240
 clime (*iqlim*) xviii, 61, 349; cf. 94, 111
 Christians (*tarsā*) 95, 101, 140-2, 149-50, 158, 160-1, 164, 475-6; (*kāfirān*) 144, 157
 coins and money 90, 147, 153, 237, 247
 commerce: caravan stations (stages) 95, 97, 105, 121, 126, 129; markets 89, 113, 115, 136, 147, 149, 162; merchants 84, 93, 97, 100, 118, 121, 123, 132, 134, 136-7, 143, 146, 148, 153, 155, 160-2, 164-5; residences of merchants (abodes, haunts, resorts) 85,

88, 92, 98-9, 102, 107-8, 110-12, 118-19, 121-5, 127-8, 130-5, 137, 142, 153, 163; sea-trade 87, 122; stores (*bārkadha*) 87, 102, 107-8, 119, 121, 127, 131, 148; trade-port (*furḍa*) 346
dā'irat al-āfāq "Horizon" 50
darvīshān, "poor people, paupers" 92, 109, 114-15, 117, 124, 162, 165
dihqān "hereditary ruler" 98-9, 109, 116-17, 120
 doctors and magicians 100, 152, 159
 eunuchs 85, 165
farkhār (*viḥāra*) 263
 fire-temples 126-9, 383
 fire-worshippers: Khirkhîz 96; Maj-ghari 321; Rûs see *Majûs*; Slavs 158; cf. Zoroastrians
 "gates" (*dar*) 38, 102, 112, 115, 120-2; Alan gate 68; Dar-i Andara 107, 334; Dar-i Tāziyān, 112; Dar-i Tubbat 120, 256; cf. *bāb* 254, 404, 454
gauhar, "precious things" 52, 86, 89, 92, 102; *jauhar*, "substance" 112, 152, 154 (suggesting metals?)
ghaḍāra, "china" 384
ḥadd "frontier, extension" 51; *sar-ḥadd* "frontier" 57, &c.
hijr at the Ka'ba 412
ḥudūd: "limits" 30, 64-5; "region [limited area]", vii, 57; "marches" 109, 119; "neighbourhood" 128; "territory" 112, 123, &c.
 Ḥurūfī sect 386
 idols 109, 111, 121; idol-temples 86, 88-94, 109, 118; idol-worshippers 161-2
 Infidels (*kāfir*): Turks 116, 118; neighbours of the Rûs 159; *wakhī* 369

injū 292

Iranicized forms of names, xvi, 325, 373, 378, 380, 468

Isfandiyāriya (**Isfidh-yāriya*), Zoroastrian sect 356; cf. *sapīd-jāmagān*

jayhūn "great river" 321

jazīra, is. or peninsula 56

Kāriz, "underground canals" 110, 124, 132, 321, 468

khalīj, "gulf or straits" 51, 179

khānāt, divisions in Khorāsān 325-6

Khārijites 21, 67, 91, 104, 125, 140, 150-1, 327, 412; Azraqī 130, 381

khaṭṭ al-istiwā "Equator" 50, 188

Khwārazmian language 174

khwāsta, "commodities, wealth", passim
khumdān, "potter's kiln" 229 [a place called Khumdān is mentioned on the road between Leh and Khotan in Mīr 'Izzat-allāh's itineraries]

khushk "dry land" (?) 63, 249

letter ث [β, w] 70 (βajākh, mis-spelt: *Thajākh*); 74 (Ganāβa, but 127, Ganāβa); 75 (Kuyāfa < Kuyāβa, but 159, Kuyāba); 149 (Yāβā, for Yāfā); 294 (*Taβushqan see Index A sub Taushqan)

linguistic phenomena: adventitious b- 185, 334 (Bastarāb), 281 (Bartūj), cf. § 29, 19.; d/z (*dāmistān*) 94, 99; δ/l 275; -δj > j 363; f/h 388; gu/bu 326; gv/b 374; jh < ċ 344; l/n 388, 410; nd/rd 398; sj < ċ 182, 360; s < ċ 198, 240, 273, 336, 374; š-š > t-š 447; suffixes: -ivān 335, 410; -z 408, 421, 447, 455

longitude 0° 245

lūtra-language 134

majūs, as applied to the Northmen 158, 328

Manichaeans 84-5, 113, 226, 233, 267-8, 287, 290, 353, 482

Map, the author's xiv, 60, 69, 121, 146, 157; reading off the Map xv, 236, 239, 251, 338, 361, 376, 392 (§ 33, 11.), 394, 414 (§ 38, 15.), 420; enumeration along the roads 229, 260, 289-94, 363-4, 380, 382

maqs, "toll-house" 477

mardum-khwār "man-eaters" 56-7, 85, 97

markets 113, 115, 400

mash, "cadastre" 392

mīr-i rūdh 113

mulūk-i aṭraf, "margraves" 118, 121, 342

murdāb, "lagoon" 49, 51

Muslims in outlying lands 88, 90-1, 93 112, 119, 120-2, 136, 162

nāhiyat, "country" 47 and passim; "direction" 62; "district" 84; "parts" 66; "province" 123; "region" 123; "side" 53, &c.

Nestorians 290

nighūshāk, "auditores" 113

nī mat, "amenities", passim; "resources" 126; "well-being" 162; *bā nī mat*, "pleasant, favoured by nature" ["well-endowed"] passim

Persian language of Gurgān 134

qurday, "pelican" 303

rustā, "district" 61, 74, 104, 119; Rūstā [sic]-Rustām 128; Rūstā-Bljm 121

sabīl, "charitable gift" 398

Ṣabīyān, "Sābians" 12, 141; "Buddhists (?)" 95

Sālhārī, Muslims in Rāmīyān 90

Sapīd-jāmagān 117; *mubayyiḍa* 356

The Seven Sleepers 204

ṣayyād "fishermen" 60, 93 (?) 124, 126; "hunters" 60, 93, 95

shamanī, "Buddhist" 84

shank (*śankha*), conchs 242

siyāsijūn (**spāsīk*?) 409

Soghdian language 99, 185, 229, 231, 271, 273, 300, 369

sources of the H.-'Ā. xii-xvii, 25 ff.

Sulṭān "governor, government" 89, &c.

Sun-worship 99, 121

ṭaylasān, "gulf" 391

taxes: *bar-āb* 105, 108; bridge-toll 398; *dah-yak* 159; gate-toll 120; *kharāj* 157; maritime customs 162; *sar-gazīt* 92; *ushr* 139, 392; cf. *mash*

thaghr, "military frontier" 133, 143-4, 148-9, 152, 470

Tukharian language 304, 359, 369, 445

türk, "strength" 264

Turkān-i āštī, "trucial Turks" 118-19

vaulted buildings 124, 374

wind-mills 110

yabaqu, "felt-wool" 288

yādhkird 49, 145

yasī, "broad"

yighach, "farsang" 290

Zoroastrian (*gabrān*, *gabrakān*) 95, 105, 121, 126, 269; Bihāfarīdhī 105

Zūn (Žūn), Indian god 345

